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GĀZETTEER

OF THE

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

VOLUME I PART I.

HISTORY OF GUJARÁT.

UNDER GOVERNMENT ORDERS.

BOMBAY

PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

1896.

finish it in about a year. He was to collect and arrange in alphabetical order all recorded information regarding the towns and other places of interest in each Collectorate, and to send printed on half margin each draft when completed to the local officers for verification, additions, and alterations. When the drafts were returned and corrected by the Editor, they were to be laid before the Committee. To enable the Editor to meet such expenses as a fair remuneration for articles contributed by qualified persons, and also to pay for the printing of the work with small accompanying maps, an amount not exceeding Rs 12,000 was sanctioned for the total expense of the Gazetteer including the payment of the Editor. At the outset it was decided to place a portion of the sum sanctioned not exceeding Rs 2000, at the disposal of the Commissioner in Sindh to secure the preparation of articles referring to Sindh. The Committee were requested to meet at Poona in June 1868 and to report to Government on the best mode of preparing and editing the Gazetteer and supervising its publication. The Collectors and Political Officers were in the meanwhile requested to ascertain what records in their possession were likely to be useful for the preparation of a Gazetteer and what papers in the possession of others and likely to be useful for the purpose were obtainable within their charge. Collectors and Political Officers were requested to send their replies direct to the Director of Public Instruction who would collect them on behalf of the Committee.

In August 1868 the Bombay Gazetteer Committee, composed of Messrs A F Bellasis Revenue Commissioner N. D. Chairman, Mr W H Havelock Revenue Commissioner S. D. and Sir Alexander Grant, Director of Public Instruction, submitted a report recommending the following arrangements

(1) That Mr W H Crowe, C S, then Acting Professor in the Dakhn College, be appointed Editor of the Gazetteer with a monthly remuneration of Rs 200 out of the Rs. 12,000 sanctioned for the expense of the Gazetteer and that he should at the same time be attached as an Assistant to the Collector of Poona,

(2) That Mr Crowe be allowed an establishment not exceeding Rs 50 a month chargeable to the grant of Rs 12,000, and such contingent charges as may be passed by the Committee,

(3) That Professor Kero Luxman Chhatio be requested to assist Mr Crowe on various questions both local and mathematical, and that on the completion of the work a suitable honorarium be granted to Professor Kero,

(4) That agreeably to the suggestions of Major Prescott and Colonel Francis, Mr. Light should be directed to compile for the different districts all information in the possession of the Survey Department in communication

Sir William Hunter had much to say on the necessity of stating the authority on the strength of which any statement is made and of the propriety of avoiding anything like labels on persons or classes. In 1871 Sir W. Hunter was appointed Director General of Statistics to the Government of India. In this capacity he was to be a central guiding authority whose duty it was to see that each of the Provincial Gazetteers contained the materials requisite for the comparative statistics of the Empire. As some of the Bombay District Accounts were incomplete and as it was thought advisable to embody in the District Accounts the results of the general Census of 1872, it was decided, in October 1871, that pending the completion of the census

the Gazetteer work should be suspended and that when the results of the census were compiled and classified a special officer should be appointed for a period of six months to revise and complete the drafts. In October 1871, pending the compilation of the census returns, Mr. Crowe was appointed Assistant Collector, at Sholapur and the Gazetteer records were left in a room in the Poona Collector's Office. In September 1872 the whole of the Gazetteer records, including thirty-one articles on British Districts and Native States, were stolen by two youths who had been serving in the Collector's Office as peons. These youths finding the Gazetteer office room unoccupied stole the papers piece by piece for the sake of the trifling amount they fetched as waste paper. Search resulted in the recovery in an imperfect state of seven of the thirty-one drafts. The youths were convicted and sentenced to a year's imprisonment in the Poona Reformatory.

In 1873 Mr. Francis Chapman then Chief Secretary to Government took the preparation of the Gazetteer under his personal control. And in June 1873 Mr. James M. Campbell, C.S., was appointed Compiler. An important change introduced by Mr. Chapman was to separate from the preparation of the series of District Manuals certain general subjects and to arrange for the preparation of accounts of those general subjects by specially qualified contributors. The subjects so set apart and allotted were

No.	GENERAL CONTRIBUTORS, 1873	
	Subject	Contributor
1	Ethnology	Dr. J. Wilson.
2	Meteorology	Mr. C. Chambers, F.R.S.
3	Geology	Mr. W. Blandford.
4	Botany	Dr. W. Gray.
5	Archæology	Dr. J. Burgess.
6	Manufactures and Industry	Mr. G. W. Terry.
7	Trade and Commerce	Mr. J. Gordon.

These arrangements resulted in the preparation of the following papers each of which on receipt was printed in pamphlet form.

I. ETHNOLOGY, II. METEOROLOGY, III. GEOLOGY, and IV. BOTANY.

Of the papers it has not been deemed advisable to reprint Dr. J. Wilson's Paper on Castes as it was incomplete owing to Dr. Wilson's death in 1875. Reprinting was also unnecessary in the case of Mr. Blandford's Geology and of the late Mr. Chambers' Meteorology, as the contents of these pamphlets have been embodied in works

specially devoted to the subject of these contributions Dr. Bunge's never prepared his article on the Archaeology of the Presidency, but the materials supplied by the late Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indrajī prevented the evil effect which this failure would otherwise have caused. Dr. Bhagvānlāl also ably supplied the deficiency caused by Dr. G. Buhler's failure to contribute an article on the Early History of Gujarāt. The notices of the manufactures in the more important industrial centres to some extent supply the blank caused by the absence of Mr. Terry's contribution. Nothing came of the late Mr. Gordon's Account of the Trade of the Presidency.

On the important subject of Botany besides Dr. W. Gray's original contribution, a valuable paper On Useful Trees and Plants was prepared by Dr. J. C. Lasbøe, and a detailed account of Kaira field trees by the late Mr. G. H. D. Wilson of the Bombay Civil Service. These three papers together form a separate Botany Volume No. XXV.

The general contributions on History contained in Vol. I. Parts I and II are among the most valuable portions of the Gazetteer. Besides the shorter papers by Mr. L. R. Ashburner, C.S.I., on the Gujarāt Mutinies of 1857, by Mr. J. A. Baines, C.S.I., on the Marāthās in Gujarāt, by Mr. W. W. Loch, I.C.S., on the Muslimān and Marāthā histories of Khāndesh and the Bombay Dakhān, and by the late Colonel E. W. West, I.S.C., on the modern history of the Southern Marāthā districts, there are the Reverend A. K. Nairne's History of the Konkan which is specially rich in the Portuguese period (A.D. 1500-1750), the late Colonel J. W. Watson's Muslimāns of Gujarāt with additions by Khān Sāheb Fazl Lutfullāh Farīdī of Surat, and the important original histories of the Early Dakhān by Professor Rāmkrishna Gopāl Bhandārkar, C.I.E., Ph.D., and of the Southern Marāthā districts by Mr. J. F. Fleet, I.C.S., C.I.E., Ph.D. With these the early history of Gujarāt from materials supplied by the late Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indrajī, Ph.D., is perhaps not unworthy to rank. The work of completing Dr. Bhagvānlāl's history was one of special difficulty. No satisfactory result would have been obtained had it not been for the valuable assistance received from Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, M.A., of the Indian Civil Service.

The importance and the interest of the great subject of Population have added several contributions to the Reverend Doctor J. Wilson's original pamphlet of twenty-three pages. Most of these contributions appear in different District Statistical Accounts especially Dr. John Pollen's, I.C.S., accounts in Khāndesh, Mr. Cumine's, I.C.S. in Bijāpur, Mr. K. Raghunāthji's in Thāna and Poona, Assistant Surgeon Shāntārām

Vinayak's in Sholápur, Mr P. F. DeSouza's in Kánara, and the late Ráo Bahádur Trimalrao's in Dharwái. Except the valuable articles contributed in the Statistical Account of Kachh by Major J. W. Wray, Mr Vináyakrao Náráyanand Ráo Sáheb Dalpatráam Pránjivan Khakhar, in the Account of Káthiawár by the late Colonel L. C. Barton, and in the Account of Rewa Kántha by Ráo Bahádur Nandshankar Tuljashankar the early date at which the Gujarát Statistical Accounts were published prevented the preparation of detailed articles on population. This omission has now been supplied in a separate volume No. IX. The chief contributions to this volume are Ráo Bahádur Bhimbhái Kirpárám's Hindus, Khán Sáheb Fazl Lutfullah Farídr's Musalmáns, and Messrs Kharsetji N. Servai and Bamanji B. Patel's Parsis.

Besides to these general contributors the series of Statistical Accounts owes much of their fullness and practical usefulness to District Officers especially to the labours of the District Compilers who in most cases were either Collectors or Assistant Collectors. The most important contributors of this class were for Ahmeda'ba'd Mr F. S. P. Lely, C. S., for Kaira Mr. G. F. Sheppard, C. S.; for the Panch Maha'ls Mr. H. A. Acworth, C. S., for Tha'na Messrs W. B. Mulock, C. S., E. J. Ebdon, C. S., W. W. Loch, C. S., and A. Cumine, C. S., for Kola'ba Mr. E. H. Moscardi, C. S., for Ratna'giri Mr. G. W. Vidal, C. S., for Kha'ndesh Mr. W. Ramsay, C. S., Dr. John Pollen, C. S., and Mr. A. Crawley-Boevey, C. S., for Na'sik Messrs W. Ramsay, C. S., J. A. Buines, C. S., and H. R. Cooke, C. S., for Ahmednagar Mr. T. S. Hamilton, C. S., for Poona Messrs. J. G. Moore, C. S., John MacLeod Campbell, C. S., G. H. Johns, C. S., and A. Keyser, C. S.; for Satara Mr. J. W. P. Muir-Mackenzie, C. S., for Shola'pur Mr. C. E. G. Crawford, C. S., for Belgaum Mr. G. McCorkell, C. S., for Dharwa'r Messrs F. L. Charles, C. S., and J. F. Muir, C. S., for Bija'pur Messrs H. F. Silcock, C. S., A. Cumine, C. S., and M. H. Scott, C. S., and for Kanara Mr. J. Monteath, C. S., and Colonel W. Peyton. Of the accounts of Native States, the interesting and complete Gazetteer of Baroda is the work of Mr F. A. H. Ellis, C. S. The chief contributors to the other Statistical Accounts of Native States were for Kachh Colonel L. C. Barton, for Káthiawár Colonel J. W. Watson and Colonel L. C. Barton, for Palanpur Colonel J. W. Watson, for Mahi Kántha Colonels E. W. Watson and P. H. L. Galt, for Rewa Kántha Colonel L. C. Peyton and Ráo Bahádur Nandshankar Tuljashankar, for Savantva'di Colonel J. F. Lester, for Ja'njira Mr. G. Lacombe, for Kolhapur Colonel E. W. West and W. F. F. Waller and

A further means adopted for collecting information was the preparation of papers on the different social, economic, and religious subjects which had proved of interest in preparing the earliest District Statistical Accounts. Between 1874 and 1880 forty-nine question papers which are given as an Appendix to the General Index Volume were from time to time printed and circulated. The answers received to these papers added greatly to the fullness and to the local interest of all the later Statistical Accounts.

The Statistical Accounts of the eighteen British districts and eighty-two Native States of the Bombay Presidency, together with the Materials towards a Statistical Account of the Town and Island of Bombay extend over thirty-three Volumes and 17,800 pages. In addition to these Statistical Accounts 475 articles were prepared in 1877-78 for the Imperial Gazetteer.

JAMES MACNABB CAMPBELL.

*Bombay Central House, {
29th May, 1895*

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ERRATA.

Page 3 note 5

For about thirty miles north-east of Abu

Read about fifty miles west of Abu

Page 140 note 5 and page 145 top line of notes

For Aldjayhám *read* Aljahhari.

EARLY HISTORY OF GUJARÁT.

CHAPTER I.

BOUNDARIES AND NAME.

Chapter I

BOUNDARIES

THE portion of the Bombay Presidency known as Gujarát fills the north-east corner of the coast of Western India.

On the west is the Arabian Sea, on the north-west is the Gulf of Cutch. To the north lie the Little Rán and the Mewád desert, to the north-east Abu and other outliers of the Arávali range. The east is guarded and limited by rough forest land rugged in the north with side spurs of the Vindhya's, more open towards the central natural highway from Baroda to Rátham, and southwards again rising and roughening into the northern offshoots from the main range of the Satpudís. The southern limit is uncertain. History somewhat doubtfully places it at the Tapti. Language carries Gujarát about a hundred miles further to Balsár and Pardi where wild forest-covered hills from the north end of the Sahyadri range stretch west almost to the sea.

The province includes two parts, Mainland Gujarát or Gurjjararáshtri and Peninsular Gujarát the Sauráshtri of ancient, the Kathiáwádr of modern history. To a total area of about 72,000 square miles Mainland Gujarát with a length from north to south of about 280 miles and a breadth from east to west varying from fifty to 150 miles contributes 15,000 square miles, and Peninsular Gujarát with a greatest length from north to south of 155 miles and from east to west of 200 miles contributes about 27,000 square miles. To a population of about 9,250,000 Mainland Gujarát contributes 6,900,000 and the Peninsula about 2,350,000.

The richness of Mainland Gujarát the gift of the Sábarmati Mahi Narbada and Tapti and the goodness of much of Sauráshtri the Goodly Land have from before the beginning of history continued to draw strangers to Gujarát both as conquerors and as refugees.

By sea probably came some of the half-mythic Yádivas (B.C. 1500-500), contingents of Yavanas (B.C. 300 - A.D. 100) including Greeks Baktrians Parthians and Skythians, the pursued Pársis and the pursuing Arabs (A.D. 600-800), hordes of Sangamanian pirates (A.D. 900-1200), Pársi and Naváyat Musalmán refugees from Khulagu Khán's devastation of Persia (A.D. 1250-1300), Portuguese and rival Turks (A.D. 1500-1600), Arab and Persian Gulf pirates (A.D. 1600-1700), African Arab Persian and Makian soldiers of fortune (A.D. 1500-1800), Armenian Dutch and French traders (A.D. 1600-1750), and the British (A.D. 1750-1812). By land from the north

Chapter I
THE NAME.

have come the Skythians and Huns (B.C. 200 - A.D. 500), the Gurjjaras (A.D. 400 - 600), the early Jádajás and Káthís (A.D. 750 - 900), wave on wave of Afghan Turk Moghal and other northern Musalmáns (A.D. 1000 - 1500), and the later Jádajás and Káthís (A.D. 1300 - 1500). From the north-east the prehistoric Aiyans till almost modern times (A.D. 1100 - 1200) continued to send settlements of Northern Bráhmans, and since the thirteenth century have come Turk Afghan and Moghal Musalmáns. From the east have come the Mauryans (B.C. 300), the half-Skythian Kshatrapas (B.C. 100 - A.D. 300), the Guptas (A.D. 380), the Gujjars (A.D. 400 - 600), the Moghals (A.D. 1530), and the Maráthás (A.D. 1750). And from the south the Sákainis (A.D. 100), the Chálukyas and Ráshtrakutas (A.D. 650 - 950), occasional Musalmán raiders (A.D. 1400 - 1600), the Portuguese (A.D. 1500), the Maráthás (A.D. 1660 - 1760), and the British (A.D. 1780 - 1820).

Gujars

The name Gujarát is from the Prákrit Gujjara-ratta, the Sanskrit of which is Gurjara-ráshtra that is the country of the Gurjjaras or Gurjjaras. In Sanskrit books and inscriptions the name of the province is written Gurjara-mandala and Gūjjara-des'a the land of the Gurjjaras or Gūjjaras. The Gujjaras are a foreign tribe who passing into India from the north-west gradually spread as far south as Khándesh and Bombay Gujarát. The present Gujars of the Panjab and North-West Provinces preserve more of their foreign traits than the Gujar settlers further to the south and east. Though better-looking, the Panjab Gujars in language dress and calling so closely resemble their associates the Játs or Jats as to suggest that the two tribes entered India about the same time. Their present distribution shows that the Gujars spread further east and south than the Játs. The earliest Gujar settlements seem to have been in the Panjab and North-West Provinces from the Indus to Mathurá where they still differ greatly in dress and language from most other inhabitants. From Mathurá the Gujars seem to have passed to East Rajputána and from there by way of Kotah and Mandasor to Málwa, where, though their original character is considerably altered, the Gujars of Málwa still remember that their ancestors came from the Doab between the Ganges and the Jamna. In Málwa they spread as far east as Bhilsa and Saharanpur. From Málwa they passed south to Khándesh and west probably by the Ratlam-Dohad route to the province of Gujarát.

Like the modern Ahirs of Káthiáwáda the Gujars seem to have been a tribe of cattle-rearers husbandmen and soldiers who accompanied some conqueror and subsequently were pushed or spread forwards as occasion arose or necessity compelled. In the absence of better authority the order and locality of their settlements suggest that their introduction into India took place during the rule of the Skythian or Kushán emperor Kanerkes or Kanishka (A.D. 78 - 106) in whose time they seem to have settled as far east as Mathurá to which the territory of Kanishka is known to have extended. Subsequently along with the Guptas, who rose to power about two hundred years later (A.D. 300), the Gujars settled in East Rajputána, Málwa, and Gujarát, provinces all of which were apparently

subjugated by the Guptas. It seems probable that in reward for their share in the Gupta conquests the leading Gujars were allotted fiefs and territories which in the declining power of their Gupta overlords they afterwards (A.D. 450-550) turned into independent kingdoms.

The earliest definite reference to a kingdom of North Indian Gujars is about A.D. 890 when the Kashmir king Sankuvarman sent an expedition against the Gujjara king Alakhana and defeated him. As the price of peace Alakhana offered the country called Takkadesa. This Takkadesa appears to be the same as the Ts'ikhi of Huen Tsiang (A.D. 630-640) who puts it between the Bias on the east and the Indus on the west thus including nearly the whole Punjab. The tract surrendered by Alakhana is probably the small territory to the east of the Chindab, the main possessions of Alakhana must have lain further west between the Chindab and the Jehlum, where he the town of Gujjarat and the country still called Gujjadesa the land of the Gujjars.

As early as the sixth and seventh centuries records prove the existence of two independent Gujjara kingdoms in Bombay Gujjarat one in the north the other in the south of the province. The Northern kingdom is mentioned by Huen Tsiang in the seventh century under the name Ku-che-lo. He writes 'Going north from the country of Valabhi 1800 li (360 miles) we come to the kingdom of Ku-che-lo. This country is about 5000 li in circuit, the capital, which is called Pi-lo-mo-lo, is 30 li or so round. The produce of the soil and the manners of the people resemble those of Surashtra. The king is of the Kshatriya caste. He is just twenty years old'. Huen Tsiang's Ku-che-lo is apparently Gujjara, the capital of which Pi-lo-mo-lo is probably Bhilmal or Bhimmal, better known as Siml. Though Huen Tsiang calls the king a Kshatriya he was probably a Gujjar who like the later Southern Gujjars claimed to be of the Kshatriya race.

Chapter I THE NAR

Northern
Gurjjara
Kingdom.
Huen Tsiang's
Ku-che-lo,
A.D. 630

¹ Raja Puranmal (Calc. Edition), V. 150, 155, Cunningham's Archaeological Survey, II. 5. Another but vaguer reference occurs about the end of the sixth century in Bana's *Sriharshacharita*, p. 274, quoted in *Ep. Ind.* I. 67ff, where Prabhakaravardhana of Harsha is the father of the great Sri Harshavardhana and to have waged war with several races of whom the Gujjars are one.

² Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I. 165 note 1.

³ Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey*, II. 71.

⁴ Beal's *Buddhist Records*, II. 270.

⁵ This identification was first made by the late Col. J. W. Watson I.S.C. *Ind. Ant.* VI. 63. Bhimmal or Bhilmal also called Siml, is an old town about thirty miles north east of Abu, north latitude 25° 1' east longitude 71° 11'. General Cunningham (*Ancient Geography of India*, 313) and Prof. or Beal (*Buddhist Records*, II. 270) identify Pi-lo-mo-lo with Balmer or Bidamara (north latitude 25° 10' east longitude 26° 0') in the Jodhpur State of West Rajputana. This identification is unsatisfactory. Balmer is a small town on the slope of a hill in an arid tract with no vestige of antiquity. Huen Tsiang notes that the produce of the soil and the manners of the people of Pi-lo-mo-lo resemble those of Surashtra. This description is unsuited to so arid a tract as surrounds Balmer, it would apply well to the fertile neighbourhood of Bhilmal or Bhimmal. Since it is closely associated with Jura that is Gujjara the Al-Buldan of the Arabs (A.D. 750, *Liliet's History*, I. 412) may be Bhilmal. A Jain writer (*Ind. Ant.* XIX. 233) mentions Bhilmal as the seat of king Bhimashena and as connected with the origin of the Gadhia coinage. The date Bhimmal in a M.S. of A.D. 906 (*Ditto*, page 35) suggests it was then a seat of learning under the Gurjjaras. The prince of Siml is mentioned (*Ris Milt*, I. 58).

twenty years the settlement as Kunbis in Khandesh of tribes of wandering Wanjara herdsmen and grain-carriers is an example of the change through which the Gujarāt Kanbis and the Deccan Kunbis passed in early historic times

Besides resembling them in appearance and in their skill both as husbandmen and as cattle-breeders the division of Gujarāt Kanbis into Lewa and Kadwa seems to correspond with the division of Mitha Gujars into Daba and Karad, with the Lewa origin of the East Khandesh Gujars, and with the Lawi tribe of Panjab Gujars. The fact that the head-quarters of the Lewa kanbis of Gujarāt is in the central section of the province known as the Charotar and formerly under Valabhi supports the view that the founder of Valabhi power was the chief leader of the Gujari tribe. That nearly a fourth of the whole Hindu population of Gujarat are Lewa and Kadwa Kanbis and that during the sixth seventh and eighth centuries three Gujari chiefs divided among them the sway of the entire province explain how the province of Gujarat came to take its name from the tribe of Gujars.¹

Chapter I THE NAME

Gujars

¹ Though the identification of the Valabhis as Gurjaras may not be certain, in inscriptions noted below both the Chavadas and the Solankis are called Gurjara kings. The Gurjara origin of either or of both these dynasties may be questioned. The name Gurjara king may imply no more than that they ruled the Gurjara country. At the same time it was under the Chavadas that Gujarat got its name. Though to Al Biruni (A.D. 1020) Gujarat still meant part of Rājputana, between A.D. 760 and 950 the name Gurjaras' land passed as far south as the territory connected with Anhilwāda and Vadnagara that is probably as far as the Mahi. As a Rāstrakuta copperplate of A.D. 885 (S. 810) (Ind. Ant. XIII. 69) brings the Konkan as far north as Variv on the Tapti the extension of the name Gujarāt to Lāta south of the Mahi seems to have taken place under Mūslim rule. This southern application is still somewhat incomplete. Even now the people of Surat both Hindus and Musalmans when they visit Pattan (Anhilwāda) and Ahmadabad speak of going to Gujarat, and the Ahmadābād section of the Nigari Brahmins still call their Surat caste-brethren by the name of Kunhanas that is of the Konkan.

CHAPTER II

ANCIENT DIVISIONS

Chapter II

ANANT
DIVISION
ANANT

From ancient times the present province of Gujarát consisted of three divisions Anartta, Surashtra, and Láta. Anartta seems to have been Northern Gujarat as its capital was Anandapura the modern Vadanagara or Chief City, which is also called Anarttapura¹. Both these names were in use even in the times of the Valabhi kings (A.D. 500-770)². According to the popular story in each of the four cycles or *yugas* Anandapura or Vadanagara had a different name. Channatkárapura in the first or Satya-yuga, Anarttapura in the second or Treta-yuga, Anandapura in the third or Dvápára-yuga, and Viddha-nagara or Vadanagar in the fourth or Káli-yuga. The first name is fabulous. The city does not seem to have ever been known by so strange a title. Of the two Anarttapura and Anandapura the former is the older name, while the latter may be its proper name or perhaps an adaptation of the older name to give the meaning City of Joy. The fourth Viddha-nagara meaning the old city is a Sanskritized form of the still current Vadanagar, the Old or Great City. In the Gírnár inscription of Kshatrapa Rudradáman (A.D. 150) the mention of Anartta and Suráshtra as separate provinces subject to the Pahlava viceroy of Junágadh agrees with the view that Anartta was part of Gujarát close to Káthiáwáda. In some Puránas Anartta appears as the name of the whole province including Suráshtra with its capital at the well known shrine of Dwáriká. In other passages Dwáriká and Prabhas are both mentioned as in Suráshtra which would seem to show that Suráshtra was then part of Anartta as Kathiavada is now part of Gujarát.

Surashtra the land of the Sus, afterwards Sanskritized into Surashtra the Goodly Land, preserves its name in Sorath the southern part of Káthiáwáda. The name appears as Surashtra in the Mahabharata and Panini's Ganapatha, in Rudradáman's (A.D. 150) and Skandagupta's (A.D. 456) Gírnár inscriptions, and in several Valabhi copper-plates. Its Prakrit form appears as Suratha in the Nálak inscription of Gotamiputra (A.D. 150) and in later Prakrit as Surathia in the Tirthakalpa of Jinapiabhásuri of the thirteenth or fourteenth century³. Its earliest foreign mention is perhaps Strabo's (A.D. 50- A.D. 20) Sarsosus and Phny's (A.D. 70) Oratura⁴. Ptolemy

¹ See *Prakharanda* (Junágadh Edict on), 11, 32, 35, 185, 230, 332, 542.

² *Al. Anantapur* (Indian Antiquary, VII 73, 77) dated Valabhi 330 and 337 A.D. (500) are both to the same donor who in the A.D. 643 grant is described as *Al. Anantapur* and in the A.D. 650 grant as originally of Anandapura.

³ *Al. Anantapur* (A.D. 650) grant as originally of Anandapura. In the *Al. Anantapur* is a lovely mountain named Ujjinto (Gírnár).

⁴ *Al. Anantapur* and *Al. Anantapur* (Strabo, II 252-253, Phny's Natural History, VI 20).

Chapter II.

ANCIENT
DIVISIONS.

Lāta.

the great Egyptian geographer (A D 150) and the Greek author of the *Periplus* (A D 210) both call it *Surastrene*¹ The Chinese pilgrim Hsuen Tsiang (A D 600-610) mentions *Valabhi* then large and famous and *Surāstia* as separate kingdoms²

Lāta is South Gujarāt from the Mahi to the Tāpti The name *Lāta* does not appear to be Sanskrit It has not been found in the *Mahābhārata* or other old Sanskrit works, or in the cave or other inscriptions before the third century A D, probably because the *Purānas* include in *Aparānta* the whole western seaboard south of the *Narbada* as far as *Goa* Still the name *Lāta* is old. Ptolemy (A D 150) uses the form *Lariko*³ apparently from the Sanskrit *Lītaka* *Vātsyāyana* in his *Kāma-Sūtra* of the third century A D calls it *Lāta*, describes it as situated to the west of *Mālwa*, and gives an account of several of the customs of its people⁴ In Sanskrit writings and inscriptions later than the third century the name is frequently found In the sixth century the great astronomer *Varāhamihira* mentions the country of *Lāta*, and the name also appears as *Lāta* in an *Ajarita* and in a *Mandasor* inscription of the fifth century⁵ It is common in the later inscriptions (A D 700-1200) of the *Chālukya* *Gujaia* and *Rāshtakūta* kings⁶ as well as in the writings of Arab travellers and historians between the eighth and twelfth centuries⁷

The name *Lāta* appears to be derived from some local tribe, perhaps the *Lattas*, who, as *l* and *l* are commonly used for each other, may possibly be the well known *Rāshtakūtas* since their great king *Amoghavarsha* (A D 851-879) calls the name of the dynasty *Ratta* *Lattalua* the original city of the *Rattas* of *Saundatt* and *Belgaum* may have been in *Lāta* and may have given its name to the country and to the dynasty⁸ In this connection it is interesting to note that the country between *Broach* and *Dhāi* in *Mālwa* in which are the towns of *Bāgh* and *Tānda* is still called *Ratha*

¹ Bertius' Ptolemy, VII 1, McCrindle's *Periplus*, 113 The *Periplus* details regarding *Indo Strythra*, *Surastrene*, and *Ujjun* are in agreement with the late date (A D 247) which Reinrud (*Indian Antiquary* of Dec 1879 pp 330-338) and Burnell (*S Ind Pal* 47 note 3) assign to its author

² Hsuen Tsiang's *Valabhi* kingdom was probably the same as the modern *Gohil* *Vila*, which *Jinaprabhāsuri* in his *Sātrajaya-kalpa* calls the *Valluka* *Visaa*

³ Bertius' Ptolemy, VII 1

⁴ *Vātsyāyana Sutra*, Chap II

⁵ *Arch Sur* of Western India, IV 127 The *Mandasor* inscription (A D 437-38) mentions silk weavers from *Lātavishaya* Fleet's *Corpus Ins Ind* III 80 The writer (*Ditto*, 84) describes *Lāta* as green hilled, pleasing with choice flower burdened trees, with temples *viharas* and assembly halls of the gods

⁶ *Ind Ant* XIII 157, 158, 163, 180, 188, 196, 199, 204

⁷ Elliot's *History*, I 378

⁸ Compare Lassen in *Ind Ant* XIV 325

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LEGENDS

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A'nartta the First
Purānic King of
Gujarāt.

THE oldest Purānic legend regarding Gujarāt appears to be that of the holy king Anartta son of S'aryāti and grandson of Manu. Anartta had a son named Revata, who from his capital at Kuśasthali or Dwārikā governed the country called Anartta. Revata had a hundred sons of whom the eldest was named Raivata or Kakudmi. Raivata had a daughter named Revatī who was married to Baladeva of Kuśasthali or Dwārikā, the elder brother of Krishna. Regarding Revatī's marriage with Baladeva the Purānic legends tell that Raivata went with his daughter to Brahmā in Brahma-loka to take his advice to whom he should give the girl in marriage. When Raivata arrived Brahmā was listening to music. As soon as the music was over Raivata asked Brahmā to find the girl a proper bridegroom. Brahmā told Raivata that during the time he had been waiting his kingdom had passed away, and that he had better marry his daughter to Baladeva, born of Vishnu, who was now ruler of Dwārikā¹. This story suggests that Raivata son of Anartta lost his kingdom and fled perhaps by sea. That after some time during which the Yādavas established themselves in the country, Raivata, called a son of Revata but probably a descendant as his proper name is Kakudmi, returned to his old territory and gave his daughter in marriage to one of the reigning Yādava dynasty, the Yādavas taking the girl as representing the dynasty that had preceded them. The story about Brahmā and the passing of ages seems invented to explain the long period that elapsed between the flight and the return.

The Yādavas
in Dwārikā.

The next Purānic legends relate to the establishment of the Yādava kingdom at Dwārikā. The founder and namegiver of the Yādava dynasty was Yadu of whose family the Purānas give very detailed information. The family seems to have split into several branches each taking its name from some prominent member, the chief of them being Vrishni, Kukkura, Bhoja, Sātvata, Andhaka, Madhu, Surasena, and Daśārha. Sātvata was thirty-seventh from Yadu and in his branch were born Devakī and Vasudeva, the parents of the great Yādava hero and god Krishna. It was in Krishna's time that the Yādavas had to leave their capital Mathurā and come to Dwārikā. This was the result of a joint invasion of Mathurā on one side by a

¹ The Vishnu Purāna (Anśa iv Chap. 1. Verse 19 to Chap. 11 Verse 2) gives the longest account of the legend. The Bhāgavata Purāna (Skanda ix. Chap. iii. Verse 16-36) gives almost the same account. The Matsya Purāna (Chap. xii Verse 22-24) dismisses the story in two verses. See also Harivaṃśa, X.

legendary Deccan hero Kálayavana and on the other by Jarásandha the powerful king of Magadha or Behar, who, to avenge the death of his brother-in-law¹ Kansa killed by Krishna in fulfilment of a prophecy, is said to have invaded the Yádava territory eighteen times

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The Yádavas

According to the story Kálayavana followed the fugitive Krishna and his companions as far as Suráshtra where in a mountain cave he was burnt by fire from the eye of the sleeping sage Muchakunda whom he had roused believing him to be his enemy Krishna. According to the Harivansa the fugitive Yádavas quitting Mathurá went to the Sindhu country and there established the city of Dwáriká on a convenient site on the sea shore making it their residence.² Local tradition says that the Yádavas conquered this part of the country by defeating the demons who held it.

The leading Yádava chief in Dwáriká was Ugrasena, and Ugrasena's three chief supporters were the families of Yadu, Bhoja, and Andhaka. As the entire peninsula of Káthiáwáda was subject to them the Yádavas used often to make pleasure excursions and pilgrimages to Prabhás and Gírnár. Krishna and Baladeva though not yet rulers held high positions and took part in almost all important matters. They were in specially close alliance with their paternal aunt's sons the Pándava brothers, kings of Hastinápura or Delhi. Of the two sets of cousins Krishna and Arjuna were on terms of the closest intimacy. Of one of Arjuna's visits to Káthiáwáda the Mahábhárata gives the following details. 'Arjuna after having visited other holy places arrived in Aparánta (the western seaboard) whence he went to Prabhás. Hearing of his arrival Krishna marched to Prabhás and gave Arjuna a hearty welcome. From Prabhás they came together to the Raivataka hill which Krishna had decorated and where he entertained his guest with music and dancing. From Gírnár they went to Dwáriká driving in a golden car. The city was adorned in honour of Arjuna, the streets were thronged with multitudes, and the members of the Vrishni, Bhoja, and Andhaka families met to honour Krishna's guest.'³

Some time after, against his elder brother Baladeva's desire, Krishna helped Arjuna to carry off Krishna's sister Subhadrá, with whom Arjuna had fallen in love at a fair in Gírnár of which the Mahábhárata gives the following description. 'A gathering of the Yádavas chiefly the Vrishnis and Andhakas took place near Raivataka. The hill and the country round were rich with fine rows of fruit trees and large mansions. There was much dancing singing and music. The princes of the Vrishni family were in handsome carriages glistening with gold. Hundreds and thousands of the people of Junágadh with their families attended on foot and in vehicles of various kinds. Baladeva with his wife Revatí moved about attended by many Gandharvas. Ugrasena was there with his thousand queens and musicians. Sámba and Pradyumna attended

¹ Compare Mahábh II 13,594ff. Jarásandha's sisters Asti and Prápti were married to Kansa.

² Hari vansa, XXXV - CXII. ³ Mahábhárata Ádiparva, chaps 218 - 221

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in holiday attire and looked like gods. Many Yádas and others were also present with their wives and musicians.

Some time after this gathering Subhadrá came to Gírnár to worship and Arjuna carried her off. Eventually Vasudeva and Baladeva consented and the runaways were married with due ceremony. The large fair still held in Mággh (February-March) in the west Gírnár valley near the modern temple of Bhavanáth is perhaps a relic of this great Yáda fair.

The Yáda occupation of Dwáriká was not free from trouble. When Krishna was at Hastinápura on the occasion of the Rájasyúya sacrifice performed by Yudhishthira, Sálva king of Mrittikāvati in the country of Saubha led an army against Dwáriká. He slew many of the Dwáriká garrison, plundered the city and withdrew unmolested. On his return Krishna learning of Sálva's invasion led an army against Sálva. The chiefs met near the sea shore and in a pitched battle Sálva was defeated and killed.¹ Family feuds brought Yáda supremacy in Dwáriká to a disastrous end. The final family struggle is said to have happened in the thirty-sixth year after the war of the Mahábhárata, somewhere on the south coast of Káthiáwáda near Prabhás or Somnáth Pátan the great place of Bráhmanical pilgrimage. On the occasion of an eclipse, in obedience to a proclamation issued by Krishna, the Yádas and their families went from Dwáriká to Prabhás in state well furnished with dainties, animal food and strong drink. One day on the sea shore the leading Yáda chiefs heated with wine began to dispute. They passed from words to blows. Krishna armed with an iron rod² struck every one he met, not even sparing his own sons. Many of the chiefs were killed. Baladeva fled to die in the forests and Krishna was slain by a hunter who mistook him for a deer. When he saw trouble was brewing Krishna had sent for Arjuna. Arjuna arrived to find Dwáriká desolate. Soon after Arjuna's arrival Vasudeva died and Arjuna performed the funeral ceremonies of Vasudeva. Baladeva and Krishna whose bodies he succeeded in recovering. When the funeral rites were completed Arjuna started for Indraprastha in Upper India with the few that were left of the Yáda families,

¹ Mahábhárata Vanaparva, Chap. XL. - XLIII. Skanda I. Mrittikāvati the capital of Sálva cannot be identified. The name of the country sounds like Svabhra in Pulastya's Gírnár inscription, which is apparently part of Charotar or South Ahmedabad. A trace of the old word perhaps remains in the river Sábhamati the modern Svabmati. The fact that Sálva passed from Mrittikāvati along the sea shore would seem to show that part of the seaboard south of the Mahi was included in Sálva's territory. Dr Bühler (Ind. Ant. VII. 263) described Pandit Bhagvanlál's reading of Svabhra as a bold conjecture. A further examination of the original convinced the Pandit that Svabhra was the right reading.

² The following is the legend of Krishna's iron fail. Certain Yáda youths hoping to raise a laugh at the expense of Visámitra and other sages who had come to Dwáriká presented to them Sámbar Krishna's son dressed as a woman by a witch child. The lads asked the sages to foretell to what the woman would give birth. The sages replied: 'The woman will give birth to an iron rod which will destroy the Yáda race.' Opposed to the sage's prophecy Sámbar produced an iron rod. To avoid the ill effects of the prophecy Linz Ugrasena had the rod ground to powder and cast the powder into the sea. The powder grew into the grass called *eraka* Typha elephantina. It was this grass which Krishna trod in his race and which in his hands turned into an iron fail. This *eraka* grass grows freely near the mouth of the Hiranyá river of Prabhás.

chiefly women. On the way in his passage through the Panchanada¹ or Panjab a body of Ābhīras attacked Arjuna with sticks and took several of Krishna's wives and the widows of the Andhaka Yādava chiefs. After Arjuna left it the deserted Dwārika was swallowed by the sea.²

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¹ This suggests that as in early times the Great Ran was hard to cross the way from Kathiāwāda to Indraprastha or Delhi was by Kachch and Sindh and from Sindh by Multan and the Lower Panjab. According to the Bhāgavat Purāṇa Krishna took the same route when he first came from Indraprastha to Dwārikā. On the other hand these details may support the view that the headquarters of the historic Krishna were in the Panjab.

² So far as is known neither Gujarāt nor Kathiāwāda contains any record older than the Gurnār rock inscription of about B.C. 210. The Great Kshatrapa Rudra Dāmarr's (A.D. 139) inscription on the same rock has a reference to the Maurya Rājā Chandragupta about B.C. 180. No local sign of Krishna or of his Yādavas remains.

In the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, XX, XXI and XXII Mr Hewitt has recently attempted to trace the history of Western India back to B.C. 3000 perhaps to as early as B.C. 6000. The evidence which makes so far reaching a past probable is the discovery of Indian indigo and muslin in Egyptian tombs of about B.C. 1700 (J. R. A. S. XX, 206), and the proof that a trade in teak and in Sindh or Indian muslins existed between Western India and the Euphrates mouth as far back as B.C. 3000 or even B.C. 4000 (J. R. A. S. XX, 336, 337 and XXI, 201). According to Mr Hewitt the evidence of the Hindu calendar carries the historical past of India into still remoter ages. The moon mansions and certain other details of the Hindu calendar seem to point to the Euphrates valley as the home of Hindu lunar astronomy. As in the Euphrates valley inscriptions of the Semitic king Sargon of Sippur prove that in B.C. 3750 moon worship was already antiquated (J. R. A. S. XXI, 325), and as the precession of the equinoxes points to about B.C. 4700 as the date of the introduction of the sun zodiac (Sayce's Hibbert Lectures, 398) the system of lunar mansions and months, if it came from the Euphrates valley, must have reached India before B.C. 4700. The trade records of the black-headed perhaps Dravidian-speaking Sumris of the Euphrates mouth prove so close relations with the peninsula of Sindh and Egypt as to make a similar connection with Western India probable as far back as B.C. 6000. (Compare Sayce's Hibbert Lectures, 33 J. R. A. S. XXI, 326.) Of the races of whose presence in Gujarāt and the neighbourhood Mr Hewitt finds traces the earliest is the same black-headed moon worshipping Sumri (Ditto). Next from Susiana in south east Persia, the possessors of a lunar-solar calendar and therefore not later than B.C. 1700 (J. R. A. S. XXI, 325, 327, 330), the trading Sus or Saus, in Hindu books known as Suvarnas, entered India by way of Baluchistan and settled at Patala in South Sindh (J. R. A. S. XXI, 209). With or soon after the Sus came from the north the cattle herding sun-worshipping Sakas (J. R. A. S. XXII, 332). The Sus and Sakas passed south and together settled in Surashtra and West Gujarāt. At a date which partly from evidence connected with the early Vedic hymns (J. R. A. S. XXII, 466) partly from the early Babylonian use of the Sanskrit Sindh for India (J. R. A. S. XXI, 309), Mr Hewitt holds cannot be later than B.C. 3000 northern Aryas entered Gujarāt and mixing with the Sus and Sakas as ascetics traders and soldiers carried the use of Sanskrit southwards (J. R. A. S. XX, 343). Of other races who held sway in Gujarāt the earliest perhaps about B.C. 2000 since their power was shattered by Parashurāma long before Mahābhārata times (J. R. A. S. XXI, 209, 266), were the snake worshipping perhaps Accadian (Ditto, 266) Haihayas now represented by the Gond and the Haihayas vassals the Vaidarbhas (Ditto, 209) a connection which is supported by trustworthy Central Indian Uruon or Gond tradition that they once held Gujarāt (Elliott's Races, N.W.P., I, 154). Next to the Haihayas and like them earlier than the Mahābhārata (say B.C. 1500-2000) Mr Hewitt would place the widespread un-Aryan Bhārats or Bhārgavs (J. R. A. S. XXI, 279, 282, 286) the conquerors of the Haihayas (Ditto, 288). In early Mahābhārata times (say between B.C. 1000 and 800, Ditto 197 and 209) the Bhārats were overcome by the very mixed race of the Bhojas and of Krishna's followers the Vrishnis (Ditto, 270). Perhaps about the same time the chariot-driving Gandharvas of Catch (Ditto, 273) joined the Sus and Sakas, together passed east to Kosala beyond Benares, and were there established in strength at the time of Gautama Buddha (B.C. 530) (Ditto). To the later Mahābhārata times, perhaps about B.C. 400 (Ditto, 197-271), Mr. Hewitt would assign the entrance into Gujarāt of the Ābhīras or Ahirs whom he identifies with the northern or

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Skythian Abārs Mr Hewitt finds the following places in Gujarāt associated with those early races Pātāla in South Sindh he (J R A S. XXI 209) considers the head quarters of the Sus and Sakas Another Su capital Prāgyotisha which is generally allotted to Bengal he would (XXI 206) identify with Broach With the Vaidarbhas the vassals of the Haihayas he associates Surparika, that is Sopara near Bassein, which he identifies (Ditto, 206) with the modern Surat on the Tapti He connects (Ditto, 266) the Baroda river Viśvāmītra and Vaidurga the hill Pāvāgad with the same tribe He finds a trace of the Bhārats in Baroda and in Bharati an old name of the river Mahi (Ditto, 286) and of the same race under their name Bhārgav in Broach (Ditto, 289) The traditional connection of the Bhojas with Dwārka is well established Finally Kārpāsika a Mahābhārata name for the shore of the Gulf of Cambay (Ditto, 209) may be connected with Kārvaṇ on the Narbada about twenty miles above Broach one of the holiest Shaiv places in India Though objection may be taken to certain of Mr Hewitt's identifications of Gujarāt places, and also to the extreme antiquity he would assign to the trade between India and the west and to the introduction of the system of lunar mansions, his comparison of sacred Hindu books with the calendar and ritual of early Babylonia is of much interest

CHAPTER IV.

MAURYAN AND GREEK RULE

(B C. 319-100)

After the destruction of the Yādavas a long blank occurs in the traditional history of Gujarāt. It is probable that from its seaboard position, for trade and other purposes, many foreigners settled in Kāthiāvāda and South Gujarāt, and that it is because of the foreign element that the Hindu Dharmasāstras consider Gujarāt a Mlecchīhṛa country and forbid visits to it except on pilgrimage.¹ The fact also that Aśoka (B C 230) the great Mauryan king and propagator of Buddhism chose, among the Buddhist Theras sent to various parts of his kingdom, a Yavana Thera named Dhamma-rakkhita as evangelist for the western seaboard,² possibly indicates a preponderating foreign element in these parts. It is further possible that these foreign settlers may have been rulers. In spite of these possibilities we have no traditions between the fall of the Yādavas and the rise of the Mauryas in B.C. 319.

Gujarāt history dates from the rule of the Mauryan dynasty, the only early Indian dynasty the record of whose rule has been preserved in the writings of the Brāhmins, the Buddhists, and the Jains. This fulness of reference to the Mauryas admits of easy explanation. The Mauryas were a very powerful dynasty whose territory extended over the greater part of India. Again under Mauryan rule Buddhism was so actively propagated that the rulers made it their state religion, waging bloody wars, even revolutionizing many parts of the empire to secure its spread. Further the Mauryas were beneficent rulers and had also honourable alliances with foreign, especially with Greek and Egyptian, kings. These causes combined to make the Mauryans a most powerful and well remembered dynasty.

Inscriptions give reason to believe that the supremacy of Chandragupta, the founder of the Mauryan dynasty (B C 319), extended over Gujarāt. According to Rudradāman's inscription (A D 150) on the great edict rock at Girnar in Kāthiāvāda, a lake called Sudarśana³ near the edict rock was originally made by Pushyagupta of the Vaiśya caste, who is described as a brother-in-law of the Mauryan king Chandragupta.⁴ The language of this inscription leaves no doubt that Chandragupta's sway extended over

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¹ Mahābhārata Anuśāsanaparvan 2158-9 mentions Lāṭas among Kshatriya tribes who have become outcastes from seeing no Brāhmins. Again, Chap VII 72 in couples (J B I As Soc VI (1) 387) thievish Bihikas and robber Surāshtras. Compare Vishnu Purāna, II 37, where the Yavanas are placed to the west of Bhāratavarsha and also J R A S (N S) IV 468, and Brockhaus' Prabodha Chandrodaya, 87. The *ś'loka* referred to in the text runs: He who goes to Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Surāshtra, or Magadha unless it be for a pilgrimage deserves to go through a fresh purification.

² Turnour's Mahāvanso, 71.

³ Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society Journal, 1891, page 47.

⁴ It is interesting to note that Chandragupta married a Vaiśya lady. Similarly while at Sānchi on his way to Ujjain Aśoka married Devī, the daughter of a Setthi. Turnour's Mahāvanso, 76, Cunningham's Bhilsa Topes, 95.

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Girnár as Pushyagupta is simply called a Vaisya and a brother-in-law of king Chandragupta and has no royal attribute, particulars which tend to show that he was a local governor subordinate to king Chandragupta. The same inscription¹ states that in the time of Áśoka (B.C. 250) his officer Yavanarāja Tusháspa adorned the same Sudarśana lake with conduits. This would seem to prove the continuance of Mauryan rule in Girnár for three generations from Chandragupta to Áśoka. Tusháspa is called Yavanarāja. The use of the term *rāja* would seem to show that, unlike Chandragupta's Vaisya governor Pushyagupta, Tusháspa was a dignitary of high rank and noble family. That he is called Yavanarāja does not prove Tusháspa was a Greek, though for Greeks alone Yavana is the proper term. The name Tusháspa rather suggests a Persian origin from its close likeness in formation to Kershásp, a name still current among Bombay Pársis. Evidence from other sources proves that Áśoka held complete sway over Málwa, Gujarát, and the Konkan coast. All the rock edicts of Áśoka hitherto traced have been found on the confines of his great empire. On the north-west at Kapurdigiri and at Shahazgarhi in the Baktro-Páli character, in the north-north-west at Kálsi, in the east at Dhaul and Jaugada; in the west at Girnár and Sopára, and in the south in Máisur all in Maurya characters. The Girnár and Sopára edicts leave no doubt that the Gujarát, Káthiávada, and North Konkan seaboard was in Áśoka's possession. The fact that an inland ruler holds the coast implies his supremacy over the intervening country. Further it is known that Áśoka was viceroy of Málwa in the time of his father and that after his father's death he was sovereign of Málwa. The easy route from Mandasor (better known as Daśapur) to Dohad has always secured a close connection between Málwa and Gujarát. South Gujarát lies at the mercy of any invader entering by Dohad and the conquest of Káthiávada on one side and of Upper Gujarát on the other might follow in detail. As we know that Káthiávada and South Gujarát as far as Sopára were held by Áśoka it is not improbable that Upper Gujarát also owed his sway. The Maurya capital of Gujarát seems to have been Girinagara or Junágadh in Central Káthiávada, whose strong hill fort dominating the rich province of Sorath and whose lofty hills a centre of worship and a defence and retreat from invaders, combined to secure for Junágadh its continuance as capital under the Kshatrapas (A.D. 100-380) and their successors the Guptas (A.D. 380-460). The southern capital of the Mauryas seems to have been Sopára near Bassein in a rich country with a good and safe harbour for small vessels, probably in those times the chief centre of the Konkan and South Gujarát trade.

Buddhist and Jain records agree that Áśoka was succeeded, not by his son Kunála who was blind, but by his grandsons Daśaratha and Samprati. The Barábar hill near Gayá has caves made by Áśoka and bearing his inscriptions, and close to Barábar is the

¹ Probably from some mistake of the graver's the text of the inscription अशोकस्य ते यवनराजेन yields no meaning. Some word for governor or officer is apparently meant.

Nagajuna hill with caves made by Dasaratha also bearing his name. In one of the inscriptions the remark occurs that one of the Badami caves was made by Dasaratha 'installed name after'. As the cave in the neighbouring hill must have been well known to have been made by Asokatha 'after' name can after Asoka or the 'after' may refer solely to the reference between Dasaratha's installation and his excavation of the cave. In any case it is probable that Dasaratha was Asoka's successor, Jambaveera's possessor Dasaratha and say that Asoka was succeeded by his grand-son Samprati the son of Kunada. In the matter of the propagation of the Jain faith Jain records speak a bundle of Samprati's. Buddhist records speak of Asoka's. Almost all Jain temples or monuments, whose builders are mentioned are credited to Samprati who is said to have built the great temple at Ashtavakra and to have ruled thousands of years. In the Padmapataśajjadinapaddha in the well known Jaina Acharya's writer gives a number of legendary and other stories of Padmapataśajjadinapaddha with Asoka in respect of the propagation of the faith in the Aryavastha the Acharya says: "In Padmapataśajjadinapaddha the great king Samprati son of Kunahabha of Bharata with a throne on the continent the great Ashtavakra who established a law for Sravastha even in non-Aryan countries." It is a lamp from this that after Asoka the Mauryan empire may have been divided into two, Dasaratha ruling Eastern India and Samprati, when Jain records specially mention as king of Ujjain, ruling Western India, where the Jain sect is specially strong. Though we have no specific information on the point, it is probable temporarily he held Malwa, that during the reign of Samprati Gujarat remained under Mauryan sway. With Samprati Mauryan rule in Gujarat seems to end. In later times (c. 500) trace of Mauryan chiefs appear in Malwa and in the North Konkan. The available details will be given in another chapter.

After Samprati, whose reign ended about B.C. 197, a blank of five centuries occurs in Gujrat history. The next available information shows traces of Baltran Greek sway over parts of Gujrat. In his description of Suristene or Surishtra the author of the *Periplus* (A.D. 249) says: 'In this part there are preserved even to this day, memorials of the expedition of Alexander, old temples, foundation of camps, and huge wells'.¹ As Alexander did not

¹ Hemachandra's *Parisīkṣita Parva* Merutunga's *Viśvavārtanī*

The texts are 'Kumbhāshwa trīḥayadabharatā ślopaḥ Paramārthaṇḍriyadeśyaḥ Pravaritāṣṭarāmaṇa vādhrah Saṃpratī Mahādyā Sahāḥayāt' meaning 'He was the great King Saṃpratī son of Kumbhā, sovereign of India of three continents, the great saint who had started monasteries for Jain priests even in non Aryan countries'.

² McCrindle's *Periplus* 116. The author of the *Periplus* calls the capital of Surastrene Minnagara. Pandit Bhigvanlal Bhargava has taken Minnagara to be a miswriting of Garmara, the form used for Girnar both in Rudradaman's (A.D. 150) rock inscription at Girnar (*Ptolemaei Corpus Ins. Ind.* III, 57) and by Vartha Mihira (A.D. 570) (*Brihat Samhitā*, XIV, 11). The mention of a Minnagara in Ptolemy's inland from Sorath and Moggolossium or Mangrol suggests that either Girnar or Junagadh was also known as Minnagara either after the Mina or after Men that is Memander. At the same time it is possible that Ptolemy's Aguinagara though much out of place may be Guinagara and that Ptolemy's Minnagara in the direction of Ujjain may be Mandasor.

Chapter IV.

THE GREEKS
B.C. 180-100

come so far south as Káthiáváda and as after Alexander's departure the Mauryas held Káthiáváda till about B.C. 197, it may be suggested that the temples, camps and wells referred to by the author of the *Periplus* were not memorials of the expedition of Alexander but remains of later Baktrian-Greek supremacy.

Demetrius, whom Justin calls the king of the Indians, is believed to have reigned from B.C. 190 to B.C. 165¹. On the authority of Apollodorus of Artamita Strabo (B.C. 50 - A.D. 20) names two Baktrian-Greek rulers who seem to have advanced far into inland India. He says 'The Greeks who occasioned the revolt of Baktria (from Syria B.C. 256) were so powerful by the fertility and advantages of the country that they became masters of Ariana and India. Their chiefs, particularly Menander, conquered more nations than Alexander. Those conquests were achieved partly by Menander and partly by Demetrius son of Euthydemus king of the Baktrians. They got possession not only of Pattalene but of the kingdoms of Saraostus and Sigerdís, which constitute the remainder of the coast.'² Pattalene is generally believed to be the old city of Pátál in Sindh (the modern Haidarábád), while the subsequent mention of Saraostus and Sigerdís as kingdoms which constitute the remainder of the coast, leaves almost no doubt that Saraostus is Suráshtra and Sigerdís is Ságáradvípa or Cutch. The joint mention of Menander (B.C. 126) and Demetrius (B.C. 190) may mean that Demetrius advanced into inland India to a certain point and that Menander passed further and took Sindh, Cutch, and Káthiáváda. The discovery in Cutch and Káthiáváda of coins of Baktrian kings supports the statements of Justin and Strabo. Dr Bhagvanlal's collecting of coins in Káthiáváda and Gujarát during nearly twenty-five years brought to light among Baktrian-Greek coins an obolus of Eucratides (B.C. 180-155), a few drachmæ of Menander (B.C. 126-110), many drachmæ and copper coins of Apollodotus (B.C. 110-100), but none of Demetrius. Eucratides was a contemporary of Demetrius. Still, as Eucratides became king of Baktria after Demetrius, his conquests, according to Strabo of a thousand cities to the east of the Indus, must be later than those of Demetrius.

As his coins are found in Káthiáváda Eucratides may either have advanced into Káthiáváda or the province may have come under his sway as lord of the neighbouring country of Sindh. Whether or not Eucratides conquered the province, he is the earliest Baktrian-Greek king whose coins have been found in Káthiáváda and Gujarát. The fact that the coins of Eucratides have been found in different parts of Káthiáváda and at different times seems to show that they were the currency of the province and were not merely imported either for trade or for ornament. It is to be noticed that these coins are all of the smallest value of the numerous coins issued by Eucratides. This may be explained by the fact that these small

¹ Justin's date is probably about A.D. 250. His work is a summary of the History of Trogus Pompeius about A.D. 1. Watson's Justin, 277, Wilson's Ariana Antiqua, 231.

² Hamilton and Falconer's Strabo, II 252-253.

coins were introduced by Eucratides into Káthiáváda to be in keeping with the existing local coinage. The local silver coins in use before the time of Eucratides are very small, weighing five to seven grains, and bear the Buddhist symbols of the Svastika, the Trident, and the Wheel. Another variety has been found weighing about four grains with a misshapen elephant on the obverse and something like a circle on the reverse¹. It was probably to replace this poor currency that Eucratides introduced his smallest obolus of less weight but better workmanship.

The end of the reign of Eucratides is not fixed with certainty; it is believed to be about B.C. 155². For the two Bactrian-Greek kings Menander and Apollodotus who ruled in Káthiáváda after Eucratides, better sources of information are available. As already noticed Strabo (A.D. 20) mentions that Menander's conquests (B.C. 120) included Cutch and Suráshtra³. And the author of the *Periplus* (A.D. 240) writes 'Up to the present day old drachmæ bearing the Greek inscriptions of Apollodotus and Menander are current in Barugaza (Broach)'⁴. Menander's silver drachmæ have been found in Káthiáváda and Southern Gujarát⁵. Though their number is small Menander's coins are comparatively less scarce than those of the earliest Kshatrapás Nahapána and Chashtana (A.D. 100-110). The distribution of Menander's coins suggests he was the first Bactrian-Greek king who resided in these parts and that the monuments of Alexander's times, camps, temples and wells, mentioned by the author of the *Periplus*⁶ were camps of Menander in Suráshtra. Wilson and Rochette have supposed Apollodotus to be the son and successor of Menander,⁷ while General Cunningham believes Apollodotus to be the predecessor of Menander⁸. Inferences from the coins of these two kings found in Gujarát and Káthiáváda support the view that Apollodotus was the successor of Menander. The coins of Apollodotus are found in much larger numbers than those of Menander and the workmanship of Apollodotus' coins appears to be of a gradually declining style. In the later coins the legend is at times undecipherable. It appears from this that for some time after Apollodotus until Nahapána's (A.D. 100) coins came into use, the chief local currency was debased coins struck after the type of the coins of Apollodotus. Their use as the type of coinage generally happens to the coins of the last king of a dynasty. The statement by the author of the *Periplus* that in his time (A.D. 240) the old drachmæ of Apollodotus and Menander were

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¹ These small local coins which were found in H&A. Co. 1877 were presented to the Bombay Asiatic Society by the Political Agent of Kathiawar and are in the Society's cabinet. Dr. Bhagvanlal found the two elephant coins in Junagadh.

² Wilson's *Asiana Antiqua*, 266. Gardner's *British Museum Catalogue*, 26, brings Eucratides to after B.C. 162.

³ See above page 15.

⁴ *McCulloch's Periplus*, 121.

⁵ The Bombay Asiatic Society possesses some specimens of these coins of bad workmanship found near Broach with the legend incorrect, probably struck by some local governor of Menander. They were also found in Junagadh.

⁶ *McCulloch's Periplus*, 115.

⁷ *Numismatic Chronicle* New Series, I, 57; Wilson's *Asiana Antiqua*, 266.

⁸ *Numismatic Chronicle* New Series, I, 59.

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current in Barugaza, seems to show that these drachmæ continued to circulate in Gujarát along with the coins of the Western Kshatrapas. The mention of Apollodotus before Menander by the author of the *Periplus* may either be accidental, or it may be due to the fact that when the author wrote fewer coins of Menander than of Apollodotus were in circulation.

The silver coins both of Menander and Apollodotus found in Gujarát and Káthiáwáda are of only one variety, round drachmæ. The reason that of their numerous large coins, tetradrachmæ didrachmæ and others, drachmæ alone have been found in Gujarát is probably the reason suggested for the introduction of the obolus of Eucratides, namely that the existing local currency was so poor that coins of small value could alone circulate. Still the fact that drachmæ came into use implies some improvement in the currency, chiefly in size. The drachmæ of both the kings are alike. The obverse of Menander's coins has in the middle a helmeted bust of the king and round it the Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Of the king the Saviour Menander. On the reverse is the figure of Athene Promachos surrounded by the Baktro-Páli legend Mahárájasa Trádátasa Menandrasa that is Of the Great king the Saviour Menander, and a monogram¹. The drachmæ of Apollodotus have on the obverse a bust with bare filleted head surrounded by the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ. Of the king the Saviour Apollodotus. Except in the legend the reverse with two varieties of monogram² is the same as the reverse of the drachmæ of Menander. The legend in Baktro-Páli character is Mahárájasa Rájátrájasa Apaladatasa that is Of the Great king the over-king of kings Apaladata. During his twenty-five years of coin-collecting Dr Bhagvánlál failed to secure a single copper coin of Menander either in Gujarát or in Káthiáwáda. Of the copper coins of Apollodotus a deposit was found in Junágadh, many of them well preserved³. These coins are of two varieties, one square the other round and large. Of the square coin the obverse has a standing Apollo with an arrow in the right hand and on the top and the two sides the Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ that is Of the King Saviour and Fatherlover Apollodotus. On the reverse is the tripod of Apollo with a monogram⁴ and the letter *dré* in Baktro-Páli on the left and the legend in Baktro-Páli characters Mahárájasa Trádátasa Apaladatasa. The round coin has also, on the obverse, a standing Apollo with an arrow in the right hand, behind is the same monogram as in the square coin and all round runs the Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ. On the reverse is the tripod of Apollo with on its right and left the letters *di* and *u* in Baktro-Páli and all round the Baktro Páli legend Mahárájasa Trádátasa Apaladatasa.

¹ Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, Plate XXII. Number 41. Gardner's *British Museum Catalogue*, Plate XI. Number 8.

² Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, Plate XXII. Number 66, shows one variety of this monogram.

³ These coins are said to have been found in 1882 by a cultivator in an earthen pot. Two of them were taken for Pandit Bhagvánlál and one for Mr Vajeshaukar Gaurishankar Naib Diván of Bhávnagar. The rest disappeared.

⁴ *Ariana Antiqua*, Plate XXII. Number 47.

CHAPTER V

THE KSHATRAPAS

(B C 70 - A D 308)

Chapter V

THE KSHATRAPAS,
B C 70 - A D 308

WITH the Kshatrapas (B C 70) begins a period of clearer light, and, at the same time, of increased importance, since, for more than three centuries, the Kshatrapas held sway over the greater part of Western India. Till recently this dynasty was known to orientlists as the Sâh dynasty a mistaken reading of the terminal of their names which in some rulers is Simha Lion and in others, as in Rudra Sena (A D 203-220) son of Rudra Simha, Sena Army.¹

The sway of the rulers who affix the title Kshatrapa to their names extended over two large parts of India, one in the north including the territory from the Kâbul valley to the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamnâ, the other in the west stretching from Ajmî in the north to the North Konkan in the south and from Malwa in the east to the Arabian

¹ Journal Bengal Asiatic Society (1837), 681, (1837), 351, (1838), 346, Thomas Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, I 425-435, II 81-94, Thomas in Journal Royal Asiatic Society (Old Series) XII 1-72, Wilson's Asiatic Antiquary, 405-413, Journal B B R A S VI 377, VII 392, Burgess Archaeological Report of Kathiâwar and Kachh 18-72, Journal B B R A S XII (Proceedings), XXIII Indian Antiquary, VI 1, X 221-227.

The dynasty of the Kshatrapas or Mahâkshatrapas of Saurâshtra was known to Prinsep (J R A S B VII-1 (1847), 351) to Thomas (J R A S F S XII 1-78) and to Newton (J R B B R A S IX 1-19) as the Sâh or Sâh kings. More recently, from the fact that the names of some of them end in Sena or army, the Kshatrapas have been called the Sena kings. The origin of the title Sâh is the ending *sâha*, that is *simha* lion, which belongs to the names of several of the kings. *Sâha* has been read either *sâh* or *sena* because of the practice of omitting from the die vowels which would fall on or above the top line of the legend and also of omitting the short vowels with the following *anusvâra*. Sâh is therefore a true reading of the writing on certain of the coins. That the form Sâh on these coins is not the correct form has been ascertained from stone inscriptions in which freedom from crowding makes possible the complete cutting of the above line marks. In stone inscriptions the ending is *sâha* lion. See Fleet's Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, III 36 note 1. Mr Fleet (Ditto) seems to suggest that with the proof of the incorrectness of the reading Sâh the evidence that the Kshatrapas were of Indo-Skythian origin ceases. This does not seem to follow. In addition to the Parthian title Kshatrapa, their northern coinage, and the use of the Saka (A D 78) era, now accepted as the accession of the great Kushân Kanishka, the evidence in the text shows that the line of Kâthiâvâda Kshatrapas starts from the foreigner Chushtâna (A D 130) whose predecessor Nahapana (A D 120) and his Saka son in law Ushavadatta are noted in Nasik inscriptions (Nasik Gazetteer, 538 and 621) as leaders of Sakas, Pahlavas, and Yavanas. Further as the limits of Ptolemy's (A D 150) Indo-Skythia (McCrindle, 136) agree very closely with the limits of the dominions of the then ruling Mahâkshatrapa Rudradâman (A D 150) it follows that Ptolemy or his informer believed Rudradâman to be an Indo-Skythian. There therefore seems no reasonable doubt that the Kshatrapas were foreigners. According to Cunningham (Num Chron VIII 231) they were Sakas who entered Gujarat from Sindh. The fact that the Kushân era (A D 78) was not adopted by the first two of the Western Kshatrapas, Chushtâna and Jayadâman, supports the view that they belonged to a wave of northerners earlier than the Kushân wave.

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THE KSHATRAPAS,
B C 70 - A D 398

The Name

Sea in the west. The former may be called the Northern the latter the Western Kshatrapas.

Besides is Kshatrapa, in the Prākṛit legends of coins and in inscriptions the title of these dynasties appears under three forms Chhatrapa,¹ Chhatraya,² and Khatapa.³ All these forms have the same meaning namely Lord or Protector of the warrior-race, the Sanskrit Kshatra-pa.⁴ It is to be noted that the title Kshatrapa appears nowhere as a title of any king or royal officer within the whole range of Sanskrit literature, or indeed on any inscription, coin, or other record of any Indian dynasty except the Northern and the Western Kshatrapas. According to Prinsep Kshatrapa is a Sanskritized form of Satrapa, a term familiar to the Greek history of ancient Persia and used for the prefect of a province under the Persian system of government. As Prinsep further observes Satrapa had probably the same meaning in Arama that Kshatrapa had in Sanskrit, the ruler feeder or patron of the *kshatra* or warrior class, the chief of a warlike tribe or clan.⁵ Prinsep further notes the Persian kings were often in need of such chiefs and as they entrusted the chiefs with the government of parts of their dominions the word came to mean a governor. So during the march which prevailed on the Skythian overthrow of Greek rule in Baktria⁶ (B C 160) several chiefs of Malaya, Pallava, Abhira, Meda, and other predatory tribes came from Baktria to Upper India, and each established for himself a principality or kingdom. Subsequently these chiefs appear to have assumed independent sovereignty. Still though they often call themselves *rajās* or kings with the title Kshatrapa or Mahakshatrapa, if any Baktrian king advanced towards their territories, they were probably ready to acknowledge him as Overlord. Another reason for believing these Kshatrapa chiefs to have been foreigners is that, while the names of the founders of Kshatrapa sovereignty are foreign, their inscriptions and coins show that soon after the establishment of their rule they became converts to one or other form of the Hindu religion and assumed Indian names.⁷

¹ The Taxila plate in Journal R. A. S. (New Series), IV 487, the Baktro Pāli on Nahapāna's coins also gives the form Chhatrapa.

² Chhatraya appears in an unpublished Kshatrapa inscription from Mathurā formerly (1858) in Pandit Bhagvānīlāl's possession.

³ Khatapa appears in the inscription of Nahapāna's minister at Junnar (Bombay Gazetteer, XVIII Pt III 167) and in some coins of the Northern Kshatrapa kings Pāgamasha, Rajavula, and Sudāsa found near Mathurā. Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, II Pl XLIV Figs 12, 20, 21.

⁴ Kshatrapampatti Kshatrapah.

⁵ Thomas' Prinsep, II 63 and 64.

⁶ Malaya or Malava, Pallava, Abhira, Meda or Meda, and Mihura or Mehr appear to be the leading warlike tribes who came to India under these chiefs. These tribes formed the Kshatras whose lords or Kshatrapas these chiefs were.

⁷ The explanation of the word Kshatrapa started by Prinsep and accepted by Pandit Bhagvānīlāl is of doubtful accuracy. The title is well known in Greek literature in the form *σατραπης*, and in the form Kshatrapāvan occurs twice (B C 520) in connection with the governors of Baktria and Arachosia in the great Behistan inscription of Darius (Rawlinson's Herodotus, I 329, Spiegel's Altpersische Keilinschriften, 24-26). The meaning of Kshatrapāvan in old Persian is not "protector of the Kshatra race" but "protector of the kingdom," for the word *kshatram* occurs in the inscriptions of the Achæmenids with the meaning of "kingship" or "kingdom" (Spiegel, Altpersische Keilinschriften, 215). As is well known Satrap was the official title of the ruler of a Persian province. That the name continued in use with the same meaning under the Greek kings of Baktria

C. 27. 1. 5
 2. 1. 1
 3. 1. 1
 4. 1. 1
 5. 1. 1

According to inscriptions and coins Northern Kshatrapa rule begins with king Maues about B.C. 70 and ends with the accession of the Kushan king Kanishka about A.D. 78. Maues probably belonged to the Saka tribe of Skythians. If the Maues of the coins may be identified with the Moga of the Taxila plate the date of king Patika in the Taxila plate shows that for about seventy-five years after the death of Maues the date of his accession continued to be the initial year of the dynasty. From their connexion with the Sakas, arriving in India during the reign of the Saka Maues and for nearly three quarters of a century accepting the Saka overlordship, the Kshatrapas, though as noted above their followers were chiefly Malayas, Pallavas, Abhiras, and Medas, appear to have themselves come to be called Sakas and the mention of Saka kings in Puranic and other records seems to refer to them. After lasting for about 150 years the rule of the Northern Kshatrapas seems to have merged in the empire of the great Kushan Kanishka (A.D. 78).

Though recently found inscriptions and coins show that the Kshatrapas ruled over important parts of India including even a share of the western seaboard, nothing is known regarding them from either Indian or foreign literary sources. What little information can be gleaned is from their own inscriptions and coins. Of the Northern Kshatrapas this information is imperfect and disconnected. It shows that they had probably three or four ruling branches, one in the Kabul valley, a second at Taxila near Attock on the North-West Panjab frontier, a third at Behat near Saharanpur or Delhi, and a fourth at Mathurá. The last two were perhaps subdivisions of one kingdom, but probably those at Kabul and at Taxila were distinct dynasties. An inscription found

(B.C. 270-100) is known from Strabo, who says (XI. 11) "the Greeks who held Baktria divided it into satrapies (*sarapanteias*) of which Aspionas and Touriva were taken from Lukratides (B.C. 180) by the Parthians." It is to be presumed that the Baktria-Greeks introduced the same arrangement into the provinces which they conquered in India. The earliest occurrence of the title in its Indian form is on the coins of a Rajabula or Ranjabula (Gardner, B. M. Cat. 67), whom his Greek legend makes use of the title "King of kings," and in his Indian legend calls him "The unconquered Chhatrapa." His adoption for the reverse of his coin of the Athenian *Protonarchos* type of Menander and Apollodotus Philopator connects Rajabula in time with those kings (B.C. 126-100) and we know from an inscription (Cun. Ind. Arch. Ep. XX. 18) that he reigned at Mathurá. He was probably a provincial ruler who became independent about B.C. 100 when the Greek kingdom broke up. It is a fact to show that Kshatrapa was originally a Persian title which was adopted by the Greeks and continued in use among their successors that it originally denoted a provincial governor, but that, when the Greek kingdom broke up and their provincial chiefs became independent, it continued in use as a royal title. That after the Greek era, even in Parthia, the title *Satrapes* does not necessarily imply subjection is proved by the use of the phrase *sarapanteis tou sarapanon* Satrap of Satrap, with the name of King of Kings in Gotarzes' Bactrian inscription of A.D. 60 (see also the Sixth Monarchy, 88 n. 2 and 260 n. 1—(A. M. T. J.)).

The identification of the Malayas or Malayas with a northern or Skythian tribe is in agreement with Alberuni (A.D. 1015), who, on the authority of the *Tab. Persica* (Sachau's Text, chap. 29 page 150-155) groups as northern tribes the Malayas, Sakas, Mallas, and Gurjars. In spite of this authority it seems better to identify the Mallas, Malayas, or Malayas with Alexander the Great's (B.C. 325) Mallor (Mallor) or Mallor (McCandless Alexander's Invasion of India, Note P). At the same time the importance of the Mallas in Vaisali (Bihar) and Tihari during the lifetime of Sakya Muni (B.C. 580) favours the view that these distinct tribes have borne the same or nearly the same

in Mathurá shows a connection either by marriage or by neighbourhood between the Behát and Mathurá branches. This is a Baktro-Páli inscription recording the gift of a stúpa by Nandasiríká daughter of Kshatrapa Rajavula and mother of Kharaosti Yuvarája. Kharaosti is the dynastic name of the prince, his personal name appears later in the inscription as Talama (Ptolemy?). From his dynastic name, whose crude form Kharaosta or Kharottha may be the origin of the Prakrit Chaharáta and the Sanskritised Kshaharáta, this Talama appears to be a descendant of the Kshatrapa Kharaosti whose coins found at Taxila call him Artaputa that is the son of Arta apparently the Parthian Ortus.

The same Baktro-Páli Mathurá inscription also mentions with special respect a Kshatrapa named Patika,¹ who, with the title of Kusulaka or Kozolon, ruled the Kábul valley with his capital first at Nagaraka and later at Taxila.

The same inscription further mentions that the stúpa was given while the Kshatrapa Sudása son of the Mahákshatrapa Rájavula was ruling at Mathura. The inference from the difference in the titles of the father and the son seems to be that Sudása was ruling in Mathurá as governor under his father who perhaps ruled in the neighbourhood of Delhi where many of his coins have been found. While the coins of Sudása have the legend in Nágari only, Rájavula's coins are of two varieties, one with the legend in Baktro-Páli and the other with the legend in Nágari, a fact tending to show that the father's territories stretched to the far north.

Though Kharaosti is mentioned as a Yuvarája or prince hen-apparent in the time of his maternal uncle Sudása, the inscription shows he had four children. It is curious that while the inscription mentions Nandasiríká as the mother of Kharaosti Yuvarája, nothing is said about her husband. Perhaps he was dead or something had happened to make Nandasiríká live at her father's home.

Another inscription of Sudása found by General Cunningham at Mathurá is in old Nágari character. Except that they have the distinctive and long continued Kshatrapa peculiarity of joining *ya* with other letters the characters of this inscription are of the same period as those of the inscriptions of the great Indo-Skythian or Kushán king Kanishka. This would seem to show that the conquest of Mathurá by Kanishka took place soon after the time of Kshatrapa Sudása. It therefore appears probable that Nahapána, the first Kshatrapa ruler of Gujarát and Káthiaváda, the letters of whose inscriptions are of exactly the same Kshatrapa type as those of Sudása, was a scion of the Kharaosti family, who, in this overthrow of kingdoms, went westwards conquering either on his own account or as a general sent by Kanishka. Nahapána's² advance seems to have lain through East Rajputána by Mandasor³

Chapter V.

NORTHERN
KSHATRAPAS,
B.C. 70 - A.D. 78.

WESTERN
KSHATRAPAS,
A.D. 70 - 398

¹ Patika was apparently the son of the Lunko Kujulako of the Taxila plate. Dowson in Jour. R. A. S. New Series IV 497 mistranslates the inscription and fails to make out the name Patika.

² Compare Specht Jour. Asiatique 1883 t II 325. According to Chinese writers about A.D. 20 Yen-kaio tchin-tai or Kadphises II conquered India (Thientchou) and there established generals who governed in the name of the Yuechi.

³ Pandit Bhagvánlal found two of his copper coins at Mandasor in 1884.

The old Nāgaī legend is the same in all

रजो क्षहरानस नहपानस

Rājō Kshaharāṭasa Nahapānasa

Of king Kshaharāṭa Nahapāna

The Chhaharāṭa of the former and the Kshaharāṭa of the latter are the same, the difference in the initial letter being merely dialectical. As mentioned above Kshaharata is the family name of Nahapāna's dynasty. It is worthy of note that though Nahapāna is not styled Kshatrapa in any of his coins the inscriptions of Ushavadāta at Nāsik repeatedly style him the Kshaharāṭa Kshatrapa Nahapana.¹

Ushavadāta was the son-in-law of Nahapāna being married to his daughter Dakhamitā or Dakshamitrā. Ushavadāta bears no royal title. He simply calls himself son of Dīnīka and son-in-law of Nahapāna, which shows that he owed his power and rank to his father-in-law a position regarded as derogatory in India, where no son of any royal dynasty would accept or take pride in greatness or influence obtained from a father-in-law.² Nāsik Inscription XIV shows that Ushavadāta was a Śaka. His name, as was first suggested by Dr. Bhau Daji, is Prakrit for Rishabhādatta. From the many charitable and publicly useful works mentioned in various Nāsik and Kārlē inscriptions, as made by him in places which apparently formed part of Nahapāna's dominions, Ushavadata appears to have been a high officer under Nahapāna. As Nahapāna seems to have had no son Ushavadāta's position as son-in-law would be one of special power and influence. Ushavadata's charitable acts and works of public utility are detailed in Nāsik Inscriptions X, XII and XIV. The charitable acts are the gift of three hundred thousand cows, of gold and of river-side steps at the Bārṇasa or Banās river near Abu in North Gujaraṭ, of sixteen villages to gods and Brāhmanas, the feeding of hundreds of thousands of Brāhmanas every year, the giving in marriage of eight wives to Brāhmanas at Prabhās in South Kāthiavada, the bestowing of thirty-two thousand cocoanut trees in Nanamgola or Nārgol village on the Thāna seaboard on the Charaka priesthoods of Pinditakāvada, Govardhana near Nāsik, Suvarnamukha, and Rāmatītha in Sopāraga or Sopāra on the Thāna coast, the giving of three hundred thousand cows and a village at Pushkara or Pokhar near Ajmir in East Rajputāna, making gifts to Brāhmanas at Chechina or Chuchan near Kelva-Māhim on the Thāna coast, and the gift of trees and 70,000 *kārshāpanas* or 2000 *suvarnas* to gods and Brāhmanas at Dahānu in Thāna. The public works executed by Ushavadāta include rest-houses and alms-houses at Bharu Kachha or Broach, at Daśapura or Mandasor in North Malwa, and gardens and wells at Govardhana and Sopāra, free ferries across the Ibā or Ambikā, the Pāiāda or Pāi, the Damanā or Damanganga, the Tāpi or Tāpti, the Karabenā or Kāveri, and the Dāhānukā or Dāhānu river. Waiting-places and steps were also built on both banks of each of these rivers. These charitable and public works of Ushavadāta savour much of the Brāhmanic religion. The only

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WESTERN
KSHATRAPAS,
A D 70-398

Ushavadāta,
A D 100-120.

¹ Bom. Gaz. XVI 571ff

² A well known Sanskrit saying is अशुरख्यातो धमाधमः. A man known through his father in law is the vilest of the vile.

Case: 17.

1, 2, 3

2. 471 814

1. *Chlorophyll a* (Chl *a*)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540 541 542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570 571 572 573 574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581 582 583 584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591 592 593 594 595 596 597 598 599 600 601 602 603 604 605 606 607 608 609 610 611 612 613 614 615 616 617 618 619 620 621 622 623 624 625 626 627 628 629 630 631 632 633 634 635 636 637 638 639 640 641 642 643 644 645 646 647 648 649 650 651 652 653 654 655 656 657 658 659 660 661 662 663 664 665 666 667 668 669 670 671 672 673 674 675 676 677 678 679 680 681 682 683 684 685 686 687 688 689 690 691 692 693 694 695 696 697 698 699 700 701 702 703 704 705 706 707 708 709 710 711 712 713 714 715 716 717 718 719 720 721 722 723 724 725 726 727 728 729 730 731 732 733 734 735 736 737 738 739 740 741 742 743 744 745 746 747 748 749 750 751 752 753 754 755 756 757 758 759 760 761 762 763 764 765 766 767 768 769 770 771 772 773 774 775 776 777 778 779 780 781 782 783 784 785 786 787 788 789 790 791 792 793 794 795 796 797 798 799 800 801 802 803 804 805 806 807 808 809 810 811 812 813 814 815 816 817 818 819 820 821 822 823 824 825 826 827 828 829 830 831 832 833 834 835 836 837 838 839 840 841 842 843 844 845 846 847 848 849 850 851 852 853 854 855 856 857 858 859 860 861 862 863 864 865 866 867 868 869 870 871 872 873 874 875 876 877 878 879 880 881 882 883 884 885 886 887 888 889 890 891 892 893 894 895 896 897 898 899 900 901 902 903 904 905 906 907 908 909 910 911 912 913 914 915 916 917 918 919 920 921 922 923 924 925 926 927 928 929 930 931 932 933 934 935 936 937 938 939 940 941 942 943 944 945 946 947 948 949 950 951 952 953 954 955 956 957 958 959 960 961 962 963 964 965 966 967 968 969 970 971 972 973 974 975 976 977 978 979 980 981 982 983 984 985 986 987 988 989 990 991 992 993 994 995 996 997 998 999 1000 1001 1002 1003 1004 1005 1006 1007 1008 1009 1010 1011 1012 1013 1014 1015 1016 1017 1018 1019 1020 1021 1022 1023 1024 1025 1026 1027 1028 1029 1030 1031 1032 1033 1034 1035 1036 1037 1038 1039 1040 1

100

Buddhist charities are the gift of a cave at Násik, of 3000 *Láishápanas* and eight thousand cocoanut trees for feeding and clothing monks living in the cave, and of a village near Kárlé in Poona for the support of the monks of the main Kárlé cave. Ushavadáta himself thus seems to have been a follower of the Bráhmancial faith. The Buddhist charities were probably made to meet the wishes of his wife whose father's religion the Buddhist wheel and the Bodhi tree on his copper coins prove to have been Buddhism. The large territory over which these charitable and public works of Ushavadáta spread gives an idea of the extent of Nabapána's rule. The gift of a village as far north as Pokhara near Ajmir would have been proof of dominion in those parts were it not for the fact that in the same inscription Ushavadáta mentions his success in assisting some local Kshatriyas. It is doubtful if the northern limits of Nabapána's dominions extended as far as Pokhar. The village may have been given during a brief conquest, since according to Hindu ideas no village given to Bráhmans can be resumed. The eastern boundary would seem to have been part of Malwa and the plain lands of Khándesh. Nasik and Poona, the southern boundary was somewhere about Bombay, and the western Káthiáwáda and the Arabian sea.

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Nahapana's exact date is hard to fix. Ushavadāta's Nasik cave Inscriptions X and XII, give the years 41 and 42; and an inscription of Nahapana's minister Ayāma at Junnar gives the year 46. The era is not mentioned. They are simply dated *vase Sk. varshe* that is in the year. Ushavadāta's Nasik Inscription XII records in the year 42 the gift of charities and the construction of public works which must have taken years to complete. If at that time Ushavadāta's age was 40 to 45, Nahapana who, as Inscription X shows, was living at that time, must have been some twenty years older than his son-in-law or say about 65. The Junnar inscription of his minister Ayāma which bears date 46 proves that Nahapana lived several years after the making of Ushavadāta's cave. The bust on one of his coins also shows that Nahapana attained a ripe old age.

Nahapána cannot have lived long after the year 46. His death may be fixed about the year 50 of the era to which the three years 41, 42, and 46 belong. He was probably about 75 years old when he died. Deducting 50 from 75 we get about 25 as Nahapána's age at the beginning of the era to which the years 41, 42, and 46 belong, a suitable age for an able prince with good resources and good advisers to have established a kingdom. It is therefore probable that the era marks Nahapána's conquest of Gujarát. As said above, Nahapána was probably considered to belong to the Saka tribe, and his son-in-law clearly calls himself a Saka. It may therefore be supposed that the era created by Nahapána on his conquest of Gujarát was at first simply called Varsha, that it afterwards came to be called Sakavarsha or Saka varshitara; and that finally, after various changes, to suit false current ideas, about the eleventh or twelfth century the people of the Deccan styled it Sahuvarsha Saka mixing it with current traditions regarding the great Sátavahana or Sahuvarhana king of Parthia. If, as mentioned above, Nahapána's conquest of Gujarát and the establishment of the era be taken to come close after the conquest of Mathurá by

Kanishka, the Gujarāt conquest and the era must come very shortly after the beginning of Kanishka's reign, since Kanishka conquered Mathurā early in his reign. As his Mathura inscriptions¹ give 5 as Kanishka's earliest date, he must have conquered Mathurā in the year 3 or 4 of his reign. Nahapāna's expedition to and conquest of Gujarāt was probably contemporary with or very closely subsequent to Kanishka's conquest of Mathurā. So two important eras seem to begin about four years apart, the one with Kanishka's reign in Upper India, the other with Nahapāna's reign in Western India. The difference being so small and both being eras of foreign conquerors, a Kushān and a Saka respectively, the two eras seem to have been subsequently confounded. Thus, according to Dr. Burnell, the Javanese Saka era is A D 74, that is Kanishka's era was introduced into Java, probably because Java has from early times been connected with the eastern parts of India where Kanishka's era was current. On the other hand the astrological works called Karana use the era beginning with A D 78 which we have taken to be the Western era started by Nahapāna. The use of the Saka era in Karana works dates from the time of the great Indian astronomer Varāha Mihira (A D 587). As Varāha Mihira lived and wrote his great work in Avanti or Malwa he naturally made use of the Saka era of Nahapāna, which was current in Malwa. Subsequent astronomers adopted the era used by the master Varāha Mihira. Under their influence Nahapāna's A D 78 era passed into use over the whole of Northern and Central India eclipsing Kanishka's A D 74 era. On these grounds it may be accepted that the dates in the Nāsik inscriptions of Ushavadata and in Ajāma's inscription at Junnar are in the era founded by Nahapāna on his conquest of Gujarāt and the West Deccan. This era was adopted by the Western Kshatrapa successors of Nahapāna and continued on their coins for nearly three centuries.²

Chapter V.

WESTERN
KSHATRAPAS,
A D 70 - 308
Nahapāna's
Era.

¹ Cunningham's Arch. Sur. III Plate 13 Inscriptions 2 and 3

² The author's only reason for supposing that two eras began between A D 70 and 80 seems to be the fact that the Javanese Saka era begins A D 74, while the Indian Saka era begins A D 78. It appears, however, from Lassen's Ind. Alt. II 1040 note 1, that the Javanese Saka era begins either in A D 74 or in A D 78. The author's own authority, Dr. Burnell (S. Ind. Pal. 72) while saying that the Javanese Saka era dates from A D 74, gives A D 80 as the epoch of the Saka era of the neighbouring island of Bali, thus supporting Raffles' explanation (Java, II 68) that the difference is due to the introduction into Java of the Muhammadan mode of reckoning during the past 300 years. The Javanese epoch of A D 74 cannot therefore be treated as an authority for assuming a genuine Indian era with this initial date. The era of Kanishka was used continuously down to its year 281 (Fergusson Hist. of Ind. Architecture, 740) and after that date we have numerous instances of the use of the S'akanripakāla or Sakakāla down to the familiar Saka of the present day. It seems much more likely that the parent of the modern Saka era was that of Kanishka, which remained in use for nearly three centuries, than that of Nahapāna, who so far as we know left no son, and whose era (if he founded one) probably expired when the Kshaharāta power was destroyed by the Andhrabhritas in the first half of the second century A D. We must therefore assume A D 78 to be the epoch of Kanishka's era. There remains the question whether Nahapāna dates by Kanishka's era, or uses his own regnal years. There is nothing improbable in the latter supposition, and we are not forced to suppose that Nahapāna was a feudatory of the Kushān kings. It has been shown above that the use of the title Kshatrapa does not necessarily imply a relation of inferiority. On the other hand (*pace* Oldenburg in Ind. Ant. X 218) the later Kshatrapas certainly seem to have used Kanishka's era, and Nahapāna and the Kushan dynasty seem to have been of the same race for Heraus, who was certainly a Kushān, apparently calls himself Saka on his coins (Gardner B. M. Cat. xlvii) and it is highly probable that Nahapāna, like his son-in-law Ushavadata, was a Saka. Further, the fact that Nahapāna does not call himself Mahārāja but Rāja goes to show that he was not a paramount sovereign. —(A. M. T. 1)

Chapter V

WESTERN
KSHATRAPAS,
A D 70-398

The Malava Era,
B C 56

The question arises why should not the dates on the Western Kshatrapa coins belong to the era which under the incorrect title of the Vikrama era is now current in Gujarat and Malva. Several recently found Málwa inscriptions almost prove that what is called the Vikrama era beginning with B C 56 was not started by any Vikramādi, but marks the institution of the tribal constitution of the Malavas.¹ Later the era came to be called either the era of the Málwa lords or Malava Kala that is the era of the Malavas. About the ninth century just as the Saka era became connected with the Śāhīyāna of Pūthān, this old Malava era became connected with the name of Vikramāditya, the great legendary king of Ujjain.

It might be supposed that the Málavas who gave its name to the Malava era were the kings of the country now called Malwa. But it is to be noted that no reference to the present Malwa under the name of Málavadeśa occurs in any Sanskrit work or record earlier than the second century after Christ. The original Sanskrit name of the country was Avanti. It came to be called Malava from the time the Malava tribe conquered it and settled in it, just as Kathiavāda and Mevāda came to be called after their Kathi and Meva or Meda conquerors. The Málavas, also called Málāyas,² seem like the Medis to be a foreign tribe, which, passing through Upper India conquered and settled in Central India during the first century before Christ. The mention in the Mudrārākshasa³ of a Malava king among five Upper Indian kings shows that in the time of the Mauryas (B C 300) a Malava kingdom existed in Upper India which after the decline of Maurya supremacy spread to Central India. By Nahapāna's time the Malavas seem to have moved eastwards towards Jampur, as Ushavadata defeated them in the neighbourhood of the Pushkai lake but the fact that the country round Ujjain was still known to Rudradāmanas Avanti, shows that the Málavas had not yet (A D 150) entered the district now known as Málava. This settlement and the change of name from Avanti to Malava probably took place in the weakness of the Kshatriyas towards the end of the third century A D. When they established their sway in Central India these Málavas or Málāyas like the ancient Yaudheyas (B C 100) and the Kathis till recent times (A D 1818) seem to have had a democratic constitution.⁴ Their political system seems to have proved unsuited to the conditions of a settled community. To put an end to dissensions the Malava tribe appears to have framed what the Mandasor inscription terms a *sthiti* or constitution in honour of which they began a new era.⁵ It may be asked, Why may not Nahapāna have been the head of the Malavas who under the new constitution became the first Malava sovereign and his reign-dates be those of

¹ Jour B B R A S XVI 378, Ind Ant XV 198, 201, XIII 126, Arch Sur X 33

² Cunningham's Arch Sur XIII 162. Cf. Kiehlhorn in Ind Ant XIX 205

³ Cunningham's Arch Sur X. 33-34. Numerous Western India inscriptions prove that *ya* and *ra* are often intermixed in Prākṛit

⁴ Vide Telang's Mudrārākshasa, 201. Mr. Telang gives several readings the best of which mean either the king of the Málava country or the king of the Malava tribe

⁵ Macmurilo (1818) notices the democratic constitution of the Kathis. Trans. Bom Lit Soc I 274

⁶ Compare Fleet's Corpus Ins Ind. III 87, 152, 158 from the (supremacy of) the tribal constitution of the Malavas. Prof. Kiehlhorn has however shown that the words of the inscription do not necessarily mean this. Ind. Ant XIX 56

the new Málava era? Against this we know from a Násik inscription of Ushavadáta¹ that Nahapána was not a Málava himself but an opponent of the Málavas as he sent Ushavadata to help a tribe of Kshatriyas called Uttamabhadras whom the Malavas had attacked. Further a chronological examination of the early ruling dynasties of Gujarat does not favour the identification of the Kshatrapa era with the Málava era. The available information regarding the three dynasties the Kshatrapas the Guptas and the Valabhis, is universally admitted to prove that they followed one another in chronological succession. The latest known Kshatrapa date is 310. Even after this we find the name of a later Kshatrapa king whose date is unknown but may be estimated at about 320. If we take this Kshatrapa 320 to be in the Vikrama Samvat, its equivalent is A D 264. In consequence of several new discoveries the epoch of the Gupta era has been finally settled to be A D 319. It is further settled that the first Gupta conqueror of Malwa and Gujarát was Chandragupta II² the date of his conquest of Malwa being Gupta 80 (A D 399). Counting the Kshatrapa dates in the Samvat era this gives a blank of $(399 - 264 =)$ 135 years between the latest Kshatrapa date and the date of Chandragupta's conquest of Gujarát to fill which we have absolutely no historical information. On the other hand in support of the view that the Kshatrapa era is the S'aka era the Káthiáwáda coins of the Gupta king Kumáragupta son of Chandragupta dated 100 Gupta closely resemble the coins of the latest Kshatrapa kings, the workmanship proving that the two styles of coin are close in point of time. Thus taking the Kshatrapa era to be the S'aka era the latest Kshatrapa date is $320 + 78 =$ A D 398, which is just the date (A D 399) of Chandragupta's conquest of Málwa and Gujarát. For these reasons, and in the absence of reasons to the contrary, it seems proper to take the dates in Ushavadáta's and Ayáma's inscriptions as in the era which began with Nahapána's conquest of Gujarát, namely the S'aka era whose initial date is A D 78.

After Nahapána's the earliest coins found in Gujarát are those of Chashtana. Chashtana's coins are an adaptation of Nahapána's coins. At the same time Chashtana's bust differs from the bust in Nahapána's coins. He wears a mustache, the cap is not grooved but plain, and the hair which reaches the neck is longer than Nahapána's hair. In one of Chashtana's coins found by Mr Justice Newton, the hair seems dressed in ringlets as in the coins of the Parthian king Phraates II. (B C 136 - 128)³. On the reverse instead of the thunderbolt and arrow as in Nahapána's coins, Chashtana's coins have symbols of the sun and moon in style much like the sun and moon symbols on the Parthian coins of Phraates II, the moon being a crescent and the sun represented by eleven rays shooting from a central beam. To the two on the reverse a third symbol seems to have been added consisting of two arches resting on a straight line, with a third arch over and between

Chapter V.

WESTERN
KSHATRAPAS,
A D 70-398

The Málava Era,
B C. 56

Kshatrapa II.
Chashtana,
A D 130.

¹ Inscription 10 lines 3-4. Bom. Gaz. XVI. 572

² Details are given below under the Guptas

³ Burgess' Archaeological Report of Káthiáwár and Cutch, 55, Numismata Orientalia, I Pl. II. fig. 8

Chapter V.

WHEELS
KSEATRAPAS,
A.D. 70-193

Chashtana's
Coins,
A.D. 100

the two arches and over the third arch an inverted semicircle. Below these symbols stretches a wavy or serpentine line.¹

The same symbol appears on the obverse of several very old medium-sized square copper coins found in Upper India. These coins Dr. Bhagánálál took to be coins of Aśoka. They have no legend on either side, and have a standing elephant on the obverse and a rampant lion on the reverse. As these are the symbols of Aśoka the elephant being found in his rock inscriptions and the lion in his pillar inscriptions, Dr. Bhagánálál held them to be coins of Aśoka. The arch symbol appears in these coins over the elephant on the obverse and near the lion on the reverse but in neither case with the underlying zigzag line.² So also a contemporary coin bearing in the Aśoka character the clear legend वज्रवक्त्र Vajrastaka shows the same symbol, with in addition a robed male figure of good design standing near the symbol saluting it with folded hands. The position of the figure Ariana Antiqua, Plate XV, Fig. 29, proves that the symbol was an object of worship. In Chashtana's coins we find this symbol between the sun and the moon, a position which suggests that the symbol represents the mythical mountain Mera, the three semicircular superimposed arches representing the peaks of the mountain and the crescent a *Siddha-siddhi* or *Siddhas'* seat, which Jaina works describe as crescent-shaped and situated over Mera. The collective idea of this symbol in the middle and the sun and moon on either side recalls the following śloka:

यद्यद्विचित्रं कुल्यद्दति सुखदं नन्दनं दूयतेन ।

यद्यद्व्यापनार्थं तदति दिनकरे नास्ति चोद्यमानः ।

यद्यद्वेन्दुनीलरत्नदिव्यगिरिणा वन्दे मेहदृष्टे ।

तावत् पुत्रयैत्रैः रुक्मवरिवृत्तौ जीवन्मोः प्रसादत ॥

Mayest thou by the favour of Sambhu live surmised by's sons' wishes and relations so long as the heavenly Gauges full of water flow without waves so long as the brilliant sun the protector of the universe shines in the sky and so long as the sub of diamond moon the lapis lazuli and sapphire remains on the top of Mera.

Dr. Bird's Kanheri copperplate has a verse with a similar meaning regarding the continuance of the glory of the relic shrine of one Pusitra, so long as Mera remains and rivers and the sea flow.³ The meaning of showing Mera and the sun and moon is thus clear. The underlying serpentine line apparently stands for the Jahnavī river or it may perhaps be a representation of the sea.⁴ The object of repre-

¹ The meaning of this symbol has not yet been made out. It is very old. We first find it on the punched coins of Malva and Gujarat regarded as the older image in India with on the serpentine line below, which seems to show that this line does not form part of the original symbol and has a distinct meaning.

² Compare Wilson's Ariana Antiqua, Plate XV, Fig. 29-30.

³ Cave Temple Inscriptions, Bombay Archaeological Survey, Extra Number (1881), 28.

⁴ Ariana Antiqua, Plate XV, Fig. 29. Some imaginary animals are shown under the serpentine line.

sending these symbols on coins may be that the coins may last as long as the sun, the moon, mount Meru, and the Ganges or ocean. Against this view it may be urged that the coins of the Buddhist kings of Kuninda (A.D. 100), largely found near Sahāranpur in the North-West Provinces, show the arch symbol with the Buddhist trident over it, the Bodhi tree with the railing by its side, and the serpentine line under both the tree and the symbol, the apparent meaning being that the symbol is a Buddhist shrine with the Bodhi tree and the river Nīrānjana of Buddha Gaya near it. The same symbol appears as a Buddhist shrine in Andhra coins¹ which make it larger with four rows of arches, a tree by its side, and instead of the zigzag base line a railing. This seems a different representation perhaps of the shrine of Mahābodhi at Buddha Gaya. These details seem to show that popular notions regarding the meaning of this symbol varied at different times.²

Such of the coins of Chashtāna as have on the reverse only the sun and the moon bear on the obverse in Baktrō-Pāli characters a legend of which the four letters रञ्जो जिमो Rāño jimo can alone be made out. An illegible Greek legend continues the Baktrō-Pāli legend. The legend on the reverse is in old Nāgarī character

राज्ञो क्षत्रपस यमोतिकपुत्र [सच] टनस.³

Rājño Kshatrapasa Ysamotikaputra(sa Cha)shitanasa.
Of the king Kshatrapa Chashtāna son of Ysamotika

The variety of Chashtāna's coins which has the arch symbol on the reverse, bears on the obverse only the Greek legend almost illegible and on the reverse the Baktrō-Pāli legend चटनस Chatanasa meaning Of Chashtāna and in continuation the Nāgarī legend

राज्ञोमहाक्षत्रपस यमोतिकपुत्रस चटनस

Rājño Mahakshatrapasa Ysamotikaputrasa Chashtānasa
Of the king the great Kshatrapa Chashtāna son of Ysamotika

The name Ysamotika is certainly not Indian but foreign apparently a corruption of some such form as Psamotika or Xamotika. Further the fact that Ysamotika is not called Kshatrapa or by any other title, would seem to show that he was an untitled man whose son somehow came to authority and obtained victory over these parts where (as his earlier coins with the sun and the moon show) he was at first called a Kshatrapa and afterwards (as his later coins with the third symbol show) a Mahakshatrapa or great Kshatrapa. We know nothing of any connection between Nahapāna and Chashtāna. Still it is clear that Chashtāna obtained a great part of the territory over which

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WESTERN
KSHATRAJAH,
A.D. 70-398.
Chashtāna's
Coins,
A.D. 130.

Chashtāna's
Father.

¹ Jour. B. B. R. A. Soc. XIII. 303.

² The variations noted in the text seem examples of the law that the later religion reads its own new meaning into early luck signs.

³ This letter रञ् in both is curiously formed and never used in Sanskrit. But it is clear and can be read without any doubt as रञ्. Pandit Bhagvānlāl thought that it was probably meant to stand as a new coined letter to represent the Greek Z which has nothing corresponding to it in Sanskrit. The same curiously formed letter appears in the third syllable in the coin of the fourth Kshatrapa king Dāmapūshtra.

Chapter V
 Early History
 of Gujarat
 1. Introduction
 2. Early History
 3. Early History
 4. Early History
 5. Early History

Nahapána previously held sway. Though Chashtana's coins and even the coins of his son and grandson bear no date, we have reason to believe they used a nameless era, of which the year 72 is given in the Junagadh inscription of Chashtana's grandson Rudradáman.¹ Though we have no means of ascertaining how many years Rudradáman had reigned before this 72 it seems probable that the beginning of the reign was at least several years earlier. Taking the previous period at seven years Rudráman's succession may be tentatively fixed at 65. Allowing twenty-five years for his father Jayadáman and his grandfather Chashtana (as they were father and son and the son it is supposed reigned for some years with his father²) Chashtana's conquest of Gujarat comes to about the year 40 which makes Chashtana contemporary with the latter part of Nahapána's life. Now the Tristanes whom Ptolemy mentions as having Ozene for his capital³ is on all hands admitted to be Chashtana and from what Ptolemy says it appears certain that his capital was Ujjain. Two of Chashtana's coins occur as far north as Ajmer. As the Chashtana coins in Dr. Gerson DaCunha's collection were found in Káthnaváda he must have ruled a huge stretch of country. The fact that in his earlier coins Chashtana is simply called a Kshatrapa and in his latter coins a Mahakshatrapa leads to the inference that his power was originally small. Chashtana was probably not subordinate to Nahapána but a contemporary of Nahapána originally when a simple Kshatrapa governing perhaps North Gujarát and Málwa. Nor was Chashtana a member of Nahapána's family as he is nowhere called Kshaharata which is the name of Nahapána's family. During the lifetime of Nahapána Chashtana's power would seem to have been established first over Ajmer and Mewad. Perhaps Chashtana may have been the chief of the Uttamabhadra Kshatriyas, whom, in the year 42, Ishavárita went to assist when they were besieged by the Malavas or Malavis;⁴ and it is possible that the Malavas being thus driven away Chashtana may have consolidated his power, taken possession of Málwa, and established his capital at Ujjain.

conquests seem to have been shortlived. Chashtana appears to have eventually taken Káthiaváda and as much of South Gujrat as belonged to Nahapáta probably as far south as the Narmada. Mevada, Malwa, North and South Gujrat and Káthiaváda would then be subject to him and justify the title Mahakshatrapa on his later coins.

The bulk of Chashtana's army seems to have consisted of the Mevas or Medas from whose early conquests and settlements in Central Rájpútana the province seems to have received its present name Mevada. If this supposition be correct an inference may be drawn regarding the origin of Chashtana. The Mathura inscription of Nandisraka, daughter of Kshatrapa Rajyabhi and mother of Khumisti Yuvnaja, mentions with respect a Mahakshatrapa Kuzulko Patika who is called in the inscription Mevaki that is of the Meva tribe. The inscription shows a relation between the Khumistis (to which tribe we have taken Kshaharita Nahapáta to belong) and Mevaki Patika perhaps in the nature of subordinate and overlord. It proves at least that the Khumistis held Patika in great honour and respect.

The Taxila plate shows that Patika was governor of Taxila during his father's lifetime. After his father's death when he became Mahakshatrapa, Patika's capital was Nagarika in the Jallahabid or Kabul valley. The conquest of these parts by the great Kushan or Indo-Skythian king Kanishka (A.D. 78) seems to have driven Patika's immediate successors southwards to Sindh where they may have established a kingdom. The Skythian kingdom mentioned by the author of the Periplus is stretching in his time as far south as the mouths of the Indus may be a relic of this kingdom. Some time after their establishment in Sindh Patika's successors may have sent Chashtana, either a younger member of the reigning house or a military officer, with an army of Mevas through Umarkot and the Great Ran to Central Rájpútana, in expedition which ended in the settlement of the Mevas and the change of the country's name to Mevada. Probably it was on account of their previous ancestral connection that Nahapáta sent Ushavadáta to help Chashtana in Mevada when besieged by his Máliwa neighbours. That Ushavadáta went to bathe and make gifts¹ at Pushkara proves that the scene of the Uttamabhadras' siege by the Malayas was in Mevada not far from Pushkara.

Chashtana is followed by an unbroken chain of successors all of the dynasty of which Chashtana was the founder. As the coins of Chashtana's successors bear dates and as each coin gives the name of the king and of his father they supply a complete chronological list of the Kshatrapa dynasty.

Of Chashtana's son and successor Jayadaman the coins are rare. Of three specimens found in Káthiaváda two are of silver and one of copper. Both the silver coins were found in Junágadh² but they are doubtful specimens as the legend is not complete. Like Chashtana's

Chapter V

WESTERN
KSHATRAPAS,
A.D. 70-398

The Mevas or
Medas

Kshatrapa III
Jayadaman,
A.D. 110-143

¹ See above page 25

² Of these coins Dr Bhagvānīlāl kept one in his own collection. He sent the other to General Cunningham. The Pandit found the copper coin in Amrich in 1863 and gave it to Dr Bhanu Dāsa.

Chapter V.

WESTERN
KSHATRAPAS,
A D 70-398.

Kshatrapa III.
Jayadaman,
A D 140-143.

coins they have a bust on the obverse and round the bust an incomplete and undecipherable Greek legend. The reverse has the sun and the moon and between them the arched symbol with the zigzag under-line. All round the symbols on the margin within a dotted line is the legend in Baktro-Pali and Devanāgarī. Only three letters रज्ञो छ ज्ञ of the Baktro-Pali legend can be made out. Of the Nāgarī legend seven letters राज्ञ क्षत्रपस ज्ञ Rājño Kshatrapasa Ja can be made out. The remaining four letters Dr Bhagvānlal read यदामस Yadamasa.¹ The copper coin which is very small and square has on the obverse in a circle a standing humped bull looking to the right and fronting an erect trident with an axe. In style the bull is much like the bull on the square hemidrachmæ of Apollodotus (n. 110-100). Round the bull within a dotted circle is the legend in Greek. It is unfortunate the legend is incomplete as the remaining letters which are in the Skythian-Greek style are clearer than the letters on any Kshatrapa coin hitherto found. The letters that are preserved are ΣΤΡΑΥ. The reverse has the usual moon and sun and between them the arched symbol without the zigzag under-line. All round within a dotted circle is the Nāgarī legend

राज्ञो क्षत्र पस] जयदामस.

Rājño Kshatrapa(sa) Jayadamaśa

Of the king Kshatrapa Jayadāman

Though the name is not given in any of these coins, the fact that Chashtana was Jayadāman's father has been determined from the genealogy in the Gunda inscription of Rudrasimha I the seventh Kshatrapa,² in the Jasdhan inscription of Rudrasena I the eighth Kshatrapa,³ and in the Junāgadh cave inscription⁴ of Rudradāman's son Rudrasimha. All these inscriptions and the coins of his son Rudradāman call Jayadāman Kshatrapa not Mahākshatrapa. This would seem to show either that he was a Kshatrapa or governor of Kāthiavāda under his father or that his father's territory and his rank as Mahākshatrapa suffered some reduction.⁵ The extreme rarity of his coins suggests that Jayadāman's reign was very short. It is worthy of note that while Zamotika and Chashtana are foreign names, the names of Jayadāman and all his successors with one exception⁶ are purely Indian.

Kshatrapa IV
Rudradāman,
A D 143-158.

Jayadāman was succeeded by his son Rudradāman who was probably the greatest of the Western Kshatrapas. His beautiful silver coins, in style much like those of Chashtana, are frequently found in Kāthiavāda. On the obverse is his bust in the same style of dress as Chashtana's and

¹ Except that the ज्ञ is much clearer the Nāgarī legend in the silver coin obtained for General Cunningham is equally bad, and the Baktro-Pali legend is wanting.

² Ind. Ant. X 157.

³ Journal B. B. R. A. Soc. VIII 234-5 and Ind. Ant. XII 328.

⁴ Dr Burgess' Archaeological Report of Kāthiavār and Cutch, 140.

⁵ The explanation of the reduction of Jayadāman's rank is probably to be found in the Nasik Inscription (No. 26) of Gautamīputra Śatakarni who claims to have conquered Śarāshtra, Kukura (in Rajputāna), Anūpa, Vidarbha (Berar), Akāra, and Avanti (Ujjain).

(A. M. T. J.) ⁶ See below page 39.

which are adapted from the type of Kanishka's coins¹ have on the obverse a standing robed male figure extending the protecting right hand of mercy. On the reverse is the figure of a standing Kārtika-sarm and round the figure the legend in Gupta characters of about the third century

योधेय गणस्य

Yāudheya Gṇasya

Of the Yaudheya tribe²

That the Guntūr inscription describes Rudradāman as the exterminator of 'the Yaudheyas' and not of any king of the Yaudheyas confirms the view that their constitution was tribal or democratic³

The style of the Yaudheya coins being an adaptation of the Kanishka type and their being found from Mathura to Sahāranpur where Kanishka ruled is a proof that the Yaudheyas wrested from the successors of Kanishka the greater part of the North-West Provinces. This is not to be understood to be the Yaudheyas' first conquest in India. They are known to be a very old tribe who after a temporary suppression by Kanishka must have again risen to power with the decline of Kushān rule under Kanishka's successors Huvi-shka (A.D. 100-123) or Vasudeva (A.D. 123-150) the latter of whom was a contemporary of Rudradāman⁴. It is probably to this increase of Yaudheya power that Rudradāman's inscription refers as making them arrogant and intractable. Their forcible extermination is not to be understood literally but in the Indian hyperbolic fashion.

The remark regarding the conquest of Sātākarn lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha is as follows: 'He who has obtained glory because he did not destroy Sātākarn the lord of the Dekhin, on account of there being no distance in relationship, though he twice really conquered him'⁵. As Sātākarn is a dynastic name applied to several of the Andhra kings, the question arises Which of the Sātākarns did Rudradāman twice defeat? Of the two Western India kings mentioned by Ptolemy one Thrastanes with his capital at Ozene or Ujjain⁶ has been identified with Chāshtrana, the other Sira Ptolemaios or Polemaios, with his royal seat at Buthana or Pathan,⁷ has been identified with the Pulumāyi Vāsisthaputra of the Nāsik cave inscriptions. These statements of

¹ Compare Gardner and Poole's Catalogue, Pl. XXVI Fig. 2 &c

² Another variety of their brass coins was found at Behat near Sahāranpur. Compare Thomas' Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, I Pl. IV Figs 11n 12n and Pl. XIX Figs 5, 6, 9. General Cunningham, in his recent work on *The Coins of Ancient India*, 75ff., describes three chief types, the Behat coins being the earliest and belonging to the first century B.C., the second type which is that described above is assigned to about A.D. 300, and the third type, with a six-headed figure on the obverse, is placed a little later. General Cunningham's identification of the Yaudheyas with the Juhva Rāyputs of the lower Sutlej, seems certain, Rudradāman would then have "uprooted" them when he acquired the province of Sauvira.

³ Mr. Fleet notices a later inscription of a *Mahādāja Mahāsendapati* "who has been set over" the 'Yaudheya gṇa or tribe' in the fort of Bhyān in Bharatpur. Ind. Ant. XIV 8, Corp. Insc. Ind. III 251ff. The Yaudheyas are also named among the tribes which submitted to Samudragupta. See Corp. Insc. Ind. III 8.

⁴ Huvi-shka's latest inscription bears date 45 that is A.D. 123 (Cunningham's Arch. Sur. III Pl. XV Number 8).

⁵ Ind. Ant. VII 262

⁶ McCrindle's Ptolemy, 162

⁷ McCrindle's Ptolemy, 175.

Chapter V.

WESTERN
KSHATRAPAS,
A.D. 70-398Kshatrapa IV.
Rudradaman,
A.D. 143-158.

Ptolemy seem to imply that Chashtana and Pulumáyī were contemporary kings reigning at Ujjain and Paithan. The evidence of their coins also shows that if not contemporaries Chashtana and Pulumáyī were not separated by any long interval. We know from the Nasik inscriptions and the Purānas that Pulumáyī was the successor of Gautamīputra Śatakarni and as Gautamīputra Śatakarni is mentioned as the exterminator of the Kshaharāta race (and the period of this extermination has already been shown to be almost immediately after Nahapāna's death), there is no objection to the view that Chashtana, who was the next Kshatrapa after Nahapāna, and Pulumáyī, who was the successor of Gautamīputra, were contemporaries. We have no positive evidence to determine who was the immediate successor of Pulumáyī, but the only king whose inscriptions are found in any number after Pulumáyī is Gautamīputra Yajña Śrī Śatakarni. His Kanheri inscription recording gifts made in his reign and his coin found among the relics of the Sopara stūpa built also in his reign prove that he held the North Konkan. The Sopara coin gives the name of the father of Yajñaśrī. Unfortunately the coin is much worn. Still the remains of the letters constituting the name are sufficient to show they must be read चतुरपन Chaturapana.¹ A king named Chaturapana is mentioned in one of the Nānāghāt inscriptions where like Pulumáyī he is called Vāsishthīputra and where the year 13 of his reign is referred to.² The letters of this inscription are almost coeval with those in Pulumáyī's inscriptions. The facts that he was called Vāsishthīputra and that he reigned at least thirteen years make it probable that Chaturapana was the brother and successor of Pulumáyī. Yajñaśrī would thus be the nephew and second in succession to Pulumáyī and the contemporary of Rudradāman the grandson of Chashtana, whom we have taken to be a contemporary of Pulumáyī. A further proof of this is afforded by Yajñaśrī's silver coin found in the Sopara stūpa. All other Andhra coins hitherto found are adapted from contemporary coins of Ujjain and the Central Provinces, the latter probably of the Śungas. But Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī Śatakarni's Sopara coin is the first silver coin struck on the type of Kshatrapa coins, it is in fact a clear adaptation of the type of the coins of Rudradāman himself which proves that the two kings were contemporaries and rivals. An idea of the 'not distant relationship' between Rudradāman and Yajñaśrī Śatakarni mentioned in Rudradāman's Gīrnār inscription, may be formed from a Kanheri inscription recording a gift by a minister named Satoraka which mentions that the queen of Vāsishthīputra Śatakarni was born in the Kārdamaka dynasty and was connected apparently on the maternal side with a Mahākshatrapa whose name is lost. If the proper name of the lost Vāsishthīputra be Chaturapana, his son Yajñaśrī Śatakarni would, through his mother being a Mahākshatrapa's granddaughter, be a relative of Rudradāman.

Rudradāman's other epithets seem to belong to the usual stock of

¹ Jour B B R A Soc XV 306

² Jour B B R A Soc XV 313, 314. See also Ind Ant XII 272, where Bühler suggests that the queen was a daughter of Rudradāman, and traces the syllables Rudradā in the Kanheri inscription.

Indian court epithets. He is said 'to have gained great fame by studying to the end, by remembering understanding and applying the great sciences such as grammar, polity, music, and logic.' Another epithet describes him as having 'obtained numerous garlands at the *Sayamvaras* of kings' daughters,' apparently meaning that he was chosen as husband by princesses at several *sayamvaras* or choice-marrriages a practice which seems to have been still in vogue in Rudradāman's time. As a test of the civilized character of his rule it may be noted that he is described as 'he who took, and kept to the end of his life, the vow to stop killing men except in battle.' Another epithet tells us that the embankment was built and the lake reconstructed by 'expending a great amount of money from his own treasury, without oppressing the people of the town and of the province by (exacting) taxes, forced labour, acts of affection (benevolences) and the like.'

As the Kshatriya year 60 (A D 138) has been taken to be the date of close of Chastana's reign, and as five years may be allowed for the short reign¹ of Jayadaman, the beginning of the reign of Rudradāman may be supposed to have been about the year 65 (A D 143). This Gurnār inscription gives 72 as the year in which Rudradāman was then reigning and it is far to suppose that he reigned probably up to 80. The conclusion is that Rudradāman ruled from A D 143 to 158².

Rudradāman was succeeded by his son Dāmīzada or Dāmīyadaśrī regarding whom all the information available is obtained from six coins obtained by Dr Bhagvānīd³. The workmanship of all six coins is good, after the type of Rudradāman's coins. On the obverse is a bust in the same style as Rudradāman's and round the bust is an illegible Greek legend. Like Rudradāman's coins these have no dates, a proof of their antiquity, as all later Kshatriya coins have dates in Nagārī numerals. The reverse has the usual sun and moon and between them the arched symbol with the zigzag under-line. Around them in three specimens is the following legend in old Nagārī.

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रदामपुत्रस⁴ राज्ञः क्षत्रपस दामायसडस

Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudradāmaputrasa Rājñah
Kshatrapasa Dāmāyasadasa

Of the king the Kshatriya Dāmāzad⁵ son of the king the
Kshatriya Rudradaman'

¹ See above page 31

² It seems doubtful whether the Pandit's estimate of fifteen years might not with advantage be increased. As his father's reign was so short Rudradāman probably succeeded when still young. The abundance of his coins points to a long reign and the scarcity of the coins both of his son Dāmīzada and of his grandson Jayadāman imply that neither of his successors reigned more than a few years. Jayadāman's earliest date is A D 178 (S 100). If five years are allowed to Jayadāman's father the end of Rudradāman's reign would be A D 173 (S 95) that is a reign of thirty years, no excessive term for a king who began to rule at a comparatively early age — (A M T I).

³ Two specimens of his coins were obtained by Mr Vajreshankar Gavrishankar Nāib Diwān of Bhivnagar, from Kāthiāwād, one of which he presented to the Pandit and lent the other for the purpose of description. The legend in both was legible but doubtful. A recent find in Kāthiāwād supplied four new specimens, two of them very good.

⁴ Apparently a mistake for रुद्रदाम्न पुत्रस

⁵ As in the case of Yamotika the father of Chastana, the variation रस for ज proves that at first रस and afterwards ज was used to represent the Greek Ζ.

Chapter V.

WESTERN
KSHATRAPIAS,
A D 70-398
Kshatriya IV.
Rudradāman,
A D 143-158

Kshatriya V.
Dāmīzada or
Dāmīyadaśrī,
A D 158-168.

that the sun has seven instead of twelve rays The legend is

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस दामजडस पुत्रस राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस जीवदामस

Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmajadasaputrasa Rājño
Mahākshatrapasa Jivadāmasa

Of the king the great Kshatrapa Jivadāman son of the
king the great Kshatrapa Dāmajada

Coin C though struck from a different die is closely like B both on the obverse and the reverse Neither the Greek legend nor the date is clear, though enough remains of the lower parts of the numerals to suggest the date 118 Coin D is in obverse closely like C The date 118 is clear On the reverse the legend and the symbols have been twice struck The same legend occurs twice, the second striking having obliterated the last letters of the legend which contained the name of the king whose coin it is

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस दामजडस पुत्रस

Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmajadasaputrasa.

Of the son of the king the great Kshatrapa Dāmājada

In these four specimens Dāmasī or Dāmājada is styled Mahākshatrapa, while in his own coins he is simply called Kshatrapa The explanation perhaps is that the known coins of Dāmasī or Dāmājada belong to the early part of his reign when he was subordinate to his father, and that he afterwards gained the title of Mahākshatrapa Some such explanation is necessary as the distinction between the titles Kshatrapa and Mahākshatrapa is always carefully preserved in the earlier Kshatrapa coins Except towards the close of the dynasty no ruler called Kshatrapa on his own coins is ever styled Mahākshatrapa on the coins of his son unless the father gained the more important title during his lifetime

The dates and the difference in the style of die used in coining A and in coining B, C, and D are worth noting as the earliest coin has the date 100 and C and D the third and fourth coins have 118 If Jivadāman's reign lasted eighteen years his coins would be common instead of very rare But we find between 102 and 118 numerous coins of Rudrasimha son of Rudradāman and paternal uncle of Jivadāman These facts and the difference between the style of A and the style of B, C, and D which are apparently imitated from the coins of Rudrasimha and have a face much older than the face in A, tend to show that soon after his accession Jivadāman was deposed by his uncle Rudrasimha, on whose death or defeat in 118, Jivadāman again rose to power

Rudrasimha the seventh Kshatrapa was the brother of Dāmajadaśrī Large numbers of his coins have been found Of thirty obtained by Dr Bhagvānlāl twenty have the following clearly cut dates 103, 106, 108, 109, 110, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, and 118 As the earliest year is 103 and the latest 118 it is probable that Rudrasimha deposed his nephew Jivadāman shortly after Jivadāman's accession Rudrasimha appears to have ruled fifteen years when power again passed to his nephew Jivadāman

Chapter V

WESTERN
KSHATRAPAS,
A D 70-398
Kshatrapa VI
Jivadāman,
A D 178

Kshatrapa VII
Rudrasimha I
A D 181-196

Chapter V

WESTERN
KSHATRAPASKshatrapa VII
Rudrasimha I
A.D. 181-196

The coins of Rudrasimha are of a beautiful type of good workmanship and with clear legends. The legend in old Nāgarī character reads :

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रदामपुत्रस राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रसिंहस

Rājño Mahākṣhatrapasa Rudradāmaputrasa Rājño
Mahākṣhatrapasa Rudrasimhasa

Of the king the great Kshatrapa Rudrasimha son of the
king the great Kshatrapa Rudradāma

Rudrasimha had also a copper coinage of which specimens are recorded from Malwa but not from Kāthiāvāda. Pandit Bhagvānlal had one specimen from Ujjain which has a bull on the obverse with the Greek legend round it and the date 117. The reverse seems to have held the entire legend of which only five letters रुद्रसिंहस (Rudrasimhasa) remain. This coin has been spoilt in cleaning.

To Rudrasimha's reign belongs the Gunda inscription carved on a stone found at the bottom of an unused well in the village of Gunda in Halār in North Kāthiāvāda.¹ It is in six well preserved lines of old Nāgarī letters of the Kshatrapa type. The writing records the digging and building of a well for public use on the borders of a village named Rasopadra by the commander-in-chief Rudrabhūti an Abhīra son of Senapati Bāpaka. The date is given both in words and in numerals as 103, 'in the year' of the king the Kshatrapa Svāmi Rudrasimha, apparently meaning in the year 103 during the reign of Rudrasimha. The genealogy given in the inscription is 1 Chashtana, 2 Jayadaman, 3 Rudradaman, 4 Rudrasimha, the order of succession being clearly defined by the text, which says that the fourth was the great grandson of the first, the grandson of the second, and the son of the third. It will be noted that Dāmajadaśri and Jīvadāmān the fifth and sixth Kshatrapas have been passed over in this genealogy probably because the inscription did not intend to give a complete genealogy but only to show the descent of Rudrasimha in the direct line.

Kshatrapa VIII
Rudrasena,
A.D. 203-220

The eighth Kshatrapa was Rudrasena, son of Rudrasimha, as is clearly mentioned in the legends on his coins. His coins like his father's are found in large numbers. Of forty in Dr Bhagvānlal's collection twenty-seven bear the following eleven² dates, 125, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 138, 140, 142. The coins are of the usual Kshatrapa type closely like Rudrasimha's coins. The Nāgarī legend reads

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रसिंहस पुत्रस राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रसेनस

Rājño Mahākṣhatrapasa Rudrasimhasa putrasa Rājño
Mahākṣhatrapasa Rudrasenasas

Of the king the great Kshatrapa Rudrasena son of the king
the great Kshatrapa Rudrasimha

Two copper coins square and smaller than the copper coins of

¹ This inscription which has now been placed for safe custody in the temple of Dwarakamath in Jamnagar, has been published by Dr Bühler in Ind. Ant. X 157-158, from a transcript by Acharya Vallabji Handatta. Dr Bhagvānlal held that the date is 103 *trinita-rasate* not 102 *devattara-asate* as read by Dr Bühler, that the name of the father of the donor is Bāpaka and not Bāhaka, and that the name of the *nakṣatra* or constellation is Rohini not Śrāvastī.

² Several coins have the same date.

Rudrasimha have been found in Ujjain¹ though none are recorded from Kāthiāwāda. On their obverse these copper coins have a facing bull and on the back the usual symbols and below them the year 110, but no legend. Their date and their Kshatrapa style show that they are coins of Rudrasena.

Besides coins two inscriptions one at Mulhyāsar the other at Jasdan give information regarding Rudrasena. The Mulhyāsar inscription, now in the library at Dwārka ten miles south-west of Mulhyāsar, records the erection of an upright slab by the sons of one Vānjaka.² This inscription bears date 122, the fifth of the dark half of Vāshāṛikha in the year 122 during the reign of Rudrasimha.³ The Jasdan inscription, on a stone about five miles from Jasdan, belongs to the reign of this Kshatrapa. It is in six lines of old Kshatrapa Nāgarī characters shallow and dim with occasional engraver's mistakes, but on the whole well-preserved. The writing records the building of a pond by several brothers (names not given) of the *Manasa gotra* sons of Prānāthika and grandsons of Khara. The date is the 5th of the dark half of Bhādrapada 'in the year 126'. The genealogy is in the following order.

Mahākshatrapa Chishtana,
Kshatrapa Jivadāman
Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman.
Mahākshatrapa Rudrasimha
Mahākshatrapa Rudrasena

Each of them is called Svami Lord and Bhadrānnikha Lucky-faced.⁴ As Rudrasena's reign begins at least as early as 122, the second reign of Jivadāman is narrowed to four years or even less. As the latest date is 112 Rudrasena's reign must have lasted about twenty years.

After Rudrasena the next evidence on record is a coin of his son Prithvisena found near Amreli. Its workmanship is the same as that of Rudrasena's coins. It is dated 111 that is two years later than the last date on Rudrasena's coins. The legend runs

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रसेनस पुत्रस राज्ञः क्षत्रपस प्रथिवीसेनस

Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasenasa putrasa Rājñah
Kshatrapasa Prithivisenasa

Of the king the Kshatrapa Prithvisena son of the king
the great Kshatrapa Rudrasena

As this is the only known specimen of Prithvisena's coinage, as the earliest coin of Prithvisena's uncle the tenth Kshatrapa Sanghadāman is dated 114, and also as Prithvisena is called only Kshatrapa he seems to have reigned for a short time perhaps as Kshatrapa of Surāshtra or Kāthiāwāda and to have been ousted by his uncle Sanghadāman.

Rudrasena was succeeded by his brother the Mahākshatrapa Sanghadāman. His coins are very rare. Only two specimens have been

Chapter V.

WISTEN
KSHATRAPAS,
A D 70-108

Kshatrapa VIII
Rudrasena,
A D 207-220

Kshatrapa IX
Prithvisena,
A D 222

Kshatrapa X
Sanghadāman,
A D 222-226

¹ One is in the collection of the B B R A Society, the other belonged to the Pandit.

² An unpublished inscription found in 1865 by Mr Bhagyānli Sampatrin.

³ The top of the third numeral is broken. It may be 7 but is more likely to be 6.

⁴ The Jasdan inscription has been published by Dr Bhu Dāji, J B R A S VIII. 210ff, and by Dr Hearnle, Ind Ant XII 32ff.

Chapter V

WISTERN
KSHATRAPAS,
A D 70-798
Kshatrapa A
Sanghadāman,
A D 222-226

obtained, of which one was in the Pandit's collection the other in the collection of Mr Vajeshankar Gavrishankar.¹ They are dated 145 and 144. The legend in both reads

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रसिंहस पुत्रस राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस सघदान्न [:]

Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasimhasa putrasa Rājño
Mahākshatrapasa Sanghadāmana

Of the king the great Kshatrapa Sanghadāman son of the king
the great Kshatrapa Rudrasimha.

These two coins seem to belong to the beginning of Sanghadāman's reign. As the earliest coins of his successor Dāmasena are dated 148 Sanghadāman's reign seems not to have lasted over four years.²

¹ Five have recently been identified in the collection of Dr Gerson da Cunha

² His name, the fact that he regained the title Mahākshatrapa, and his date about A D 225 suggest that Sanghadāman (A D 222-226) may be the Sandanes whom the Periplus (McCrindle, 128) describes as taking the regular mart Kalyān near Bombay from Saraganes, that is the Dakhan Sātakarnis, and, to prevent it again becoming a place of trade, forbidding all Greek ships to visit Kalyān, and sending under a guard to Broach any Greek ships that even by accident entered its port. The following reasons seem conclusive against identifying Sanghadāman with Sandanes. (1) The abbreviation from Sanghadāman to Sandanes seems excessive in the case of the name of a well known ruler who lived within thirty years of the probable time (A D 247) when the writer of the Periplus visited Gujarat and the Konkan. (2) The date of Sanghadāman (A D 222-226) is twenty to thirty years too early for the probable collection of the Periplus details. (3) Apart from the date of the Periplus the apparent distinction in the writer's mind between Sandanes' capture of Kalyān and his own time implies a longer lapse than suits a reign of only four years.

In favour of the Sandanes of the Periplus being a dynastic not a personal name is its close correspondence both in form and in geographical position with Ptolemy's (A D 150) Sandanes, who gave their name, Ariake Sandinōn or the Sandins' Arin, to the North Konkan, and, according to McCrindle (Ptolemy, 39) in the time of Ptolemy ruled the prosperous trading communities that occupied the sea coast to about Somulla or Chaul. The details in the present text show that some few years before Ptolemy wrote the conquests of Rudradāman had brought the North Konkan under the Gujarat Kshatrapas. Similarly shortly before the probable date of the Periplus (A D 247) the fact that Sanghadāman and his successors Dāmasena (A D 226-236) and Vijayasena (A D 238-249) all used the title Mahākshatrapa makes their possession of the North Konkan probable. The available details of the Kāthiavāda Kshatrapas therefore confirm the view that the Sandans of Ptolemy and the Sandanes of the Periplus are the Gujarat Kshatrapas. The question remains how did the Greeks come to know the Kshatrapas by the name of Sandan or Sandan. The answer seems to be the word Sandan or Sandan is the Sanskrit *Sādhana* which according to Lassen (McCrindle's Ptolemy, 40) and Williams Sanskrit Dictionary may mean agent or representative and may therefore be an accurate rendering of Kshatrapa in the sense of Viceroy. Wilford (As Res IX 76, 198) notices that Sanskrit writers give the early English in India the title *Sadhan* *Engrez*. Thus Wilford would translate Lord but it seems rather meant for a rendering of the word Factor. Prof Bhāndarkar (Bom Gaz XIII 418 note 1) notices a tribe mentioned by the geographer Varāhamihira (A D 580) as *Sāntikas* and associated with the *Āparāntikas* or people of the west coast. He shows how according to the rules of letter changes the Sanskrit *Sāntika* would in Prakrit be *Sandino*. In his opinion it was this form *Sandino* which was familiar to Greek merchants and sailors. Prof Bhāndarkar holds that when (A D 100-110) the Kshatrapa Nahapāna displaced the *Sātavāhanas* or *Āndhrabhrtyas* the *Sāntikas* or *Sandino* became independent in the North Konkan and took Kalyān. To make their independence secure against the Kshatrapas they forbid intercourse between their own territory and the Dakhan and sent foreign ships to Barygaza. Against this explanation it is to be urged, (1) That *Nisik* and *Iunnar* inscriptions show Nahapāna supreme in the North Konkan at least up to A D 120, (2) That according to the Periplus the action taken by the Sandans or Sandans was not against the Kshatrapas but against the *Sātakarnis*, (3) That the action was not taken in the time of Nahapāna but at a later time, later not only than the first Gautamiputra the conqueror of Nahapāna or his son in law Ushavādita (A D 135), but later than the second Gautamiputra, who was defeated by the Kāthiavāda Kshatrapa Rudradāman some time before A D 150, (4) That if the *Sāntikas* were solely a North

THE KSHATRAPAS

Sanghadiman was succeeded by his brother Dāmasena, whose coins are fairly common, of good workmanship, and clear lettering. Of twenty-three specimens eleven have the following dates 118, 150, 153, 155, 156, 157, 158. The legend runs

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रसिंहस पुत्रस राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस दामसेनस
Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasimhasa putrasa Rājño
Mahākshatrapasa Dāmasenasas
Of the king the great Kshatriya Dāmasena son of the king
the great Kshatriya Rudrasimha

Dāmasena seems to have reigned ten years (118-158) as coins of his son Viradiman are found dated 158. Dāmājadasi the twelfth Kshatriya is styled son of Rudrasena probably the eighth Kshatriya. Dāmājadasi's coins are rare. The legend runs

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रमेनपुत्रस राज्ञ क्षत्रपस दामाजडश्रियः
Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasenaputrasa Rājñah Kshatrapasa
Dāmājadashriyah
Of the king the Kshatriya Dāmājadasi son of the king
the great Kshatriya Rudrasena

Five specimens, the only specimens on record, are dated 151. As 151 falls in the reign of Dāmasena it seems probable that Dāmājadasi was either a minor or a viceroy or perhaps a ruler claiming independence, as about this time the authority of the main dynasty seems to have been much disputed.

Konkan tribe they would neither wish nor be able to send foreign ships to Broach. The action described in the Periplus of refusing to let Greek ships enter Kalyan and of sending all such ships to Broach was the action of a Gujarati conqueror of Kalyan determined to make foreign trade centre in his own chief emporium Broach. The only possible lord of Gujarat either in the second or third century who can have adopted such a policy was the same ruler, who, to encourage foreign vessels to visit Broach had Kāthiyāda, the same ruler, who, to encourage native fishermen with well manned long boats (Metnulle's Periplus, 118, 119) stationed foreign vessels to visit Broach and off the south Kāthiyāda coast to meet ships and pilot them through the tidal and other dangers up the Narkada to Broach. It follows that the Sandanes of the Periplus and the Saka king Sadhana are the Gujarati Mahākshatrapas. The correctness of this identification of Kshatriya or representative of the Saka or Saka invaders, calls for a translation of Sadhan in the Bharatavarsa Vritti (I B B R A S IX 141 142), a note in date (A D 1001-1100) but with notable details of the Saka or Saka invaders, calls for a translation of Sadhan in the Bharatavarsa Vritti (I B B R A S IX 141 142), the Saka king Sadhana Smriti. If on this evidence it may be held that the Kshatriyas and origin had pressed out of the forms of many Puranic tribal and place names and Santhritizing as the explanation of the forms of many Puranic tribal and place names A further important result of this inquiry is to show that the received date of A D 70 for the Periplus cannot stand. Now that the Kanishka era and in Gujarat it follows that a writer who knows the elder and the younger Satavahana cannot be earlier than A D 150 and from the manner in which he refers to them must almost certainly be considerably later. This conclusion supports the date A D 247 which on other weighty grounds the French scholar Reinaud (Ind. Ant. Dec 1879 pp 330, 338) has assigned to the Periplus.

The Pandit's coin was obtained by him in 1863 from Amreli in Kathiyāda. A copy of it is given by Mr. Justice Newton who calls Sanghadiman son of Rudrasimha (Four B B R A S IX Pl I fig 7). The other specimen is better preserved. One of these coins was lent to the Pandit by Mr. Vajeshankar Gavrishankar

Chapter V

WISTEN
KSHATRAPAS,
A D 70-798
Kshatriya XI.
Dāmasena,
A D 226-236

Kshatriya XII
Dāmājadasi II
A D 236

Chapter V.

WESTERN
KSHATRAPAS,
A.D. 70-338

After Dāmasena we find coins of three of his sons Virādāman Yaśadāman and Vijayasena. Virādāman's coins are dated 158 and 163, Yaśadāman's 160 and 161, and Vijayasena's earliest 160. Of the three brothers Virādāman who is styled simply Kshatrapa probably held only a part of his father's dominions. The second brother Yaśadāman, who at first was a simple Kshatrapa, in 161 claims to be Mahākshatrapa. The third brother Vijayasena, who as early as 160, is styled Mahākshatrapa, probably defeated Yaśadāman and secured the supreme rule.

Kshatrapa XIII
Virādāman,
A.D. 236-258

Virādāman's coins are fairly common. Of twenty-six in Pandit Bhagvānlāl's collection, nineteen were found with a large number of his brother Vijayasena's coins. The legend reads—

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस दामसेनस पुत्रस राज्ञो क्षत्रपस वीरदाम्न

Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmasenasa putrasa Rājñah
Kshatrapasa Virādāmnah.

Of the king the Kshatrapa Virādāman son of the king
the great Kshatrapa Dāmasena,

Of the twenty-six ten are clearly dated, six with 158 and four with 160.

Kshatrapa XIV
Yaśadāman,
A.D. 239

Yaśadāman's coins are rare. Pandit Bhagvānlāl's collection contained seven.¹ The bust on the obverse is a good imitation of the bust on his father's coins. Still it is of inferior workmanship, and starts the practice which later Kshatrapas continued of copying their predecessor's image. On only two of the seven specimens are the dates clear, 160 and 161. The legend on the coin dated 160 is

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस दामसेनस पुत्रस राज्ञो क्षत्रपस यशदाम्न.

Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmasenasa putrasa Rājñah
Kshatrapasa Yaśadāmnah.

Of the king the great Kshatrapa Yaśadāman son of the
king the great Kshatrapa Dāmasena.

On the coin dated 161 the legend runs

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस दामसेनस पुत्रस राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस यशदाम्न.

Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmasenasa putrasa Rājño
Mahākshatrapasa Yaśadāmnah.

Of the king the great Kshatrapa Yaśadāman son of the
king the great Kshatrapa Dāmasena.

Kshatrapa XV
Vijayasena,
A.D. 238-249

Vijayasena's coins are common. As many as 167 were in the Pandit's collection. Almost all are of good workmanship, well preserved, and clearly lettered. On fifty-four of them the following dates can be clearly read, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 170, and 171. This would give Vijayasena a reign of at least eleven years from 160 to 171 (A.D. 238-249). The legend reads

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस दामसेनपुत्रस राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस विजयसेनस

Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmasenaputrasa Rājño
Mahākshatrapasa Vijayasenasa.

Of the king the great Kshatrapa Vijayasena son of the
king the great Kshatrapa Dāmasena.

¹ One specimen in the collection of Mr. Vajeshankar bears date 158.

In two good specimens of Vijayasena's coins with traces of the date 166 he is styled Kshatrapa. Thus the Pandit could not explain.¹

Vijayasena was succeeded by his brother Dámájadasrí III. called Mahákshatrapa on his coins. His coins which are comparatively uncommon are inferior in workmanship to the coins of Vijayasena. Of seven in the Pandit's collection three are dated 174, 175, and 176

After Dámájadasrí come coins of Rudrasena II son of Virádáman, the earliest of them bearing date 178. As the latest coins of Vijayasena are dated 171, 173 may be taken as the year of Dámájadasrí's succession. The end of his reign falls between 176 and 178, its probable length is about five years. The legend on his coins reads

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस दामसेनपुत्रस राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस दामाजडश्रिय.

Rājño Mahákshatrapasa Dāmasenaputrassa Rājño Mahákshatrapasa
Dámájadasríyah

Of the king the great Kshatrapa Dámájadasrí son of the king
the great Kshatrapa Dāmasena

Dámájadasrí III. was succeeded by Rudrasena II son of Dámájadasrí's brother Virádáman the thirteenth Kshatrapa. Rudrasena II's coins like Vijayasena's are found in great abundance. They are of inferior workmanship and inferior silver. Of eighty-four in Dr Bhagavánlal's collection eleven bore the following clear dates 178, 180, 183, 185, 186, 188, and 190. The earliest of 178 probably belongs to the beginning of Rudrasena's reign as the date 176 occurs on the latest coins of his predecessor. The earliest coins of his son and successor Visvasimha are dated 198. As Visvasimha's coins are of bad workmanship with doubtful legend and date we may take the end of Rudrasena II's reign to be somewhere between 190 and 198 or about 194. This date would give Rudrasena a reign of about sixteen years, a length of rule supported by the large number of his coins. The legend reads

राज्ञो क्षत्रपस वीरदामपुत्रस राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रसेनस

Rājño Kshatrapasa Virádāmaputrassa Rājño Maháksha-
trapasa Rudrasenassa

Of the king the great Kshatrapa Rudrasena son of the
king the Kshatrapa Virádāma

Rudrasena was succeeded by his son Visvasimha. In style and abundance Visvasimha's coins are on a par with his father's. They are carelessly struck with a bad die and in most the legend is faulty often omitting the date. Of fifty-six in the Pandit's collection only four bear legible dates, one with 198, two with 200, and one with 201. The date 201 must be of the end of Visvasimha's reign as a coin of his brother Bhattaridāman is dated 200. It may therefore be held that Visvasimha reigned for the six years ending 200 (A.D. 272-278). The legend reads

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रसेनपुत्रस राज्ञो क्षत्रपस विश्वसिंहस.

Rājño Mahákshatrapasa Rudrasenaputrassa Rājñah
Kshatrapasa Visvasimhassa

Of the king the Kshatrapa Visvasimha son of the king
the great Kshatrapa Rudrasena

Chapter V

WESTERN
KSHATRAPAS,
A D 70-398

Kshatrapa XVI
Dámájadasrí,
A D 250-255

Kshatrapa XVII
Rudrasena II
A D 256-272

Kshatrapa XVIII.
Visvasimha,
A D 272-278

¹ One of them was lent by Mr Vajeshankar Gavrishankar

Chapter V

VĪJAYASANA
KĠHATRAPAS,
A.D. 200-299

Planchet XIX.
Bhartridaman
A.D. 215-224

It is not known whether Viśaśmha's loss of title was due to his being subordinate to some overlord, or whether during his reign the Kshatrapas suffered defeat and loss of territory. The probable explanation seems to be that he began his reign in a subordinate position and afterwards rose to supreme rule.

Viśaśmha was succeeded by his brother Bhartridāman.¹ His coins which are found in large numbers are in style and workmanship inferior even to Viśaśmha's coins. Of forty-five in the Pandit's collection seven bear the dates 202, 207, 210, 211, and 214. As the earliest coin of his successor is dated 215, Bhartridāman's reign seems to have lasted about fourteen years from 202 to 216 (A.D. 273-294). Most of the coin legends style Bhartridāman Mahā-kshatrapa though in a few he is simply styled Kshatrapa. This would seem to show that like his brother Viśaśmha he began as a Kshatrapa and afterwards gained the rank and power of Mahā-kshatrapa.

In Bhartridāman's earlier coins the legend reads:

गङ्गा महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रासनाय गङ्गा क्षत्रपस मनुदानः

Rājā Mahā-kshatrapasa Rudrasanayasa Rājā
Kshatrapasa Bhartridāmaha

Of the king the Kshatrapa Bhartridāman son of the king
the great Kshatrapa Rudrasana

In the later coins the legend is the same except that महाक्षत्रपस the great Kshatrapa takes the place of क्षत्रपस the Kshatrapa

Planchet XX.
Viśaśmha
A.D. 295-299

Bhartridāman was succeeded by his son Viśaśmha the twentieth Kshatrapa. His coins are fairly common, and of bad workmanship, the legend imperfect and carelessly struck, the dates rarely dated. Of twenty-five in Dr. Bhagánál's collection, only three bear doubtful dates one 215 and two 222. The legend reads:

गङ्गा महाक्षत्रपस मनुदानाय गङ्गा क्षत्रपस विश्वसेनस,

Rājā Mahā-kshatrapasa Bhartridāmāyasa Rājā
Kshatrapasa Viśaśmhasa

Of the king the Kshatrapa Viśaśmha son of the king the
Mahā-kshatrapa Bhartridāman

It would seem from the lower title of Kshatrapa which we find given to Viśaśmha and to most of the later Kshatrapas that from about 220 (A.D. 295) the Kshatrapa dominion lost its importance

A hoard of coins found in 1861 near Karād on the Krishna, thirty-one miles south of Sāśra, suggests that the Kshatrapas retained the North Konkan and held a considerable share of the West Dakhan down to the time of Viśaśmha (A.D. 299). The hoard includes coins of the six following rulers. Viśaśmha (A.D. 295-299), his brother Dīnādīśī III. (A.D. 251-255), Rudrasana II. (A.D. 256-272) son of Viśaśmha, Viśaśmha (A.D. 272-278), son of Rudrasana, Bhartridāman (A.D. 278-294) son of Rudrasana II., and Viśaśmha (A.D. 296-299) son of Bhartridāman. It may be argued that this Karād hoard is of no historical value being the chance importation of some Gujarāt pilgrims to the Krishna. The following consideration favours the

¹ The coins of Bhartridāman are not found in the same quantity as those of Viśaśmha. See B. B. R. A. S. III 16

view that the contents of the hoard furnish evidence of the local rule of the kings whose coins have been found at Karád. The date (A.D. 238-249) of Vijayasena, the earliest king of the hoard, agrees well with the spread of Gujarát power in the Dakhan as it follows the overthrow both of the west (A.D. 180-200) and of the east (A.D. 220) Śátakarnis, while it precedes the establishment of any later west Dakhan dynasty. (2) All the kings whose coins occur in the hoard were Mahakshatrapas and from the details in the Periplus (A.D. 247), the earliest, Vijayasena, must have been a ruler of special wealth and power. (3) That the coins cease with Viśvasena (A.D. 296-300) is in accord with the fact that Viśvasena was the last of the direct line of Chashtana, and that with or before the close of Viśvasena's reign the power of the Gujarát Kshatrapas declined. The presumption that Kshatrapa power was at its height during the reigns of the kings whose coins have been found at Karád is strengthened by the discovery at Amrávati in the Berars of a hoard of coins of the Mahakshatrapa Rudrasena (II. ?) (A.D. 256-272) son of the Mahakshatrapa Dámájadásrí.¹

Whether the end of Chashtana's direct line was due to their conquest by some other dynasty or to the failure of heirs is doubtful. Whatever may have been the cause, after an interval of about seven years (A.D. 300-308) an entirely new king appears, Rudrasimha son of Jivadáman. As Rudrasimha's father Jivadáman is simply called Svámi he may have been some high officer under the Kshatrapa dynasty. That Rudrasimha is called a Kshatrapa may show that part of the Kshatrapa dominion which had been lost during the reign of Viśvasena was given to some distant member or scion of the Kshatrapa dynasty of the name of Rudrasimha. The occurrence of political changes is further shown by the fact that the coins of Rudrasimha are of a better type than those of the preceding Kshatrapas. Rudrasimha's coins are fairly common. Of twelve in Dr. Bhagvánlál's collection five are clearly dated, three 230, one 231, and one 240. This leaves a blank of seven years between the last date of Viśvasena and the earliest date of Rudrasimha. The legend reads

स्वामिजीवदामपुत्रस राज्ञ क्षत्रपस रुद्रसिंहस

Svámí Jivadáma putrasa Rajñah Kshatrapasa Rudrasimhasa.

Of the king the Kshatrapa Rudrasimha son of Svámí Jivadáman

Rudrasimha was succeeded by his son Yaśadáman whose coins are rather rare. Of three in Dr. Bhagvánlál's collection two are dated 239, apparently the first year of Yaśadáman's reign as his father's latest coins are dated 240. Like his father Yaśadáman is simply called Kshatrapa. The legend reads

राज्ञ क्षत्रपस रुद्रसिंहपुत्रस राज्ञ क्षत्रपस यशदाम्न

Rajñah Kshatrapasa Rudrasimhaputrasa Rajñah
Kshatrapasa Yasadámna

Of the king the Kshatrapa Yasadáman son of the
king the Kshatrapa Rudrasimha,

Chapter V

WESTERN

KSHATRAPAS,
A.D. 70-398

Kshatrapa XX.

Viśvasena,
A.D. 294-300

Kshatrapa XXI.

Rudrasimha,
A.D. 308-311

Kshatrapa XXII.

Yaśadáman,
A.D. 320.

¹ See below Chapter VI page 57.

Chapter V

WESTERN
KSHATRAPAS,
A D 70-329

Kshatrapa
XXIII
Damasiri,
A D 329

The coins found next after Yaśadāman's are those of Dāmasiri who was probably the brother of Yaśadāman as he is mentioned as the son of Rudrasimha. The date though not very clear is apparently 242. Only one coin of Dāmasiri's is recorded. In the style of face and in the form of letters it differs from the coins of Yaśadāman, with which except for the date and the identity of the father's name any close connection would seem doubtful. The legend on the coin of Dāmasiri reads

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रसिंहस पुत्रस राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस दामसिरिस.

Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasimhasaputrasa Rājño
Mahākshatrapasa Dāmasirisa.

Of the king the great Kshatrapa Damasiri son of the king the
great Kshatrapa Rudrasimha

It will be noted that in this coin both Rudrasimha and Dāmasiri are called great Kshatrapas, while in his own coin and in the coins of his son Yaśadāman, Rudrasimha is simply styled Kshatrapa. It is possible that Dāmasiri may have been more powerful than Yaśadāman and consequently taken to himself the title of Mahākshatrapa. The application of the more important title to a father who in life had not enjoyed the title is not an uncommon practice among the later Kshatrapas. The rarity of Dāmasiri's coins shows that his reign was short.

After Dāmasiri comes a blank of about thirty years. The next coin is dated 270. The fact that, contrary to what might have been expected, the coins of the later Kshatrapas are less common than those of the earlier Kshatrapas, seems to point to some great political change during the twenty-seven years ending 270 (A D 321-348).

Kshatrapa
XXIV,
Rudrasena,
A D 348-376

The coin dated 270 belongs to Svāmi Rudrasena son of Svāmi Rudradāman both of whom the legend styles Mahākshatrapas. The type of the coin dated 270 is clearly adapted from the type of the coins of Yaśadāman. Only two of Rudrasena's coins dated 270 are recorded. But later coins of the same Kshatrapa of a different style are found in large numbers. Of fifty-four in the Pandit's collection, twelve have the following dates 288, 290, 292, 293, 294, 296, and 298. The difference in the style of the two sets of coins and the blank between 270 and 288 leave no doubt that during those years some political change took place. Probably Rudrasena was for a time overthrown but again came to power in 288 and maintained his position till 298. Besides calling both himself and his father Mahākshatrapas Rudrasena adds to both the attribute Svāmi. As no coin of Rudrasena's father is recorded it seems probable the father was not an independent ruler and that the legend on Rudrasena's coins is a further instance of a son ennobling his father. The legend is the same both in the earlier coins of 270 and in the later coins ranging from 288 to 298. It reads

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस स्वामिरुद्रदामपुत्रस राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस स्वामिरुद्रेसेनस.

Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Svāmi Rudradāmaputrasa Rājño
Mahākshatrapasa Svāmi Rudrasenasa

Of the king the great Kshatrapa Svāmi Rudrasena son of the king
the great Kshatrapa Svāmi Rudradāman.

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After Rudrasena come coins of Kshatrapa Rudrasena son of Satyasena. These coins are fairly common. Of five in the Pandit's collection through faulty minting none are dated. General Cunningham mentions coins of Kshatrapa Rudrasena dated 300, 304, and 310.¹ This would seem to show that he was the successor of Rudrasena son of Rudradaman and that his reign extended to over 310. The legend on these coins runs.

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस स्वामिसत्यसेनपुत्रस राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस स्वामिरुद्रसेनस.
Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Svāmi Satyasenaputrasa Rājño
Mahākshatrapasa Svāmi Rudrasenasa

Of the king the great Kshatrapa Svāmi Rudrasena son
of the king the great Kshatrapa Svāmi Satyasena

Of Rudrasena's father Satyasena no coin is recorded and as this Rudrasena immediately succeeds Rudrasena IV son of Rudradaman, there is little doubt that Satyasena was not an actual ruler with the great title Mahākshatrapa, but that this was an honorific title given to the father when his son attained to sovereignty. General Cunningham records that a coin of this Rudrasena IV was found along with a coin of Chandragupta II in a *stūpa* at Sultānganj on the Ganges about fifteen miles south-east of Mongir.²

With Rudrasena IV. the evidence from coins comes almost to a close. Only one coin in Dr Bhagvánlāl's collection is clearly later than Rudrasena IV. In the form of the bust and the style of the legend on the reverse this specimen closely resembles the coins of Rudrasena IV. Unfortunately owing to imperfect stamping it bears no date. The legend reads.

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस स्वामि रुद्रसेनस राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस स्वस्तीयस्य स्वामिसिंहसेनस,
Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Svāmi Rudrasenasa Rājño Mahākshatrapasa
svasriyasya Svāmi Simhasenasa

Of the king the great Kshatrapa Svāmi Simhasenasa, sister's son of
the king the great Kshatrapa Svāmi Rudrasena

This legend would seem to show that Rudrasena IV left no issue and was succeeded by his nephew Simhasena. The extreme rarity of Simhasena's coins proves that his reign was very short.

The bust and the characters in one other coin show it to be of later date than Simhasena. Unfortunately the legend is not clear. Something like the letters राज्ञो क्षत्रपस राज्ञो क्षत्रपस may be traced in one place and something like पुत्रस स्कन्द Putrasa Skanda in another place. Dr Bhagvánlāl took this to be a Gujarāt Kshatrapa of unknown lineage from whom the Kshatrapa dominion passed to the Guptas.

Along with the coins of the regular Kshatrapas coins of a Kshatrapa of unknown lineage named Ísvaradatta have been found in Kāthiáváda. In general style, in the bust and the corrupt Greek legend on the obverse, and in the form of the old Nāgarī legend

Chapter V.

WESTERN
KSHATRAPAS,
A D 70-398
Kshatrapa XXV
Rudrasena,
A.D. 378-388.

Kshatrapa
XXVI
Simhasena

Kshatrapa
XXVII
Skanda

Ísvaradatta,
A D. 230-250.

¹ Cunningham's Arch Sur X 127, XV 29 30

² This coin of Rudrasena may have been taken so far from Gujarāt by the Gujarāt monk in whose honour the *stūpa* was built.

Chapter V

WESTERN
KSHATRAPAS,
A D 70-398

Kshatrapa
XXVIII
Íśvaradatta,
A.D. 230-250

on the reverse, Íśvaradatta's coins closely resemble those of the fifteenth Kshatrapa Vijayasena (A D 238-249) At the same time the text of the Nágari legend differs from that on the reverse of the Kshatrapa coins by omitting the name of the ruler's father and by showing in words Íśvaradatta's date in the year of his own reign The legend is

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस ईश्वरदत्तस वर्षे प्रथमे,

Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Íśvaradattasa varshe prathamē.

In the first year of the king the great Kshatrapa Íśvaradatta.

Most of the recorded coins of Íśvaradatta have this legend In one specimen the legend is

वर्षे द्वितीये.

Varshe dvitīye

In the second year

It is clear from this that Íśvaradatta's reign did not last long. His peculiar name and his separate date leave little doubt that he belonged to some distinct family of Kshatrapas The general style of his coins shows that he cannot have been a late Kshatrapa while the fact that he is called Mahākshatrapa seems to show he was an independent ruler No good evidence is available for fixing his date As already mentioned the workmanship of his coins brings him near to Vijayasena (A D 238-249) In Nāsik Cave X the letters of Inscription XV closely correspond with the letters of the legends on Kshatrapa coins, and probably belong to almost the same date as the inscription of Rudrādaman on the Gurnār rock that is to about A D 150 The absence of any record of the Andhras except the name of the king Madharīputa Sirsena or Sakasena (A D 180), makes it probable that after Yājñasrī Gautamīputra (A D 150) Andhra power waned along the Konkan and South Gujarāt seaboard According to the Purānas the Abhīras succeeded to the dominion of the Andhras It is therefore possible that the Abhīra king Íśvarasena of Nāsik Inscription XV. was one of the Abhīra conquerors of the Andhras who took from them the West Dakhan A migration of Abhīras from Ptolemy's Abiria in Upper Sindh through Sindh by sea to the Konkan and thence to Nāsik is within the range of possibility About fifty years later king Íśvaradatta¹ who was perhaps of the same family as the Abhīra king of the Nāsik inscription seems to have conquered the kingdom of Kshatrapa Vijayasena, adding Gujarāt, Kāthiāváda, and part of the Dakhan to his other territory In honour of this great conquest he may have taken the title Mahākshatrapa and struck coins in the Gujarāt Kshatrapa style but in an era reckoned from the date of his own conquest Íśvaradatta's success was shortlived Only two years later (that is about A D 252) the Mahākshatrapa Dāmājadasrī won back the lost Kshatrapa territory. The fact that Íśvaradatta's recorded coins belong to only two years and that the break between the regular

¹ Íśvaradatta's name ends in *datta* as does also that of Sivadatta the father of king Íśvarasena of the Nāsik inscription

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KSHATRAPAS,
A D 70-393.

Kshatrapas Vijayasena and Dāmāyadaśrī did not last more than two or three years gives support to this explanation.¹

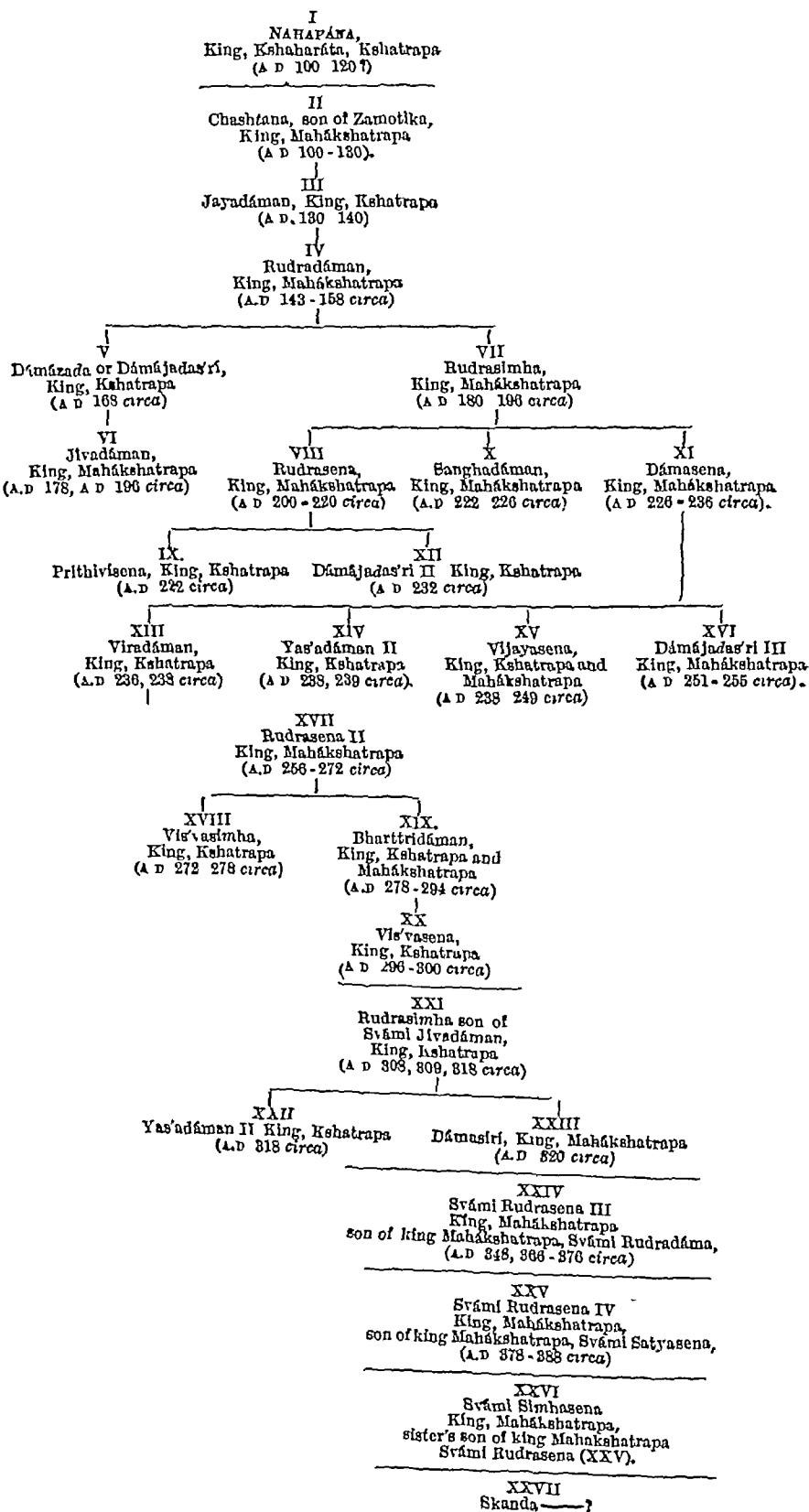
The following table gives the genealogy of the Western Kshatrapas

¹ Dr Bhaṅgīnīl's suggestion that Vijayasena (A D 238-249) was defeated by the Abhīra or Abhīra king Śvarādatta who entered Gujarat from the North Konkan seems open to question. First as regards the suggestion that Vijayasena was the Kshatrapa whose power Śvarādatta overthrew it is to be noticed that though the two coinless years (A D 249-251) between the last coin of Vijayasena and the earliest coin of Dāmāyadaśrī agree with the recorded length of Kshatrapa power between the reigns of coins is not in itself proof of a reverse or loss of Kshatrapa power between the reigns of Vijayasena and Dāmāyadaśrī. It is true the Pandit considers that Śvarādatta's coins closely resemble those of Vijayasena. At the same time he also (Nāsik Stat. Acct 624) thought them very similar to Virādāman's (A D 236-238) coins. Virādāman's date so immediately precedes Vijayasena's that in many respects their coins must be closely alike. It is to be noted that A D 270-275 the time of rival Kshatrapas among whom Virādāman was one (especially the time between A D 236 and 238 during which none of the rivals assumed the title Mahākshatrapa), and that this same invasion may have been the cause of the transfer of the capital, noted in the Periplus (A D 247) as having taken place some years before, from Oene or Ujjain to Munnigara or Junāgadh (McCrindle, 114, 122). On the other hand the fact that Vijayasena regained the title of Mahākshatrapa and handed it to his successor Dāmāyadaśrī III would seem to show that no reverse or humiliation occurred during the coinless years (A D 249-251) between their reigns, a supposition which is supported by the evidence that both the above Kshatrapas ruled near Karāḍ in Sātāp. At the same time if the difference between Virādāman's and Vijayasena's coins is sufficient to make it unlikely that Śvarādatta's overlordship may be of Virādāman's it seems possible that the year of Śvarādatta's coins bear the title Kshatrapa, and the year A D 244 (K 166) in which Vijayasena's coins bear the title Kshatrapa that the assumption of this lower title in the middle of a reign, which with this exception throughout claims the title Mahākshatrapa, may be due to the temporary necessity of acknowledging the supremacy of Śvarādatta. With reference to the Kshatrapa suggestion that Śvarādatta was an Abhīra the fact noted above of a trace of the Kshatrapa rule at Karāḍ thirty one miles south of Sātāp together with the fact that they held Aparānta or the Konkan makes it probable that they reached Karāḍ by Chiplān and the Kumbhīrā pass. That the Kshatrapas entered the Dakhan by so southerly a route instead of by some one of the more central Thāna passes, seems to imply the presence of some hostile power in Nāsik and Khāndesh. Thus after the close of the second century A D could hardly have been the Andhras' successors the Abhīras. As regards the suggestion that Kshatrapa Gujarat was overrun from the North Konkan it is to be noted that the evidence of connection between Śvarasena of the Nāsik inscription (Cave X No 15) and Śvarādatta of the coins is limited to a probable nearness in time and a somewhat slight similarity in name. On the other hand no inscription or other record points to Abhīra ascendancy in the North Konkan or South Gujarat. The presence of an Abhīra power in the second half of the third century. The position allotted to Aberia in the Periplus (McCrindle, 113) inland from Suristrene, apparently in the neighbourhood of Thar and Pārkar, the finding of Śvarādatta's coins in Kāthuvāda (Nāsik Gazetteer, XIII 624), and (perhaps between A D 230 and 240) the transfer westwards of the headquarters of the Kshatrapa kingdom seem all to point to the east rather than to the south, as the side from which Śvarādatta invaded Gujarat. At the same time the reference during the reign of Rudrasimha I (A D 181) to the Abhīra Rudrābhūti who like his father was Senāpati or Commander in Chief suggests that Śvarādatta may have been not a foreigner but a revolted general. This supposition, his assumption of the title Mahākshatrapa, and the finding of his coins only in Kāthuvāda to a certain extent confirm.

Chapter V

The Kshatrapa
Family Tree

THE WESTERN KSHATRAPAS.



CHAPTER VI. THE TRAIKÚTAKAS (A D 250-450)

Chapter VI.
TRAIKÚTAKAS,
A D 250-450
Two Plates.

THE materials regarding the Traikútakas, though meagre, serve to show that they were a powerful dynasty who rose to consequence about the time of the middle Kshatrapas (A.D. 250). All the recorded information is in two copperplates, one the Kanheri copperplate found by Dr Bird in 1839,¹ the other a copperplate found at Párdi near Balsár in 1885.² Both plates are dated, the Kanheri plate 'in the year two hundred and forty-five of the increasing rule of the Traikútakas', the Párdi plate in Samvat 207 clearly figured. The Kanheri plate contains nothing of historical importance, the Párdi plate gives the name of the donor as Dahrasena or Dharasena 'the illustrious great king of the Traikútakas'. Though it does not give any royal name the Kanheri plate expressly mentions the date as the year 245 of the increasing rule of the Traikútakas. The Párdi plate gives the name of the king as 'of the Traikútakas' but merely mentions the date as Sam 207. This date though not stated to be in the era of the Traikútakas must be taken to be dated in the same era as the Kanheri plate seeing that the style of the letters of both plates is very similar.

The initial date must therefore have been started by the founder of the dynasty and the Kanheri plate proves the dynasty must have lasted at least 245 years. The Párdi plate is one of the earliest copper-plate grants in India. Neither the genealogy nor even the usual three generations including the father and grandfather are given, nor like later plates does it contain a wealth of attributes. The king is called 'the great king of the Traikutakas', the performer of the *asvamedha* or horse-sacrifice, a distinction bespeaking a powerful sovereign. It may therefore be supposed that Dahrasena held South Gujarát to the Nerbáda together with part of the North Konkan and of the Ghát and Dakhan plateau.

What then was the initial date of the Traikútakas? Ten Gujarát copper-plates of the Gurjjaras and Chalukyas are dated in an unknown era with Sam followed by the date figures as in the Párdi plate and as in Gupta inscriptions. The earliest is the fragment from Sankhedá in the Baroda State dated Sam 346, which would fall in the reign of Dadda I of Broach.³ Next come the two Kaira grants of the Gurjjara king Dadda Prasántarága dated Sam 380 and Sam 385⁴, and the Sankhedá grant of Ranagraha dated Sam 391⁵, then the Kaira grant of the Chalukya king Vijayarája or Vijayavarman dated Samvatsara 394⁶, then the Bagumrá grant of the Sendraka chief Nikumbhalla-

Initial Date.

¹ Cave Temple Inscriptions, Bom. Arch Sur Sep Number XI page 57ff
² J B B R A S XVI 346
³ Epigraphia Indica, II 19
⁴ Ind Ant. XIII 81ff
⁵ Ep Ind II 20
⁶ Ind Ant. VII 248ff

Dr Bhandárkar (Early Hist of the Deccan, 42 note 7) has given reasons for believing this grant to be a forgery

Chapter VI
 TRAKHATAAS,
 A.D. 450-460
 Initial Date.

śakti¹, two grants from Navsāri and Surat of the Chalukya king Śīlāditya Sṛyāśraya dated 421 and 443²; two the Navsāri and Kāvi grants of the Gurjjara king Jayabhata dated respectively Samv. 456 and Samv. 486³; and a grant of Pulakesi dated Samvat 490.⁴

Of these the grant dated 421 speaks of Śīlāditya Sṛyāśraya as Yuvarāja or heir-apparent and as the son of Jayasimhavarman. The plate further shows that Jayasimhavarman was brother of Vikramāditya and son of Pulakesi Vallabha 'the conqueror of the northern king Harshavardhana'. The name Jayasimhavarman does not occur in any copperplate of the main line of the Western Chalukyas of the Dakhan. That he is called Mahārāja or great king and that his son Śīlāditya is called Yuvarāja or heir-apparent suggest that Jayasimhavarman was the founder of the Gujarāt branch of the Western Chalukyas and that his great Dakhan brother Vikramāditya was his overlord, a relation which would explain the mention of Vikramāditya in the genealogy of the copper-plate. Vikramāditya's reign ended in A.D. 650 (Saka 602).⁵ Supposing our grant to be dated in this last year of Vikramāditya, Samvat 421 should correspond to Saka 602, which gives Saka 161 or A.D. 250 as the initial date of the era in which the plate is dated. Probably the plate was dated earlier in the reign of Vikramāditya giving A.D. 250. In any case the era used cannot be the Gupta era whose initial year is now finally settled to be A.D. 319.

The second grant of the same Śīlāditya is dated Samvat 443. In it, both in an eulogistic verse at the beginning and in the text of the genealogy, Vinayāditya Satyāśraya Vallabha is mentioned as the paramount sovereign which proves that by Samvat 443 Vikramāditya had been succeeded by Vinayāditya. The reign of Vinayāditya has been fixed as lasting from Saka 602 to Saka 618 that is from A.D. 650 to A.D. 696-97.⁶ Taking Saka 615 or A.D. 693 to correspond with Samvat 443, the initial year of the era is A.D. 250.

The grant of Pulakesivallabha Janāśraya dated Samvat 490, mentions Mangalarasārāja as the donor's elder brother and as the son of Jayasimhavarman. And a Balsār grant whose donor is mentioned as Mangalarāja son of Jayasimhavarman, apparently the same as the Mangalarasārāja of the plate just mentioned, is dated Saka 653.⁷ Placing the elder brother about ten years before the younger we get Samvat 450 as the date of Mangalarāja, which, corresponding with Saka 653 or A.D. 730-31, gives A.D. 730 minus 480 that is A.D. 250-51 as the initial year of the era in which Pulakesi's grant is dated. In the Navsāri plates, which record a gift by the Gurjjara king Jayabhata in Samvat 456, Daśda II. the donor of the Kaira grants which bear date 380 and 385, is mentioned in the genealogical part at the beginning as 'protecting the lord of Valabhi who had been defeated by the great lord the illustrious Harshadeva.' Now the great Harshadeva or Harsha Vardhana of Kanauj whose court was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hsuen

¹ Ind. Ant. XVIII. 235C.

² J. B. B. E. A. S. XVI. 1E.; Trans. Vienna Or. Congress, 216E.

³ Ind. Ant. XIII. 70E. and V. 10E.

⁴ Flac. : Kāmarasa Dynasties, 27.

⁵ Ind. Ant. XIV. 75 and Jour. B. B. E. A. S. XVI. 1E.

⁶ Trans. Vienna Or. Congress, 216E.

⁷ Flac. : Kāmarasa Dynasties, 27.

Tring between A.D. 629 and 645, reigned according to Remaud from A.D. 607 to about A.D. 648. Taking A.D. 250 as the initial year of the era of the Kaira plates, Dadda II's dates 380 and 385, corresponding to A.D. 630 and 635, fall in the reign of Harshavardhana.

These considerations seem to show that the initial date of the Traikútaka era was at or about A.D. 250 which at once suggests its identity with the Chedi or Kalachuri era¹. The next question is, Who were these Traikútakas? The meaning of the title seems to be kings of Trikúta. Several references seem to point to the existence of a city named Trikúta on the western seaboard. In describing Raghu's triumphant progress the Rámáyana and the Raghuvamśa mention him as having established the city of Trikúta in Aparánta on the western seaboard². Trikútakam or Trikútam, a Sanskrit name for sea salt seems a reminiscence of the time when Trikúta was the emporium from which Konkan salt was distributed over the Dakhan. The scanty information regarding the territory ruled by the Traikutakas is in agreement with the suggestion that Junnar in North Poona was the probable site of their capital and that in the three ranges that encircle Junnar we have the origin of the term Trikúta or Three-Peaked.

Of the race or tribe of the Traikutakas nothing is known. The conjecture may be offered that they are a branch of the Abhíra kings of the Puráṇas, one of whom is mentioned in Inscription XV of Násik Cave X, which from the style of the letters belongs to about A.D. 150 to 200. The easy connection between Násik and Balsár by way of Peth (Peint) and the nearness in time between the Násik inscription and the initial date of the Traikutakas support this conjecture. The further suggestion may be offered that the founder of the line of Traikutakas was the Íśvaradatta, who, as noted in the Kshatrapa chapter, held the overlordship of Káthiaváda as Mahákshatrapa, perhaps during the two years A.D. 248 and 249, a result in close agreement with the conclusions drawn from the examination of the above quoted Traikútaka and Chalukya copperplates. As noted in the Kshatrapa chapter after two years' supremacy Íśvaradatta seems to have been defeated and regular Kshatrapa rule restored about A.D. 252 (K. 174) by Dámájadaśrí son of Vijayasena. The unbroken use of the title Mahákshatrapa, the moderate and uniform lengths of the reigns, and the apparently unquestioned successions suggest, what the discovery of Kshatrapa coins at Karád near Sátára in the Dakhan and at Amrávati in the Berárs seems to imply, that during the second half of the third century Kshatrapa rule was widespread and firmly established³. The conjecture may be offered that Rudrasena (A.D. 256-272) whose coins have been found in Amrávati in the Berárs spread his power at the expense of the Traikútakas driving them towards the Central Provinces where they established themselves at Tripura and Kálanjara⁴. Further that under Bráhma

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TRAIKUTAKAS,
A.D. 250-450

Initial Date

Their Race
or Tribe.

¹ Mr. Fleet (Corp. Ins. Ind. III. 9) and Sir A. Cunningham (Arch. Sur. IX. 77) agree in fixing A.D. 250 as the initial date of the Chedi era. Prof. Kielhorn has worked out the available dates and finds that the first year of the era corresponds to A.D. 249-50. Ind. Ant. XVII. 215.

² Válmiki's Rámáyana, Ganpat. Krishnaji's Edition, Raghuvamśa, IV. 59.

³ For details see above page 48.

⁴ Tripura four miles west of Jabalpur, Kálanjara 140 miles north of Jabalpur.

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TRAIKÚTAKAS,
A.D. 250-450.

Their Race
or Tribe

influence, just as the Gurjjaras called themselves descendants of Karna the hero of the Mahābhārata, and the Pallavas claimed to be of the Bhāradvāja stock, the Traikútakas forgot their Ābhīra origin and claimed descent from the Haihayas. Again as the Valabhis (A.D. 480-767) adopted the Gupta era but gave it their own name so the rulers of Tripura seem to have continued the original Traikúataka era of A.D. 248-9 under the name of the Chedi era. The decline of the Kshatrapas dates from about A.D. 300 the rule of Viśvasena the twentieth Kshatrapa son of Bhartridāman. The subsequent disruption of the Kshatrapa empire was probably the work of their old neighbours and foes the Traikútakas, who, under the name of Haihayas, about the middle of the fifth century (A.D. 455-6) rose to supremacy and established a branch at their old city of Trikūṭa ruling the greater part of the Bombay Dakhan and South Gujarāt and probably filling the blank between A.D. 410 the fall of the Kshatrapas and A.D. 500 the rise of the Chālukyas.

About 1887 Pandit Bhagvānlāl secured nine of a hoard of 500 silver coins found at Daman in South Gujarāt. All are of one king a close imitation of the coins of the latest Kshatrapas. On the obverse is a bust of bad workmanship and on the reverse are the usual Kshatrapa symbols encircled with the legend:

महाराजेंद्रवर्मपुत्रपरमवैष्णवश्रीमहारजिरुद्रगणः

Mahārājendravarmaputra Parama Vaiṣṇava
Śrī Mahārāja Rudragana

The devoted Vaiṣṇava the illustrious king Rudragana
son of the great king Indravarma

At Karād, thirty-one miles south of Sātāra, Mr Justice Newton obtained a coin of this Rudragana, with the coins of many Kshatrapas including Viśvasimha son of Bhartridāman who ruled up to A.D. 300. This would favour the view that Rudragana was the successful rival who wrested the Dakhan and North Konkan from Viśvasimha. The fact that during the twenty years after Viśvasimha (A.D. 300-320) none of the Kshatrapas has the title Mahākshatrapa seems to show they ruled in Kāthiavāda as tributaries of this Rudragana and his descendants of the Traikúataka family. The Dahrasena of the Pārdi plate whose inscription date is 207, that is A.D. 457, may be a descendant of Rudragana. The Traikúataka kingdom would thus seem to have flourished at least till the middle of the fifth century. Somewhat later, or at any rate after the date of the Kanheri plate (245 = A.D. 495), it was overthrown by either the Mauryas or the Guptas.¹

¹ That the era used by the Gurjjaras and Chalukyas of Gujarāt was the Chedi era may be regarded as certain since the discovery of the Sākhedā grant of Nṛmīllaka (Ep. Ind. II 21), who speaks of a certain Sankarāṇa as his overlord. Palæographically this grant belongs to the sixth century, and Dr Bühler has suggested that Sankarāṇa is the Chedi Sankaragana whose son Buddhārāja was defeated by Mangalīśa some time before A.D. 602 (Ind. Ant. XIX 16). If this is accepted, the grant shows that the Chedis or Kalachuris were in power in the Narbādā valley during the sixth century, which explains the prevalence of their era in South Gujarāt. Chedi rule in the Narbādā valley must have come to an end about A.D. 580 when Dadda I established himself at Broach. It being established that the Kalachuris once ruled in South Gujarāt, there is no great difficulty in the way of identifying the Traikútakas with them. The two known Traikúataka grants are dated in the third century of their era, and belong palæographically to the fifth century A.D. Their era, therefore, like that of the Kalachuris, begins in the third century A.D. and it is simpler to suppose that the two eras were the same than

that two different eras, whose initial points were only a few years apart, were in use in the same district. Now that the Saka and the Vikrama eras are known to have had different names at different times, the change in the name of the era offers no special difficulty. This identification would carry back Kalachuri rule in South Gujarāt to at least A.D. 456, the date of the Pārdi grant and it is worth noting that Varāhamihira (Br Samh XIV 20) places the Haihayas or Kalachuris in the west along with the Aparāntakas or Konkanis.

Though the name Traikúṭaka means of Trikūṭa, the authorities quoted by Dr Bhagvān-kāldo not establish the existence of a city called Trikūṭa. They only vouch for a mountain of that name somewhere in the Western Ghāts, and there is no evidence of any special connection with Junnar. Further, the word Trikūṭakam seems to mean rock-salt, not sea salt, so that there is here no special connection with the Western coast. Wherever Trikūṭa may have been, there seems no need to reject the tradition that connects the rise of the Kalachuris with their capture of Kālanjara (Cunningham's Arch. Surv IX 77ff), as it is more likely that they advanced from the East down the Nerbádā than that their original seats were on the West Coast, as the Western Indian inscriptions of the third and fourth centuries contain no reference either to Traikúṭakas or to Junnar or other western city as Trikūṭa.

With reference to the third suggestion that the Traikúṭakas twice overthrew the Kshatrapas, under Śīvaradatta in A.D. 248 and under Rudragana in A.D. 310-320, it is to be noted that there is no evidence to show that Śīvaradatta was either an Abhīra or a Traikúṭaka and that the identification of his date with A.D. 248-250 seems less probable than with either A.D. 244 or A.D. 236. (Compare above Footnote page 63). Even if Śīvaradatta's supremacy coincided with A.D. 250 the initial date of the Traikúṭaka era, it seems improbable that a king who reigned only two years and left no successor should have had any connection with the establishment of an era which is not found in use till two centuries later. As regards Rudragana it may be admitted that he belonged to the race or family who weakened Kshatrapa power early in the fourth century A.D. At the same time there seems no reason to suppose that Rudragana was a compound of the word *gana* and a name of Śiva, while the irregular posthumous use of the title Mahākshatrapa among the latest (23rd to 26th) Kshatrapas favours the view that they remained independent till their overthrow by the Guptas about A.D. 410. The conclusion seems to be that the Traikúṭaka and the Kalachuri eras are the same namely A.D. 248-9 that this era was introduced into Gujarāt by the Traikúṭakas who were connected with the Haihayas, and that the introduction of the era into Gujarāt did not take place before the middle of the fifth century A.D. — (A. M. T. J.)

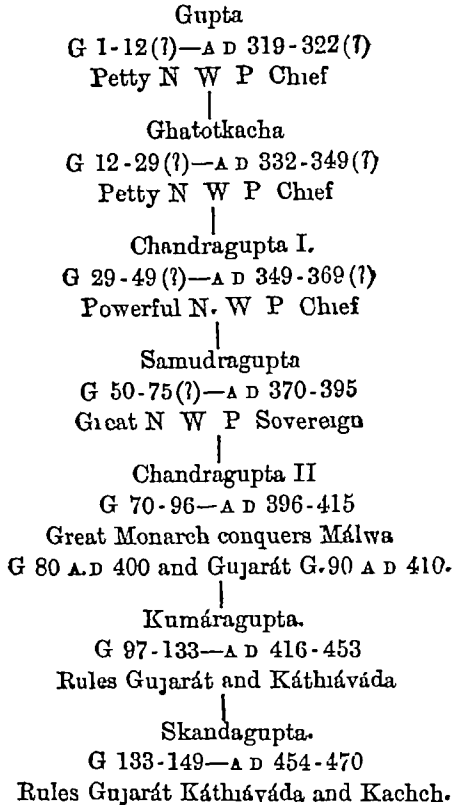
CHAPTER VII.

THE GUPTAS

(G 90-149, A.D. 410-470)

Chapter VII
THE GUPTAS,
A.D. 410-470

AFTER the Kshatrapas (A D 120-410) the powerful dynasty of the Guptas established themselves in Gujarát So far as the dynasty is connected with Gujarát the Gupta tree is :



According to the Puránas¹ the original seat of the Guptas was between the Ganges and the Jamna Then first capital is not determined English writers usually style them the Guptas of Kanauj And though this title is simply due to the chance that Gupta coins were first found at Kanauj, further discoveries show that the chief remains of Gupta records and coins are in the territory to the east and south-east of Kanauj Of the race of the Guptas nothing is known According to the ordinances of the Smritis or Sacred Books,² the terminal *gupta* belongs only to Vaiśyas a class including shepherds

¹ Váyu Purána, Wilson's Works, IX 219n

² Vishnu Purána, III Chapter 10 Verse 9 Burnell's Manu, 20 Mr Fleet (Corp Ind. III Ins 11 note 1) quotes an instance of a Bráhma named Bráhmagupta

cultivators and traders. Of the first three kings, Gupta, Ghaṭotkacha and Chandragupta I., beyond the fact that Chandragupta I. bore the title of Mahārājādhirāja, neither descriptive titles nor details are recorded. As the fourth king Samudragupta performed the long-neglected horse-sacrifice he must have been Brāhmanical in religion. And as inscriptions style Samudragupta's three successors, Chandragupta II, Kumāragupta and Skandagupta, Parama Bhāgavata, they must have been Smārta Vaiṣṇavas, that is devotees of Vishnu and observers of Vedic ceremonies.

The founder of the dynasty is styled Gupta. In inscriptions this name always appears as Śrī-gupta which is taken to mean protected by Śrī or Lakshmi. Against this explanation it is to be noted that in their inscriptions all Gupta's successors have a Śrī before their names. The question, therefore arises, If Śrī forms part of the name why should the name Śrīgupta have had no second Śrī prefixed in the usual way. Further in the inscriptions the lineage appears as Gupta-vamśa that is the lineage of the Guptas never Śrīgupta-vamśa¹, and whenever dates in the era of this dynasty are given they are conjoined with the name Gupta never with Śrīgupta². It may therefore be taken that Gupta not Śrīgupta is the correct form of the founder's name³.

Gupta the founder seems never to have risen to be more than a petty chief. No known inscription gives him the title *Mahārājādhirāja* Supreme Ruler of Great Kings, which all Gupta rulers after the founder's grandson Chandragupta assume. Again that no coins of the founder and many coins of his successors have been discovered makes it probable that Gupta was not a ruler of enough importance to have a currency of his own. According to the inscriptions Gupta was succeeded by his son Ghaṭotkacha a petty chief like his father with the title of Mahārāja and without coins.

Chandragupta I (A D 349-369 [?]), the son and successor of Ghaṭotkacha, is styled Mahārājādhirāja either because he himself became powerful, or, more probably, because he was the father of his very powerful successor Samudragupta. Though he may not have gained the dignity of "supreme ruler of great kings" by his own successes Chandragupta I rose to a higher position than his predecessors. He was connected by marriage with the Lichchhavi dynasty of Tirhūt an alliance which must have been considered of importance since his son Samudragupta puts the name of his mother Kumāradēvī on his coins, and always styles himself daughter's son of Lichchhavi⁴.

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The Founder
Gupta,
A D 319-322 (?).

Ghaṭotkacha,
A D. 322-349 (?).

Chandragupta I.
A D 349-369 (?).

¹ Fleet's Corp Ins Ind III Ins 53 line 7

² Compare Skandagupta's Junāgadh Inscription line 15, Ind. Ant XIV., Cunningham's Arch. Sur X 118, Fleet's Corp Ins Ind III Ins 59.

³ Compare Mr Fleet's note in Corp Ins Ind. III Ins 8.

⁴ Fleet's Corp Ins Ind III 135. Mr Fleet believes that the Lichchhavi family concerned was that of Nepāl, and that they were the real founders of the era used by the Guptas. Dr Bühler (Vienna Or Journal, V Pt 3) holds that Chandragupta married into the Lichchhavi family of Pāṭaliputra and became king of that country in right of his wife. The coins which bear the name of Kumāradēvī are by Mr Smith (J. R. A. S. (N S) XXI 63) and others assigned to Chandragupta I., reading the reverse legend *Lichchhavayah*. The Lichchhavis in place of Dr Bhagvānlāl's *Lichchhaya*. Daughter's son of Lichchhavi. On the Kācha coins see below page 62 note 2.

The Lichchhavis claim to be sprung from the solar dynasty. Manu (Burnell's Manu,

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A.D. 410-470Samudragupta,
A.D. 370-395

Samudragupta was the first of his family to strike coins. His numerous gold coins are, with a certain additional Indian element, adopted from those of his Indo-Skythian predecessors. The details of the royal figure on the obverse are Indian in the neck ornaments, large earrings, and headdress, they are Indo-Skythian in the tailed coat, long boots, and straddle. The goddess on the reverse of some coins with a fillet and cornucopia is an adaptation of an Indo-Skythian figure, while the lotus-holding Ganges on an alligator and the standing Glory holding a fly-flapper on the reverse of other coins are purely Indian.¹

Hu Coins

A noteworthy feature of Samudragupta's coins is that one or other of almost all his epithets appears on each of his coins with a figure of the king illustrating the epithet. Coins with the epithet *Sarajochchhetā* Destroyer-of-all-kings have on the obverse a standing king stretching out a banner topped by the wheel or disc of universal supremacy.²

Coins³ with the epithet *Apratiratha* Peerless have on the obverse a standing king whose left hand rests on a bow and whose right hand holds a loose-lying unaimed arrow and in front an Eagle or Garuda standard symbolizing the unrivalled supremacy of the king, his arrow no longer wanted, his standard waving unchallenged. On the obverse is the legend

305) describes them as descended from a degraded Kshatriya. Beal (R. A. S. N. S. XIV. 39) would identify them with an early wave of the Yuechi or Kusháns, Smith (J. B. A. S. XX. 55 n. 2) and Hewitt (J. B. A. S. XX. 355-366) take them to be a Kolarian or local tribe. The fame of the Lichchhavis of Vaisáli or Passala between Patna and Tirhut goes back to the time of Gautama Buddha (c. 480) in whose funeral rites the Lichchhavis and their neighbours and associates the Mallas took a prominent share (Rockhill's Life of Buddha, 62-63, 145, 203. Compare Legge's Fa Hien, 71-76, Beal's Buddhist Records, II 67, 70, 73, 77 and 81 note). According to Buddhist writings the first king of Tibet (A.D. 50) who was elected by the chiefs of the South Tibetan tribes was a Lichchhavi the son of Prasenajit of Kosala (Rockhill's Life of Buddha, 208). Between the seventh and ninth centuries (A.D. 635-854) a family of Lichchhavis was ruling in Nepal (Huet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III. 134). The earliest historical member of the Nepal family is Jayadeva I whose date is supposed to be about A.D. 830 to 355. Mr Fleet (Dirto, 135) suggests that Jayadeva's reign began earlier and may be the epoch from which the Gupta era of A.D. 318-319 is taken. He holds (Dirto, 136) that in all probability the so-called Gupta era is a Lichchhavi era.

¹ The figure of the Ganges standing on an alligator with a stalked lotus in her left hand on the reverse of the gold coins of Samudragupta the fourth king of the dynasty may be taken to be the Sri or Luck of the Guptas. Compare Smith's Gupta Coinage, J. Beng. A. S. LIII Plate I Fig. 10. J. B. A. S. (N. S.) XXI Pl. I. 2.

² The presence of the two letters *श* *ह* that is *śa śha* on the obverse under the arm of the royal figure, has led the late Mr Thomas, General Cunningham, and Mr Smith to suppose that the coins belonged to Ghatotkacha, the last two letters of the name being the same. This identification seems improbable. Ghatotkacha was never powerful enough to have a currency of his own. *Sarajochchhetā* the attribute on the reverse is one of Samudragupta's epithets, while the figure of the king on the obverse grasping the standard with the disc, illustrating the attribute of universal sovereignty, can refer to none other than Samudragupta the first very powerful king of the dynasty. Perhaps the *Kācha* or *Kācha* on these coins is a pet or child name of Samudragupta. Mr. Rapson (Numismatic Chron. 3rd Ser. XI. 48ff) has recently suggested that the *Kācha* coins belong to an elder brother and predecessor of Samudragupta. But it seems unlikely that a ruler who could justly claim the title Destroyer-of-all-kings should be passed over in silence in the genealogy. Further, as is remarked above, the title *Sarajochchhetā* belongs in the inscriptions to Samudragupta alone and the fact that in the lifetime Samudragupta's father chose him as successor is against his exclusion from the name even for a time.

³ See the Gupta Coinage in J. B. A. S. (N. S.) XXI Pl. I. 10

अप्रतिरथराजन्यकीर्ति (र) मम विजयते.

Apratiratharājanyakīrti(r)mama vijayate¹

Triumphant is the glory of me the unrivalled sovereign

Coins with the attribute *Kṛitānta paraśu* the Death-like-battle-axe have on the obverse a royal figure grasping a battle-axe² In front of the royal figure a boy, perhaps Samudragupta's son Chandragupta, holds a standard Coins with the attribute *Asīamedhaparākramah* Able-to-hold-a-horse-sacrifice have on the obverse a horse standing near a sacrificial post *ṛṣya* and on the reverse a female figure with a fly-flap.³ The legend on the obverse is imperfect and hard to read The late Mr Thomas restores it

नवजमवः राजाधिराज पृथिवीं जियत्य.

Navajamadhah rājādhirāja prithivīm jiyatyā

Horse sacrifice, after conquering the earth, the great king (performs)

Coins with the legend *Licchhavyah*, a coin abbreviation for *Licchhaviḍaṇhitra* Daughter's son of Licchhavi (?), have on the obverse a standing king grasping a javelin⁴ Under the javelin hand are the letters *Chandra Gupta* Facing the king a female figure with trace of the letters *Kumāradevi* seems to speak to him These figures of his mother and father are given to explain the attribute *Licchhavya* or scion of Licchhavi This coin has been supposed to belong to Chandragupta I but the attribute *Licchhavyah* can apply only to Samudragupta

A fuller source of information regarding Samudragupta remains in his inscription on the Allahabad Pillar⁵ Nearly eight verses of the first part are lost The first three verses probably described his learning as what remains of the third verse mentions his poetic accomplishments, and line 27 says he was skilled in poetry and music, a trait further illustrated by what are known as his Lyrist coins where he is shown playing a lute⁶ The fourth verse says that during his lifetime his father chose Samudragupta to rule the earth from among others of equal birth His father is mentioned as pleased with him and this is followed by the description of a victory during which several opponents are said to have submitted The seventh verse records the sudden destruction of the army of Achyuta Nāgasena and the punishment inflicted on a descendant of the Kota family

Lines 19 and 20 record the conquest, or submission, of the following South Indian monarchs, Mahendra of Kosala, Vyāghrarāja of Mahā Kāntāra,⁷ Mundarāja of Kaurāttā,⁸ Svāmidatta of Paishtapura Mahendra-Giri and Auttura⁹, Damana of Airandapallaka, Vishnu of Kāñchī, Nilarāja Śāpāvamukta,¹⁰ Hastivarman of Vengī, Ugrasena of Pālaka,¹¹

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Samudragupta,
A.D. 370-395

His Allahābād
Inscription.

¹ Compare Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, Pl. XVIII Fig 8, which has the same legend with me for *mama* ² Smith J R A S (N S) XXI Pl I 11, 12

³ Smith J R A S (N S) XXI Pl I 4

⁴ Smith J R A S (N S) XXI Pl I. Mr Smith reads *Licchhavyah* (the Licchavis) and assigns this type to Chandragupta I

⁵ Corpus Ins Ind III 1 ⁶ Smith J R A S (N S) XXI Pl I. 5, 6.

⁷ Apparently South Kosala, the country about Raipur and Chhattisgarh.

⁸ Fleet reads Manṭarāja of Kerala

⁹ Fleet divides the words differently and translates "Mahendra of Paishtapura, Svāmidatta of Kottūra on the hill"

¹⁰ Fleet reads "Nilarāja of Avamukta."

¹¹ Fleet reads Palakka or Pālakka.

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Kubera of Daivarāshtra, and Dharmajaya of Kausthalapura. Line 21 gives a further list of nine kings of Aryāvarta exterminated by Samudragupta

Rudradeva	Chandivarman	Achyuta.
Matila.	Ganapatiśāga.	Nandin
Nāgalatta	Nāgasena.	Balavarman.

As no reference is made to the territories of these kings they may be supposed to be well known neighbouring rulers. General Cunningham's coins and others obtained at Mathurā show that the fifth ruler Ganapatiśāga was one of the Nāga kings of Gwālor and Narwār.¹ The inscription next mentions that Samudragupta took into his employ the chiefs of the forest countries. Then in lines 22 and 23 follows a list of countries whose kings gave him tribute, who obeyed his orders, and who came to pay homage. The list includes the names of many frontier countries and the territories of powerful contemporary kings. The frontier kingdoms are.²

Samatata. Davāka. Kāmārūpa. Nepāla. Karttika.

The Indian kingdoms are.³

Mālava	Mādraka.	Saukhāntika.
Arjunāyana.	Ābhīra.	Kāka
Yaudheya	Prājuna	Kharaparika.

Mention is next made of kings who submitted, gave their daughters in marriage, paid tribute, and requested the issue of the Garuda or Eagle charter to secure them in the enjoyment of their territory.⁴ The tribal names of these kings are.⁵

Devaputra	Saka
Shālu	Muruṇḍa
Shāhānushāhi.	Samhalaka.

Island Kings

¹ Arch. Surv. II 310, J. B. A. S. 1865 115-121

² Samatata is the Ganges delta. Davāka may, as Mr. Fleet suggests, be Dacca for Karttika. Mr. Fleet reads Karttipura, otherwise Outback might be intended.

³ For the Mālavas see above page 21. The Arjunāyana can hardly be the Kalachuris as Mr. Fleet (C. I. I. III. 10) has suggested, as Varāha Mihira (Br. S. XIV 25) places the Arjunāyana in the north near Trigarta, and General Cunningham's coin (Coins of Ancient India, 90) points to the same region. The Yaudheyas lived on the lower Sutlej see above page 36. The Mādrakas lived north east of the Yaudheyas between the Chenab and the Sutlej (Cunningham Anc. Geog. 185). The Ābhīras must be those on the south east border of Sindh. The Prājuna do not appear to be identifiable. A Surakāntika Mahārāja is mentioned (C. I. I. III. 3) as dedicating an offering at Udayagiri near Bilal, but we have no clue to the situation of his government. The name of his grandfather, Chhagalaga, has a Turki look. Kāka may be Kakūpur near Rithūr (Cunningham Anc. Geog. 380). Kharaparika has not been identified.—(A. M. T. J.)

⁴ Mr. Fleet translates "(giving) Garuda tokens, (surrendering) the enjoyment of their own territories."

⁵ The first three names Devaputra, Shālu, and Shāhānushāhi, belong to the Kushān dynasty of Kanishka (A.D. 78). Shāhānushāhi is the oldest, as it appears on the coins from Kanishka downwards in the form Shahanush Shihō (Stein in Babylonian and Oriental Record, I 164). It represents the old Persian title Shāhanshāh or king of kings. Shālu answering to the simple Shih, appears to be first used alone by Vasudeva (A.D. 128-176). The title of Devaputra occurs first in the inscriptions of Kanishka. In the present inscription all three titles seem to denote divisions of the Kushān empire in

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Samudragupta,
A D 370-395

The inscribed pillar is said to have been set up by the great Captain or Dandanayaka named Tilabhittimayiki.

This important inscription shows that Samudragupta's dominions included Mathura, Oudh, Gorkhpur, Allahabad, Benares, Behar, Tirhut, Bengal, and part of East Rajputana. The list of Dakhan and South Indian kingdoms does not necessarily imply that they formed part of Samudragupta's territory. Samudragupta may have made a victorious campaign to the far south and had the countries recorded in the order of his line of march. The order suggests that he went from Behar, by way of Gaya, to Kosal, the country about the modern Rápur in the Northern Provinces, and from Kosal, by Guntur and other places in the Central Provinces, as far as Kanchi or Conjevaram forty-six miles south-west of Madras. Malwa is shown in the second list as a powerful allied kingdom. It does not appear to have formed part of Samudragupta's territory nor, unless the Sikas are the Kshatrapas, does any mention of Gujrat occur even as an allied state.

Samudragupta was succeeded by his son Chandragupta II whose mother was the queen Dattadevi. He was the greatest and most powerful king of the Gupta dynasty and added largely to the territory left by Samudragupta. His second name Vikramaditya or the Sun of Prowess appears on his coins. Like his father Chandragupta II struck gold coins of various types. He was the first Gupta ruler who spread his power over Malwa and Gujrat which he apparently took from the Kshatrapas as he was the first Gupta to strike silver coins and as his silver coins of both varieties the eastern and the western are modifications of the Kshatriya type. The expedition which conquered Malwa seems to have passed from Allahabad by Bundelkhand to Bhilsa and thence to Malwa. An undated inscription in the Udayagiri caves at Vidisa (the modern Besnagar) near Bhilsa gotra and the family name of Mahideva by one Saba of the Kautsa gotra who held the hereditary office of minister of peace and war *sandhivigrahika*, and who is recorded to have arrived with the king who was intent upon conquering the whole earth.¹ A neighbouring cave bears an inscription of a feudatory of Chandragupta who was chief of Sanakánika.² The chief's name is lost, but the names of his father Vishnudasa and of his grandfather Chhagalaga remain. The date is the eleventh of the bright half of

Chandragupta II
A D 396-415

India. The title of Shihin was continued by the Turks (A D 600-900) and Brahmins (A D 900-1000) of Kabul (Allerum, II 10) and by the Shihis (Elliot, I 135) of Alor in Sindhi (A D 490?-631). Unless it refers to the last remnants of the Gujrat Mahakshatrapas the word Saka seems to be used in a vague sense in reference to the non-Indian tribes of the North West frontier. The Murundas may be identified with the Murundas of the Native dictionaries, and hence with the people of Lampika or Langhan twenty miles north west of Allahabad. It is notable that in the fifth century A D Javanatha, Mahatya of Uchchikalpa (not identified) married a Murundadevi (Corp Ins Ind III 128, 131, 136). The mention of the king of Simhala and the Island Kings rounds off the geographical picture. Possibly after the Chinese fashion presents from these countries may have been magnified into tribute. Or Simhala may here stand, not for Ceylon, but for one of the many Simhapuras known to Indian geography. Sihor in Kathiawar, an old capital, may possibly be the place referred to. The Island Kings would then be the chiefs of Cutch and Kathiawar. — (A M T J.)

¹ Corp Ins Ind III Ins 6
² Corp Ins Ind III Ins 3

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Chandragupta II
A.D. 399-415

Ashādha Samvatsara 82 (A.D. 401) From this Chandragupta's conquest of Vidiśā may be dated about Samvatsara 80 (A.D. 399) or a little earlier

A third inscription is on the railing of the great Sāñchi stūpa¹ It is dated the 4th day of Bhādrapada Samvat 93 (A.D. 412) and records the gift of 25 *dīnāras* and something called *Īśvaravāsaka* (perhaps a village or a field) to the monks of the great monastery of Kākanādabhoṣarī for the daily maintenance of five *bhikṣus* and the burning of a lamp in the *ratnagriha* or shrine of the Buddhist *triratna*, for the merit of the supreme king of great kings Chandragupta who bears the popular name of Devārāja or god-like² The donor a feudatory of Chandragupta named Āmrakārdava is described as having the object of his life gratified by the favour of the feet of the supreme ruler of great kings the illustrious Chandragupta, and as showing to the world the hearty loyalty of a good feudatory Āmrakārdava seems to have been a chief of consequence as he is described as winning the flag of glory in numerous battles The name of his kingdom is also recorded Though it cannot now be made out the mention of his kingdom makes it probable that he was a stranger come to pay homage to Chandragupta The reference to Chandragupta seems to imply he was the ruler of the land while the two other inscriptions show that his rule lasted from about 80 (A.D. 399) to at least 93 (A.D. 412) During these years Chandragupta seems to have spread his sway to Ujjain the capital of west Mālwa, of which he is traditionally called the ruler From Ujjain by way of Bāgh and Tānda in the province of Rāth he seems to have entered South Gujurāt and to have passed from the Broach coast to Kāthiāvāda He seems to have wrested Kāthiāvāda from its Kshatrapa rulers as he is the first Gupta who struck silver coins and as his silver coins are of the then current Kshatrapa type On the obverse is the royal bust with features copied from the Kshatrapa face and on the reverse is the figure of a peacock, probably chosen as the bearer of Kātikasvāmi the god of war Round the peacock is a Sanskrit legend This legend is of two varieties. In Central Indian coins it runs

श्री गुप्तकुलस्य महाराजाधिराज श्री चन्द्रगुप्तविक्रमादित्य

Sri Guptakulasya Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandraguptavikramāditya
(Com) of the king of kings the illustrious Chandragupta Vikramāditya,
of the family of the illustrious Gupta³

In the very rare Kāthiāvāda coins, though they are similar to the above in style, the legend runs

परमभागवत महाराजाधिराज श्री चन्द्रगुप्तविक्रमादित्य

Paramabhagavata Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandragupta Vikramāditya

The great devotee of Vishnu the supreme ruler of great kings,
the illustrious Chandragupta Vikramāditya⁴

Several gold coins of Chandragupta show a young male figure behind the king with his right hand laid on the king's shoulder This youthful figure is apparently Chandragupta's son Kumāragupta who may have acted as Yuvarāja during the conquest of Mālwa.

¹ Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 5

² Mr. Fleet (Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 33) prefers to take Devārāja to be the name of Chandragupta's minister

³ J. R. A. S. (N. S.) XXI. 120.

⁴ J. R. A. S. (N. S.) XXI. 121.

The reigns of Chandragupta's and the continuance of Kumāragupta's coins in Kathiawar, together with the date 90 (A.D. 402) on some of Kumāragupta's coins make it probable that on their conquest his father appointed Kumāragupta viceroy of Gujarāt and Kathiawar.

As the first Gupta was a chief of no great power or influence it is probable that though it is calculated from him the Gupta era was established not by him but by his grandson the great Chandragupta II. This view is confirmed by the absence of dates on all existing coins of Chandragupta's father Samudragupta. It further seems probable that like the Malva in c. 37 and the Kshātraps in A.D. 78 the occasion on which Chandragupta established the Gupta era was his conquest of Malva. The Gupta era did not remain long in use. After the fall of Gupta power (A.D. 470) the old Malva era of c. 37 was revived. The conjecture may be offered that, in spite of the passing away of Gupta power, under his title of Vikramāditya, the fame of the great Gupta conqueror Chandragupta II lived on in Malva and that, drawing to itself tales of earlier local champions, the name Vikramāditya came to be considered the name of the founder of the Malva era.

Working back from Gupta Samvat 80 (A.D. 400) the date of Chandragupta's conquest of Malva we may allot 1 to 12 (A.D. 319-332) to the founder Gupta, 12 to 29 (A.D. 332-349) to Gupta's son Ghatotkacha, 29 to 49 (A.D. 349-369) to Ghatotkacha's son Chandragupta I, and 50 to 75 (A.D. 370-395) to Chandragupta's powerful son Samudragupta who probably had a long reign. As the latest known date of Chandragupta II is 93 (A.D. 413) and as a Bilsad inscription of his successor Kumāragupta is dated 96 (A.D. 416) the reign of Chandragupta II may be calculated to have lasted during the twenty years ending 95 (A.D. 415).

Mr Fleet (Corp. Ins. Ind. III, Introd. 170ff) argues that the era was borrowed from Nepal after Chandragupta I married his Lichchhavi queen. Dr. Bhandarkar thinks there is no evidence of this, and that the era was started by the Guptas themselves (Vicinity of J) A. Pl. 7.

The further suggestion may be offered that if it seems probable Dr. Bhandarkar is correct in considering Chandragupta II to be the founder of the Gupta era this high honour was due not to his conquest of Malva but to some success against the Indo-Skythians or Sakas of the Punjab. The little more than nominal suzerainty claimed over the Devaputras, Shāhuz, and Shāhūshahis in Chandragupta's father's inscription shows that when he came to the throne Chandragupta found the Saka power practically unbroken. The absence of reference to conquests is no more complete in the case of the Punjab than it is in the case of Gujarāt or of Kathiawar which Chandragupta is known to have added to his dominions. In Kathiawar though not in Gujarāt, the evidence from coins is stronger than in the Punjab. Still the discovery of Chandragupta's coins (I R. A. S. XXI, 5 note 1) "uses the presumption of conquests as far north and west as Pampat and as Ladhiana (in the heart of the Punjab). Chandragupta's name Devārjya may, as Pandit Bhagyaśil suggests, be taken from the Saka title Devaputra. Further, the use of the name Vikramāditya and of the honorific Śrī is in striking agreement with Peram's statement (Sachau, II, 6) that the conqueror of the Sakas was named Vikramāditya and that to the conqueror's name was added the title Śrī. Mr Fleet (Corp. Ins. Ind. III, 37 note 2) holds it not improbable that either Chandragupta I or II defeated the Indo-Skythians. The fact that Chandragupta I was not a ruler of sufficient importance to issue coins and that even after his son Samudragupta's victories the Sakas remained practically independent make it almost certain that if any subjection of the Sakas to the Guptas took place it happened during the reign of Chandragupta II.

² Corp. Ins. Ind. III, Ins. 10.

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THE GUPTAS,
A.D. 410-470Chandragupta II
A.D. 396-415

Chapter VII

THE GUPTAS,
A.D. 410-470Kumārāgupta,
A.D. 410-453

Chandragupta II was succeeded by his son Kumārāgupta whose mother was the queen Dhruva-Devī. On Kumārāgupta's coins three titles occur - Mahendra, Mahendra-Vikrama, and Mahendrāditya. As already noticed the circulation of Kumārāgupta's coins in Kāthiāváda during his father's reign makes it probable that on their conquest his father appointed him viceroy of Kāthiāváda and Gujarāt. Kumārāgupta appears to have succeeded his father about 96 (A.D. 416). An inscription at Mankuwar near Prayāga shows he was ruling as late as 129 (A.D. 449) and a coin of his dated 130 (A.D. 450) adds at least one year to his reign. On the other hand the inscription on the Girnār rock shows that in 137 (A.D. 457) his son Skandagupta was king. It follows that Kumārāgupta's reign ended between 130 and 137 (A.D. 450-457) or about 133 (A.D. 453).

None of Kumārāgupta's four inscriptions gives any historical or other details regarding him.¹ But the number and the wide distribution of his coins make it probable that during his long reign he maintained his father's dominions intact.

Large numbers of Kumārāgupta's coins of gold silver and copper have been found. The gold which are of various types are inferior in workmanship to his father's coins. The silver and copper coins are of two varieties, eastern and western. Both varieties have on the obverse the royal bust in the Kshatrapa style of dress. In the western pieces the bust is a copy of the moustached Kshatrapa face with a corrupted version of the corrupt Greek legend used by the Kshatrapas. The only difference between the obverses of the Western Gupta and the Kshatrapa coins is that the date is in the Gupta instead of in the Kshatrapa era. On the reverse is an ill formed peacock facing front as in Chandragupta II's coins. The legend runs

परम भागवत महाराजाधिराज श्री कुमारगुप्त महेन्द्रादित्य.

Paramabhāgavata Maharājādhirāja Śrī Kumārāgupta
Mahendrāditya

The great Vaishnava the supreme ruler of great kings,
the illustrious Kumārāgupta Mahendrāditya.²

In Kumārāgupta's eastern silver and copper coins the bust on the obverse has no moustache nor is there any trace of the corrupt Greek legend. The date is in front of the face in perpendicular numerals one below the other instead of behind the head as in the Kshatrapa and Western Kumārāgupta coins. On the reverse is a well-carved peacock facing front with tail feathers at full stretch. Round the peacock runs the clear cut legend

विजितावनिरवनिपति कुमारगुप्तो देव जयति.

Vijitāvaniravaniapati Kumārāgupto devam jayati

This legend is hard to translate. It seems to mean.

Kumārāgupta, lord of the earth, who had conquered the
kings of the earth, conquers the Deva

¹ C. P. B. D. III Ins. 8, 9, 10 and 11.

² J. R. A. S. (N. S.) XXI, 123.

Probably the Deva whose name suggested the antithesis between the kings of the earth and the gods was one of the Devaputra family of Indo-Skythian rulers.¹

Kumāragupta was succeeded by his son Skandagupta. An inscription of his on a pillar at Bhitarī near Sudpur in Ghāzipur bearing no date shows that on his father's death Skandagupta had a hard struggle to establish his power.² The text runs: "By whom when he rose to fix fast again the shaken fortune of his house, three months were spent on the earth as on a bed," an apparent reference to flight and wanderings. A doubtful passage in the same inscription seems to show that he was opposed by a powerful king named Pushyamitra on whose back he is said to have set his left foot.³ The inscription makes a further reference to the troubles of the family stating that on re-establishing the shaken fortune of his house Skandagupta felt satisfied and went to see his weeping afflicted mother. Among the enemies with whom Skandagupta had to contend the inscription mentions a close conflict with the Hunas that is the Ephthalites, Thetals, or White Huns. Verse 3 of Skandagupta's Gurnār inscription confirms the reference to struggles stating that on the death of his father by his own might he humbled his enemies to the earth and established himself. As the Gurnār inscription is dated 135 (A.D. 456) and as Kumāragupta's reign ended about 131, the troubles and difficulties did not last for more than two years. The Gurnār inscription further states that on establishing his power he conquered the earth, destroyed the arrogance of his enemies, and appointed governors in all provinces. For Sarāśvatī he selected a governor named Parādatt and to Parādatt's son Chakrapālita he gave a share of the management placing him in charge of Junāgadh city. During the governorship of Parādatt the Sudarśana lake close to Junāgadh, which had been strongly rebuilt in the time of the Kshatrapa Rudradāman (A.D. 150), again gave way during the dark sixth of Bhādrapada of the year 136 (A.D. 456). The streams Palāśmī, Śikātī and Vilāśmī⁴ burst through the dam and flowed unchecked. Repairs were begun on the first of bright *Grishma* 137 (A.D. 457) and finished in two months. The new dam is said to have been 100 cubits

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Skandagupta,

A.D. 411-470.

¹ J. B. A. S. (N. S.) XXI. 126. That Kumāragupta's two successors, Skandagupta and Badhagupta, use the same phrase *decam jagata* makes the explanation in the text doubtful. As Mr. Smith (Ditto) suggests *decam* is probably a mistake for *deco*, meaning His Majesty. The legend would then run: Kumāraguptadeva lord of the earth . . . is triumphant. Dr. Bhagvānlal would have preferred *deco* (see page 70 note 2) but could not neglect the *anuvāda* — (A. M. T. J.). ² Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 13.

³ Mr. Fleet (Corp. Ins. Ind. III. 53, 55) reads "*utla troydmā*" and translates "a (whole) night was spent." Dr. Bhagvānlal read "*utlāś trandadh*."

⁴ Mr. Fleet finds that Pushyamitra is the name of a tribe not of a king. No VI. of Dr. Bühler's Jain inscriptions from Mathurā (1 p. Ind. I. 378ff) mentions a Pushyamitraya kula of the Yāruvāgava, which is also referred to in Bhadrabahu's Kalpa sūtra (Jacobi's Edition, 80), but is there referred to the Chitravā gava, no doubt a misreading for the Yāruvā of the inscription. Dr. Bühler points out that Yāruvā is the old name of Bulandshahr in the North West Provinces, so that it is there that we must look for the power that first weakened the Guptas — (A. M. T. J.).

⁵ See V. de St. Martin's Essay, Les Huns Blancs, Spécht in Journal Asiatique Oct.-Dec. 1853 and below page 71.

⁶ In Rudradāman's inscription the Palāśmī is mentioned, and also the Suvāruvā śikātī "and the other rivers." In Skandagupta's inscription Mr. Fleet translates Śikātāvilāśmī as an adjective agreeing with Palāśmī.

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THE FOLLOWING
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long by 65 cubits broad and 7 men or about 35 feet high. The probable site of the lake is in the west valley of the Gurnár hill near what is called Bhavanátha's pass.¹ The inscription also records the making of a temple of Vishnu in the neighbourhood by Chakrapálita, which was probably on the site of the modern Dámodar's Mandir in the Bhavanátha pass, whose image is of granite and is probably as old as the Gupta. A new temple was built in the fifteenth century during the rule of Mandalika the last Chudásamí ruler of Junágadh. At the time of the Muahmán conquest (A.D. 1494) as violence was feared the images were removed and buried. Mandalika's temple was repaired by Amarjī Dvair of Junágadh (1753-1784). It was proposed to make and consecrate new images. But certain old images of Vishnu were found in digging foundations for the enclosure wall and were consecrated. Two of the old images were taken by Gurnára Bráhmans and consecrated in the names of Baladevi and Revatí in a neighbouring temple specially built for them. Of the original temple the only trace is a pilaster built into the wall to the right as one enters. The style and carving are of the Gupta period.

As almost all the Gupta coins found in Cutch are Skandagupta's and very few are Kumāragupta's, Skandagupta seems to have added Cutch to the provinces of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwāda inherited from his father. In Kāthiāwāda Skandagupta's coins are rare, apparently because of the abundant currency left by his father which was so popular in Kāthiāwāda that fresh Kumāragupta coins of a degraded type were used as late as Valabhi times.

Like his father, Skandagupta issued a gold coinage in his eastern dominions but no trace of a gold currency appears in the west. Like Kumāragupta's, his silver coins were of two varieties, eastern and western. The eastern coins have on the obverse a bust as in Kumāragupta's coins and the date near the face. On the reverse is a peacock similar to Kumāragupta's and round the peacock the legend:

विजितानिग्नयनियति जयति देवं स्तुन्दगुतो यं

Vijñānānirāsaṃpatī jagatī deśam śāndagmpti'yam

Thou King Siam, Egypt, who have conquered the earth, conquer the Dea:

Skandagupta's 16-18 mm coins are of three varieties, one the same as the western coins of Kumāragupta, a second with a bull instead of a peacock on the reverse, and a third with on the reverse an altar with one upright and two side jets of water. Coins of the first two varieties are found both in Gujara't and in Kāthiawāda. The third water-jet variety is peculiar to Cutch and is an entirely new feature in the western Gupta coinage. On the reverse of all is the legend:

पद्मनाभयत महागजाधिपति स्तब्धगुण क्रमादित्य

Paramabhāṣya, atī Mahār'jadhiraja Śaṇḍagupta Kramādīnra.

The great Vajirava the supreme ruler of great kings,
Should Gupta the Sun of Progress?

The name of the dog was discovered in 1960 by Klaus Bahndor Arler, Jr., a Special Agent of Justice Department located near Jangsan, San Diego. The dog's name is given as "Jov. B B R A C XVIII Number 18".

J 1 3 0 0 0 0 2 A I I V, 67.

The beginning of Skandagupta's reign has been placed about Gupta 111 or A.D. 451, his latest known date on a coin in General Cunningham's collection is Gupta 119 or A.D. 461.¹

With Skandagupta the regular Gupta succession ceases.² The next Gupta is Budhagupta who has a pillar inscription³ in a temple at Erum in the Saugur district dated 165 (A.D. 485) and silver coins dated Samvat 174 and 180 odd (A.D. 494-500 odd). Of Budhagupta's relation or connection with Skandagupta nothing is known. That he belonged to the Gupta dynasty appears from his name as well as from his silver coins which are dated in the Gupta era and are the same in style as the eastern coins of Skandagupta. On the obverse is the usual bust as in Skandagupta's coins with the date (174, 180 odd) near the face. On the reverse is the usual peacock and the legend is the same as Skandagupta's.

देव जयति विजिताविजयिनि श्री बुधगुप्तो

Devajayati vijitavijayinī śrī Buddhagupto

The Deva, the conqueror is Budhagupta who have conquered the earth conquers the Deva.

Since the coins are dated Samvat 174 and 180 odd (A.D. 494 and 500 odd) and the inscription's date is 165 (A.D. 485) the inscription may be taken to belong to the early part of Budhagupta's reign (the beginning of which may be allotted to about 161-162 (A.D. 480-482)). As this is more than ten years later than the latest known date of Skandagupta (G. 119 A.D. 469) either a Gupta of whom no trace remains must have intervened or the twelve blank years must have been a time of political change and disturbance. The absence of any trace of a gold currency suggests that Budhagupta had less power than his predecessors. The correctness of this argument is placed beyond doubt by the pillar inscription opposite the shrine in the Erum temple where instead of his predecessor's title of monarch of the whole earth Budhagupta is styled protector of the land between the Jumnā (Kalindī) and the Nalāṇḍā implying the loss of the whole territory to the east of the Jumnā.⁴ In the west the failure of Gupta power seems still more complete. Neither in Gujrat nor in Kathiāwād has an inscription or even a coin been found with a reference to Budhagupta or to any other Gupta ruler later than Skandagupta (G. 119 A.D. 469). The pillar inscription noted above which is of the year 165 (A.D. 485) and under the rule of Budhagupta states that the pillar was a gift to the temple by Dhanya Vishnu and his brother Mātri Vishnu who at the time of the gift seem to have been local Brāhman governors. A second inscription on the lower part of the neck of a huge Boar or Varāha image in a corner shrine of the same temple records that the image was completed on the tenth day of Phālguna in the first year of the reign of

¹ The known dates of Skandagupta are 116 and 117 on his Gurnār inscription, 141 in his pillar inscription at Kahan in Gorakhpur, and 146 in his Indor Kherra copperplate. The coin dates given by General Cunningham are 144, 145, and 149.

² But see below page 73.

³ Dr. Bhagabatl examined and copied the original of this inscription. It has since been published as Number 19 in Mr. Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III.

⁴ J. R. A. S. (N. S.) XXI 134.

⁵ It is now known that the main Gupta line continued to rule in Magadhā. See page 73 below.

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THE GUPTAS,
A.D. 410-470

Budhagupta,
A.D. 485

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THE GUPTAS,
A.D. 319-470
Budhagupta,
A.D. 475

Toramāna the supreme ruler of great kings and was the gift of the same Dhanya Vishnu whose brother Mātri Vishnu is described as gone to heaven¹. Since Mātri was alive in the Budhagupta and was dead in the Toramāna inscription it follows that Toramāna was later than Budhagupta. His name and his new era show that Toramāna was not a Gupta. A further proof that Toramāna wrested the kingdom from Budhagupta is that except the change of era and that the bust turns to the left instead of to the right, Toramāna's silver coins are directly adapted from Gupta coins of the eastern type.

Certain coin dates seem at variance with the view that Toramāna flourished after Budhagupta. On several coins the date 52 is clear. As Toramāna's coins are copies of the coins of Kumāragupta and Skandagupta and as most of these coins have a numeral for one hundred the suggestion may be offered that a one dropped out in striking Toramāna's die and that this date should read 152 not 52. Accepting this view Toramāna's date would be 152 (A.D. 472) that is immediately after the death of Skandagupta.

The Gwalior inscription² mentions prince Mihirakula as the son of Toramāna and a second inscription from a well in Mandasor³ dated Malava Samvat 589 (A.D. 533) mentions a king named Yasodharman who was ruler of Malwa when the well was built and who in a second Mandasor inscription⁴ is mentioned as having conquered Mihirakula. This would separate Mihirakula from his father Toramāna (A.D. 471) by more than sixty years. In explanation of this gap it may be suggested that the [1]52 (A.D. 472) coins were struck early in Toramāna's reign in honour of his conquest of the eastern Gupta territory. A reign of twenty years would bring Toramāna to 177 (A.D. 497). The Gwalior inscription of Mihirakula is in the fifteenth year of his reign that is on the basis of a succession date of 177 (A.D. 497) in Gupta 192 (A.D. 512). An interval of five years would bring Yasodharman's conquest of Mihirakula to 197 (A.D. 517). This would place the making of the well in the twenty-first year of Mihirakula's reign.

After Budhagupta neither inscription nor coin shows any trace of Gupta supremacy in Mālwa. An Eran inscription⁵ found in 1869 on a *linga*-shaped stone, with the representation of a woman performing *satī*, records the death in battle of a king Goparāja who is mentioned as the daughter's son of Sarabharāja and appears to have been the son of king Mādhava. Much of the inscription is lost. What remains records the passing to heaven of the deceased king in the very destructive fight with the great warrior (*pravīra*) Bhānugupta brave as Pārtha. The inscription is dated the seventh of dark Bhādrapada Gupta 191 in words as well as in numerals that is in A.D. 511. This Bhānugupta would be the successor of Budhagupta ruling over a petty Mālwa principality which lasted till nearly the time of the great Harshavardhana the beginning of the seventh century (A.D. 607-650), as a Devagupta of Mālwa is one of Rājyavardhana's rivals in the Sriharshacharita. While Gupta power failed in Mālwa

¹ Published by Mr. Fleet Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 36

² Fleet Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 37

³ Fleet Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 35

⁴ Fleet Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 33

⁵ Fleet Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 20

Bhānugupta,
A.D. 511

and disappeared from Western India a fresh branch of the Guptas rose in Mithila or Behar and under Narāgupta Bahaditya perhaps the founder of the eastern branch of the later Gupta dynasty, attained the dignity of a gold coinage.¹

Though the history of their last years is known only in fragments, chiefly from inscriptions and coins, little doubt remains regarding the power which first seriously weakened the early Guptas. The Bharatīya stone pillar of Skandagupta² speaks of his restoring the fortunes of his family and conquering the Pushyamitras and also of his joining in close conflict with the Hunas.³ Unfortunately the Bharatīya inscription is not dated. The Junagadh inscription, which bears three dates covering the period between A.D. 455 and 458,⁴ mentions pride broken enemies in the country of the Mlechchhas attributing Skandagupta's victory. That the Mlechchhas of this passage refer to the Hunas is made probable by the fact that it does not appear that the Pushyamitras were Mlechchhas while they and the Hunas are the only enemies whom Skandagupta boasts either of defeating or of meeting in close conflict. It may therefore be assumed that the Hunas became known to Skandagupta before A.D. 455. According to the Chinese historians⁵ the White Huns did not cross the Oxus into Baktria before A.D. 452 the founding of the Hun capital of Badghis⁶ may be fixed between A.D. 452 and 455. As the above quoted inscriptions indicate that the Huns were repulsed in their first attempt to take part in Indian politics the disturbances during the last years of Kumaragupta's reign were probably due to some tribe other than the Huns. This tribe seems to have been the Pushyamitras whose head quarters would seem to have been in Northern India. Some other enemy must have arisen in Malwa

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THE GUPTAS,
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The
Pushyamitras,
A.D. 410

¹ On Narāgupta see below page 77, and for his coins I. R. A. S. (N. S.) XXI note Pl. III H.

² The Pushyamitras seem to have been a long established tribe like the Yaudheyas (above page 57). During the reign of Kaushika (A.D. 78-94) Pushyamitras were settled in the neighbourhood of Bahadrasht and at that time had already given their name to a land tract.

The sense of the inscription is somewhat doubtful. Mr. Fleet (Corp. Ins. Ind. III. page 62) translates: 'Whose fame, moreover, even (his) enemies in the countries of the Mlechchhas, having their pride broken down to the very root, announce with the words "Verily the victory has been achieved by him".' Prof. Peteron understands the meaning to be that Skandagupta's Indian enemies were forced to retire beyond the borders of India among friendly Mlechchhas and in a foreign land admit that the renewal of their conflict with Skandagupta was beyond hope. The retreat of Skandagupta's Indian enemies to the Mlechchhas suggests the Mlechchhas are the Hunas that is the White Huns who were already in power on the Indian border, whom the enemies had previously in vain brought as allies into India to help them against Skandagupta. This gives exactness to the expression used in Skandagupta's Bharatīya inscription (Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Number 13 page 56) that he joined in close conflict with the Hunas among enemies, as if in this conflict the Hunas were the allies of enemies rather than the enemies themselves. For the introduction into India of foreign allies, compare in no. 327 (McCrindle's Alexander in India, 112) the king of Taxila, 31 miles north west of Rawalpindi, sending an embassy to Baktria to secure Alexander as an ally against Poros of the Gujarat country. And (Ditto, 109) a few years later (no. 310) the North Indian Malayaketa allying himself with Yavans in his attack on Pataliputra or Patna.

³ Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 14 line 4.

⁴ Touloungien quoted by Speel in Journal Asiatique for Oct. Dec. 1883.

⁵ Badghis is the modern Badkshir the upper plateau between the Merv and the Herat rivers. The probable site of the capital of the White Huns is a little north of Herat. See Marco Polo's Itinerary No. I., Yule's Marco Polo, I. xxxii.

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the terms of Paradatta's appointment to Surāṣṭra in A.D. 455-6 suggest that country had been lost to the Gupta empire and recovered by Śaundagupta which would naturally be the case if the empire had risen in Mālava and been overthrown by that king. So far as is known the Huns made no successful attack on the Gupta empire during the lifetime of Skandagupta whose latest date is A.D. 468-9. It is not certain who succeeded Skandagupta. His brother Puruṣa or Sthira-gupta ruled in or near Magadha. But it is not certain whether he was the successor or the rival of Skandagupta. That Skandagupta's inscriptions are found in the Patna district in the east and in Kāthiāwāḍa in the west suggests that during his life the empire was not divided nor does any one of his inscriptions hint at a partition. The probability is that Skandagupta was succeeded by his brother Purugupta, who again was followed by his son Narasimhagupta and his grand-son Kumāragupta II.

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Among the northerners who with or shortly after the Pu-hyaras shared in the overthrow of Gupta power two names, a father and a son, Toramāna and Mihirakula are prominent. It is not certain that these kings were Hūnas by race. Their tribe were almost certainly his real allies whom Śaundaryagupta's Bhūti and Śaundaryādharmasūtras call the one Hūna the other Mlecchihūna. One of Toramāna's coins Mr Fleet read⁶ the date 52 which he interprets as a regnal date. This though not impossible is somewhat unlikely. The date of Mihirakula's accession to his father is fixed some time about A.D. 515⁷. In the neighbourhood of Gwāliar he reigned at least fifteen years.⁸ The story of Mihirakula's interview with Śaundaryā's mother and his long subsequent history⁹ indicate that when he came to the throne he was a young man probably not more than 25. If his father reigned fifty-two years he must have been at least 70 when he died and not less than 45 when Mihirakula was born. As Mihirakula is known to have had at least one younger brother,¹⁰ it seems probable that Toramāna came to the throne a good deal later than A.D. 460 the date suggested by Mr. Fleet¹¹. The date 52 on Toramāna's coins must therefore refer to some event other than his own accession. The suggestion may be offered that that event was the establishment of the White Huns in Baktria and the founding of their capital Badeghi,¹² which as fixed above between A.D. 452 and 455, gives the very suitable date of A.D. 504 to 507 for the 52 of Toramāna's coin. If this suggestion is correct a further identification follows. The Chinese ambassador Sung-yun (A.D. 529),¹³

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THE GUPTAS
A.D. 400-470
White Huns,
A.D. 450-520

Lac-hi the father of Toramāna belonged¹ At the same time, though perhaps not themselves White Huns, the details regarding Toramāna and Mihirakula so nearly cover the fifty years (A.D. 470-530) of Hūna ascendancy in North India that, as was in keeping with their position in charge of his Indian outpost, the White Hun emperor Khushnāwaz, while himself engaged in Central Asia and in Persia (A.D. 460-500),² seems to have entrusted the conquest of India to Toramāna and his son Mihirakula. Of the progress of the mixed Yüan-Yüan and White Hun invaders in India few details are available. Their ascendancy in the north seems to have been too complete to allow of opposition, and Hūnas were probably closely associated with the Maitraka or Mehara conquest of Kāthiāwāda (A.D. 480-520). The southern fringe of the White Hun dominions, the present Saugor district of the Central Provinces, seems to have been the chief theatre of war, a debateable ground between the Guptas, Toramāna, and the Malwa chiefs. To the east of Saugor the Guptas succeeded in maintaining their power until at least A.D. 528-9.³ To the west of Saugor the Guptas held Eran in A.D. 484-5.⁴ About twenty years later (A.D. 505),⁵ Eran was in the hands of Toramāna, and in A.D. 510-11 Bhanugupta⁶ fought and apparently won a battle at Eran.

Mihirakula,
A.D. 512.

Mihirakula's accession to the throne may perhaps be fixed at A.D. 512. An inscription of Yaśodharman, the date of which cannot be many years on either side of A.D. 532-3, claims to have enforced the submission of the famous Mihirakula whose power had established itself on the thrones of kings and who had hitherto bowed his neck to no one but Śiva.⁷ In spite of this defeat Mihirakula held Gwalior and the inaccessible fortress of the Himālayas.⁸ These dates give about A.D. 520 as the time of Mihirakula's greatest power, a result which suggests that the Gollas, whom, about A.D. 520, the Greek merchant Cosmas Indikopleustes heard of in the ports of Western India as the supreme ruler of Northern India was Kula or Mihirakula.⁹

Yaśodharman
of Malwa,
A.D. 532-3

Regarding the history of the third destroyers of Gupta power in Malwa, inscriptions show that in A.D. 437-8, under Kumāragupta, Bandhuvārman son of Vishnuvarman ruled as a local king.¹⁰

¹ The name Jouen Jouen seems to agree with Toramāna's surname Jauvā and with the journey of Cosmas Indikopleustes (A.D. 520-535) places to the north-east of Persia. *Priault's Indian Travels*, 220.

² *Priault's Indian Travels*, 311-319.

³ *Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 25 line 1*

⁴ *Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 19 line 2*

⁵ *Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 36*

⁶ *Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 20*

⁷ *Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 33*

⁸ *Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III. and Ind. Ant. XVIII. 219*

⁹ *Priault's Indian Travels*, 222. Compare Yule's *Cathay*, I. c. lxxx, Mignes' *Pat. de l'Asie*, 170. For the use of Kula for Mihirakula, the second half for the whole, compare *Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 19 line 2*. As regards the change from Kula to Gollas it is to be noted that certain of Mihirakula's own coins (*Ind. Ant. XV. 249*) have the form *Gollas* or *Kula*, and that this agrees with the suggestion (page 75 note 6) that the true form of the name is the Persian Mihirakula Rose of the Sun. Of this Gollas, who, like Mihirakula, was of the type of conqueror round whom legends gather, Cosmas says (*Priault*, 223) that he was a great force of cavalry Gollas could bring into the field 2000 elephants. *Ind. Ant. XV. 249* has arms that once when besieging an inland town defended by a water fosse the elephants drank the water and marched in dry shoes.

¹⁰ *Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 18*

Possibly Bandhuvvarman afterwards threw off his allegiance to the Guptas and thereby caused the temporary loss of Suráshtra towards the end of Kumáragupta's reign. Nothing further is recorded of the rulers of Málwa until the reign of Yaśodharman in A.D. 533-4.¹ It has been supposed that one of Yaśodharman's inscriptions mentioned a king Vishnuvaidhana but there can be little doubt that both names refer to the same person.² The name of Yaśodharman's tribe is unknown and his crest the *aulikara* has not been satisfactorily explained.³ Mandasor⁴ in Western Malwa, where all his inscriptions have been found, must have been a centre of Yaśodharman's power. Yaśodharman boasts⁵ of conquering from the Brahmaputra to mount Mahendra and from the Himálayas to the Western Ocean. In the sixth century only one dynasty could claim such widespread power. That dynasty is the famous family of Ujjain to which belonged the well known Vikramáditya of the Nine Gems. It may be conjectured not only that Yaśodharman belonged to this family but that Yaśodharman was the great Vikramáditya himself.⁶

The difficult question remains by whom was the power of Mihirakula overthrown. Yaśodharman claims to have subdued Mihirakula, who, he distinctly says, had never before been defeated.⁷ On the other hand, Huen Tsiang ascribes Mihirakula's overthrow to a Báláditya of Magadha.⁸ Coins prove that Báláditya⁹ was one of the titles of Narasimhagupta grandson of Kumáragupta I (A.D. 417-453) who probably ruled Magadha as his son's seal was found in the Gházipur district.¹⁰ If Huen Tsiang's story is accepted a slight chronological difficulty arises in the way of this identification. It is clear that Mihirakula's first defeat was at the hands of Yaśodharman about A.D. 530. His defeat and capture by Báláditya must have been later. As Skandagupta's reign ended about A.D. 470 a blank of sixty years has to be filled by the two reigns of his brother and his nephew.¹¹ This, though not impossible, suggests caution in identifying Báláditya. According to Huen Tsiang Báláditya was a feudatory of Mihirakula who rebelled against him when he began to persecute the Buddhists. Huen Tsiang notices that, at the intercession of his own mother, Báláditya spared Mihirakula's life and allowed him to retire to Kashmir. He further notices that Mihirakula and his brother were rivals and his statement suggests that from Kashmir Mihirakula defeated his brother and recovered Gandhára. The ascendancy of the White Huns cannot have lasted long after Mihirakula. About A.D. 560 the power of the White Huns was crushed between the combined attacks of the Persians and Turks.¹²—(A. M. T. J.)

Chapter VII

THE GUPTAS,
A.D. 460-470Yaśodharman
of Málwa,
A.D. 533-4¹ Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 33-35² Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 35 line 5³ N. Lat. 24° 3', E. Long. 75° 8'⁴ Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 33 line 5⁵ This has already been suggested by Genl. Cunningham, Num. Chron. (3rd Ser.), VIII.⁶ Dr. Hærnle (J. B. A. S. LVIII. 100ff.) has identified Yaśodharman with Vikramá-⁷ ditya's son Śíláditya Pratápáśila.⁸ Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 33 line 6⁹ Beal's Buddhist Records, I. 169¹⁰ Hærnle in J. B. A. S. LVIII. 97¹¹ See Smith and Hærnle J. B. A. S. LVIII. 84; and Fleet Ind. Ant. XIX. 224¹² Hærnle makes light of this difficulty J. B. A. S. LVIII. 97¹³ Rawlinson's Seventh Monarchy, 420, 422

CHAPTER VIII.

THE VALABHIS

(A.D. 503-766)

Chapter VIII

The Valabhis

The Valabhis

The Valabhi dynasty, which succeeded the Guptas in Gujarát and Káthiawad, take their name from their capital in the east of Káthiawad about twenty miles west of Bhavnagar and about twenty-five miles north of the holy Jain hill of Sātrunājaya. The modern name of Valabhi is Valch. It is impossible to say whether the modern Valch is a corruption of Valabhi the Prākṛit form of the Sanskrit Valabhi or whether Valabhi is Sanskritised from a local original Valch. The form Valabhi occurs in the writings of Jinaprabhasuri a learned Jain of the thirteenth century who describes Sātrunājaya as in the Valāhaka province. A town in the chief-ship of Valch now occupies the site of old Valabhi,¹ whose ruins lie buried below thick layers of black earth and silt under the modern town and its neighbourhood. The only remains of old buildings are the large foundation bricks of which, except a few new houses, the whole of Valch is built. The absence of stone supports the theory that the buildings of old Valabhi were of brick and wood. In 1872 when the site was examined the only stone remains were a few scattered Lingas and a well-polished life-size granite Nandi or bull lying near a modern Mahādeva temple. Diggers for old bricks have found copper pots and copperplates and small Buddhist relic shrines with earthen pots and clay seals of the seventh century.

The ruins of Valabhi show few signs of representing a large or important city. The want of sweet water apparently unfits the site for the capital of so large a kingdom as Valabhi. Its choice as capital was probably due to its being a harbour on the Bhavnagar creek. Since

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THE VALABHIS,
A D 509 766Valabhi in
A D. 630

the days of Valabhi's prime the silt which thickly covers the ruins has also filled and choked the channel which once united it with the Bhāvnagar creek when the small Ghelo was probably a fair sized river.

In spite of the disappearance of every sign of greatness Hsuen Tsiang's (A D 610) details show how rich and populous Valabhi was in the early part of the seventh century. The country was about 1000 miles (6000 li) and the capital about five miles (30 li) in circumference. The soil, the climate and the manners of the people were like those of Malava. The population was dense, the religious establishments rich. Over a hundred merchants owned a hundred *lālās*. The rare and valuable products of distant regions were stored in great quantities. In the country were several hundred monasteries or *sanghaviṣṭas* with about 6000 monks. Most of them studied the Little Vehicle according to the Sāmmatiya school. There were several hundred temples of Devas and sectaries of many sorts. When Tathāgata or Gautama Buddha (B C 560-480) lived he often travelled through this country. King As'oka (B C 210) had raised monuments or *stupas* in all places where Buddha had rested. Among these were spots where the three past Buddhas sat or walked or preached. At the time of Hsuen Tsiang's account (A D 640) the king was of the Kshatriya caste, as all Indian rulers were. He was the nephew of Śīlāditya of Malava and the son-in-law of the son of Śīlāditya the reigning king of Kanyakubja. His name was Dhruvapātu (T'u-lu-h'o-po-tu). He was of a lively and hasty disposition, shallow in wisdom and statecraft. He had only recently attached himself sincerely to the faith in the three precious ones. He yearly summoned a great assembly and during seven days gave away valuable gems and choice meats. On the monks he bestowed in charity the three garments and medicaments, or their equivalents in value, and precious articles made of the seven rare and costly gems. These he gave in charity and redeemed at twice their price. He esteemed the virtuous, honoured the good, and revered the wise. Learned priests from distant regions were specially honoured. Not far from the city was a great monastery built by the Aśvat Achāra ('O-che-lo), where, during their travels, the Bodhisattvas Guṇamatī and Sthūmatī (Kien-hwui) settled and composed renowned treatises.¹

The only historical materials regarding the Valabhi dynasty are their copperplates of which a large number have been found. That such powerful rulers as the Valabhis should leave no records on stones and no remains of religious or other buildings is probably because, with one possible exception at Gopnāth,² up to the ninth century all temples and religious buildings in Kāthiāwāda and Gujaraṭ were of brick and wood.³

Valabhi
Copperplates

¹ As suggested by Dr Bühler (Ind Ant VI 10), this is probably the Vihāra called Śrī Bappapādiya-vihāra which is described as having been constructed by Achārya Bhadanta Sthūramatī who is mentioned as the grantee in a copperplate of Dharaśena II bearing date Gupta 269 (A D 588). The Sthūramatī mentioned with titles of religious veneration in the copperplate is probably the same as that referred to by Hsuen Tsiang. (Ditto)

² Burgess' Kāthiāwār and Kutch, 187

³ Stories on record about two temples one at Sātrufijaya the other at Somanātha support this view. As regards the Sātrufijaya temple the tradition is that while the minister of Kumarapāla (A D 1143-1174) of Anahlavāda was on a visit to Sātrufijaya to worship and meditate in the temple of Adinātha, the wick of the lamp in the shrine was removed

Chapter VIII
THE VALABHI,
A.D. 700-705
Valabhi
Copper plates

The Valabhi copperplates chiefly record grants to Brahmanical temples and Buddhist monasteries and sometimes to individuals. All are in one style two plates inscribed breadthwise on the inner side, the earliest plates being the smallest. The plates are held together by two rings passed through two holes in their horizontal upper margin. One of the rings bears on one side a seal with, as a badge of the religion of the dynasty, a well-proportioned seated Nandi or bull. Under the bull is the word Bhatārka the name of the founder of the dynasty. Except such differences as may be traced to the lapse of time, the characters are the same in all, and at the same time differ from the character then in use in the Valabhi territory which must have been that from which Devanāgarī is derived. The Valabhi plate character is adopted from that previously in use in South Gujarāt plates which was taken from the South Indian character. The use of this character suggests that either Bhatārka or the clerks and writers of the plates came from South Gujarāt.¹ The language of all the grants is Sanskrit prose. Each records the year of the grant, the name of the king making the grant, the name of the grantee, the name of the village or field granted, the name of the writer of the charter either the minister of peace and war *sandhivigrahādhiprita* or the military head *balādhiprita*, and sometimes the name of the *dūtaka* or gift-causer generally some officer of influence or a prince and in one case a princess. The grants begin by recording they were made either 'from Valabhi' the capital, or 'from the royal camp' '*Vijaya-shandhivāra*'. Then follows the genealogy of the dynasty from Bhatārka the founder to the grantor king. Each king has in every grant a series of attributes which appear to have been fixed for him once for all. Except in rare instances the grants contain nothing historical. They are filled with verbose description and figures of speech in high flown Sanskrit. As enjoined in law-books or *dharmaśāstras* after the genealogy of the grantor comes the name of the composer usually the minister of peace and war and after him the boundaries of the land granted. The plates conclude with the date of the grant, expressed in numerals following the letter *sam* or the letters *saṃva* for *saṃvatsara* that is year. After the numerals are given the lunar month and day and the day of the week, with, at the extreme end, the sign manual *śahasa mama* followed by the name of the king in the genitive case that is Own hand of me so and so. The name of the era in which the date is reckoned is nowhere given.

Printed
Correct

So far as is known the dates extend for 240 years from 207 to 447. That the earliest known date is so late as 207 makes it pro-

¹ Burnt and set on fire and almost destroyed the temple which was wholly of wood. The story of saving the danger of wooden buildings determined to erect a stone edifice (*Kumarpala Charita*). The story about Somanātha is given in an inscription of the time of Kumarpala in the temple of Bhadrakali which shows that before the stone temple was built by Bhīmadēva I (A.D. 1022-1072) the structure was of wood which was traditionally believed to be as old as the time of Krishna. Compare the Bhadrakali inscription at Somanātha.

² The correctness of this inference seems open to question. The descent of the Valabhi plate character seems traceable from its natural local source the Skandagupta (A.D. 450) and the Rudradāman (A.D. 150) Gurnār inscriptions. — (A. M. T. J.)

bable that the Valabhis adopted an era already in use in Káthiáváda. No other era seems to have been in use in Valabhi. Three inscriptions have their years dated expressly in the Valabhi Samvat. The earliest of these in Bhadrakáli's temple in Somnáth Pátanis of the time of Kumárapála (A D 1113-1171) the Solanki ruler of Anahilaváda. It bears date Valabhi Samvat 850. The second and third are in the temple of Haisata Devi at Verával. The second which was first mentioned by Colonel Tod, is dated Hija 662, Vikrama Samvat 1320, Valabhi Samvat 945, and Simha Samvat 151. The third inscription, in the same temple on the face of the pedestal of an image of Krishna represented as upholding the Govardhana hill, bears date Valabhi S 927. These facts prove that an era known as the Valabhi era, which the inscriptions show began in A D 319, was in use for about a hundred years in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This may be accepted as the era of the Valabhi plates which extended over two centuries. Further the great authority (A D 1030) Alberuni gives Saka 241 that is A D 319 as the starting point both of the 'era of Balah' and of what he calls the Gupta-kála or the Gupta era. Beruni's accuracy is established by a comparison of the Mandasori inscription and the Nepál inscription of Amsuvarman which together prove the Gupta era started from A D 319. Though its use by the powerful Valabhi dynasty caused the era to be generally known by their name in Gujarát in certain localities the Gupta era continued in use under its original name as in the Morbi copperplate of Jákadeva which bears date 588 "of the era of the Guptas"¹

The Valabhi grants supply information regarding the leading office bearers and the revenue police and village administrators whose names generally occur in the following order:

- (1) *Ayuktaka*, } meaning appointed, apparently any superior
- (2) *Vinyuktaka* } official
- (3) *Draṅgiha*, apparently an officer in charge of a town, as *dranga* means a town
- (4) *Mahattara* or Senior has the derivative meaning of high in rank. *Mhátara* the Maráthi for an old man is the same word. In the Valabhi plates *mahattara* seems to be generally used to mean the accredited headman of a village, recognised as headman both by the people of the village and by the Government.
- (5) *Chátabhata* that is *bhata*s or sepoys for *chitas* or rogues, police mounted and on foot, represent the modern police *jamadárs* *haváldárs* and constables. The Kumárapála Charita mentions that Chátabhata were sent by Siddharíja to apprehend the fugitive Kumárapála. One plate records the grant of a village 'unenterable by *chátabhata*'²
- (6) *Dhruva* fixed or permanent is the hereditary officer in charge of the records and accounts of a village, the Taláti and Kulkarni

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THE VALABHIS,
A D. 509-766Period
CoveredValabhi
Administration,
A D. 500-700.

¹ The era has been exhaustively discussed by Mr Fleet in Corp Ins Ind III Introduction

² Nepal Inscriptions. The phrase *acháta-bhata* is not uncommon. Mr Fleet (Corp Ins. Ind. III page 98 note 2) explains *acháta bhata praveya* as "not to be entered either by regular (*bhata*) or by irregular (*cháta*) troops."

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THE VĀNIÁS,
A.D. 791-795VĀNIÁS
A.D. 791-795

of modern times. One of the chief duties of the Dhruva was to see that revenue farmers did not take more than the royal share.¹ The name is still in use in Cutch where village accountants are called *Dhru* and *Dhruva*. *Dhru* is also a common surname among Nāgar Brāhmins and Modh and other Vāniās in Cutch Gujarāt and Kāthiāvāda.

(7) *Adhikaranika* means the chief judicial magistrate or judge of a place.

(8) *Dandapāśika* literally 'holding the fetters or noose of punishment,' is used both of the head police officer and of the hangman or executioner.

(9) *Chavoddharanika* the thief-catcher. Of the two Indian ways of catching thieves, one of setting a thief to catch a thief the other the *Pagi* or tracking system, the second answers well in Cutch Gujarāt and Kāthiāvāda where the Tracker or *Pagi* is one of the *Bārābalute* or regular village servants.

(10) *Rajasthānīya*, the foreign secretary, the officer who had to do with other states and kingdoms *rājasthānas*. Some authorities take *rājasthānīya* to mean viceroy.

(11) *Amātya* minister and sometimes councillor is generally coupled with *kumāra* or prince.

(12) *Anutpannādīnasamudgrāhaka* the arrear-gatherer.

(13) *Sāullika* the superintendent of tolls or customs.

(14) *Bhogika* or *Bhogoddharanika* the collector of the *Bhoga* that is the state share of the land produce taken in kind, as a rule one-sixth. The term *bhoga* is still in use in Kāthiāvāda for the share, usually one-sixth, which landholders receive from their cultivating tenants.

(15) *Vartmopālu* the roadwatch were often mounted and stationed in *thūnās* or small roadside sheds.²

(16) *Pratisaruka* patrols night-guards or watchmen of fields and villages.³

(17) *Vishayapati* division-lord probably corresponded to the present subāh.

(18) *Rāshtrapati* the head of a district.

(19) *Grāmakūpa* the village headman.

The plates show traces of four territorial divisions: (1) *Vishaya* the largest corresponding to the modern administrative Division (2) *Āhāra* or *Āharant* that is collectorate (from *āhāra* a collection) corresponding to the modern district or zillah (3) *Pathaka*, of the road, a sub-division, the place named and its surroundings. (4) *Sthola* a petty division the place without surroundings.⁴

The district of Kaira and the province of Kāthiāvāda to which the Velabhi grants chiefly refer appear to have had separate systems

Territorial
DivisionsI. I.
A. I.

of land assessment Kana by yield Káthiávāda by area. Under the Káthiávāda system the measurement was by *pádāvarta* literally the space between one foot and the other that is the modern *ladam* or pace. The pace used in measuring land seems to have differed from the ordinary pace as most of the Káthiávāda grants mention the *bhāpádāvarta* or land pace. The Kaira system of assessment was by yield the unit being the *ṃṭaka* or basketful, the grants describing fields as capable of growing so many baskets of rice or barley (or as requiring so many baskets of seed). As the grants always specify the Kaira basket a similar system with a different sized basket seems to have been in use in other parts of the country. Another detail which the plates preserve is that each field had its name called after a guardian or from some tree or plant. Among field names are Kotilaka, Atimana-kedāra, Khandā-kedāra, Gargana-kshetra, Bhīma-kshetra, Khagali-kedāra, Sami-kedāra.

The state religion of the Valabhi kings was Śaivism. Every Valabhi copperplate hitherto found bears on its seal the figure of a bull with under it the name of Bhatārka the founder of the dynasty who was a Śaiva. Except Dhruvasena I (A D 526) who is called *Paramabhāgavata* or the great Vaishnava and his brother and successor Dharapatta who is styled *Paramādityabhakta* or the great devotee of the sun, and Guhasena, who in his grant of Sam 248 calls himself *Paramopāsaka* or the great devotee of Buddha, all the Valabhi kings are called *Parama-māheśvara* the great Śaiva.

The grants to Buddhist *vihāras* or monasteries of which there are several seem special gifts to institutions founded by female relatives of the granting kings. Most of the grants are to Brāhmins who though performing Vaidik ceremonies probably as at present honoured Śaivism. This Śaivism seems to have been of the old Pāsupata school of Nakulīśa or Lakulīśa as the chief shrine of Lakulīśa was at Kāravana the modern Kārvān in the Gaikwā's territory fifteen miles south of Baroda and eight miles north-east of Miyāgām railway station a most holy place till the time of the Vāghela king Aṇunadeva in the thirteenth century¹. The special

Chapter VII.

THE VALABHIS
A D 509-766Land
Assessment

Religion

¹ Kārvān seems to have suffered great desecration at the hands of the Musalmāns. All round the village chiefly under pipal trees, images and pieces of sculpture and large *lingas* lie scattered. To the north and east of the village on the banks of a large built pond called Kāsikunda are numerous sculptures and *lingas*. Partly embedded in the ground a pillar in style of about the eleventh century has a writing over it of latter times. The inscription contains the name of the place Sanskritised as Kāyā varohana, and mentions an ascetic named Virabhadrarāśi who remained mute for twelve years. Near the pillar, at the steps leading to the water, is a carved doorway of about the tenth or eleventh century with some well proportioned figures. The left doorpost has at the top a figure of Śiva, below the Śiva a figure of Śūrya, below the Śūrya a male and female, and under them attendants or *ganas* of Śiva. The right doorpost has at the top a figure of Viṣṇu seated on Garuḍa, below the seated Viṣṇu a standing Viṣṇu with four hands, and below that two sitting male and female figures, the male with hands folded in worship the female holding a purse. These figures probably represent a married pair who paid for this gateway. Further below are figures of *ganas* of Śiva. In 1884 in repairing the south bank of the pond a number of carved stones were brought from the north of the town. About half a mile north west of the town on the bank of a dry brook, is a temple of Chāmundā Devī of about the tenth century. It contains a mutilated life size image of Chāmundā. Facing the temple lie mutilated figures of the seven Mātrikās and of Bharava, probably the remains of a separate altar.

Chapter VIII
 The Vaidya
 and the
 the

holiness attached to the Narbádā in Śaivism and to its pebbles as *lingas* is probably due to the neighbourhood of this shrine of Kérva. The followers of the Nakulíśa-Páśupata school were strict devotees of Śaivism, Nakulíśa the founder being regarded as an incarnation of Śiva. The date of the foundation of this school is not yet determined. It appears to have been between the second and the fifth century A.D. Nakulíśa had four disciples Kuśika, Gargya, Karuśa and Maitreya founders of four branches which spread through the length and breadth of India. Though no special representatives of this school remain, in spite of their nominal allegiance to Śaṅkarāchārya the Daśanāmis or Atītis are in fact Nakulíśas in their discipline doctrines and habits—applying ashes over the whole body, planting a *linga* over the grave of a buried Atīti, and possessing proprietary rights over Śaiva temples. The Páśupatas were ever ready to fight for their school and often helped and served in the armies of kings who became their disciples. Till a century ago these unpaid followers recruited the armies of India with valiant firm and strong in fighting. It was apparently to gain these recruits that so many of the old rulers of India became followers of the Páśupata school. To secure their services the rulers had to pay them special respect. The leaders of these fighting monks were regarded as pontiffs like the Bappa-pada or Pontiff of the later Valabhi and other kings. Thus among the later Valabhis Śālokhya IV is called *Borupadamudhyāta* and all subsequent Śālokhya *Bappapadamudhyāta* both titles meaning Worshipping at the feet of Bava or Bappa.

Thus Bava is the popular Prakrit form of the older Prakrit or *dēva* Bappa meaning Father or worshipful. Bappa is the original of the Hindi *bāp* and Gujarati *Bavā* father or elder. It is also a special term for a head Governor or Atīti or indeed for any ruler. The epithet *Bappapadamudhyāta*, Bowing at the feet of Bappa, occur in the attributes of several Nepāl kings, and in the case of King Vajrantaka appear the full phrase

Devānāgarī Bappa Bhūtatāla-nābhāratya-Sat-padamudhyāta

common overlord which the distance between the two countries and still more the fact that his titles are the same as the titles of the Valabhi kings make almost impossible. In these circumstances the most probable explanation of the Bappa or Bava of these inscriptions is that it was applied to Shaivite pontiffs or ecclesiastical dignitaries. The attribute *Parama-dattata* The Great Divine prefixed to Bappa in the inscription of Vasantasena confirms this view. That such royal titles as *Maharajadhiraja*, *Parama-chakravala* and *Paramasvara* are ascribed to Bappa is in agreement with the present use of Mahārāja for all priestly Brāhmins and recluses and of Bhāṭṭāraka for Digambara Jain priests. Though specially associated with Saivas the title *bappa* is applied also to Vaishnava dignitaries. That the term *bappa* was in similar use among the Buddhists appear from the title of a Valabhi *vihāra* Bappa bhavānā The monastery of the worshipful Bappa that is Of the great teacher Sthūmanā by whom it was built.¹

The tribe or race of Bhataraka the founder of the Valabhi dynasty is doubtful. None of the numerous Valabhi copperplates mentions the name of the founder. The Chalukya and Rishtrakuta copperplates are silent regarding the Valabhi dynasty. And it is worthy of note that the Gohla and Gohas, who are descended from the Valabhis, take their name not from their race but from king Guha or Guhasena (A.D. 559-567) the fourth ruler and apparently the first great sovereign among the Valabhis. These considerations make it probable that Bhataraka belonged to some low or stranger tribe. Though the evidence falls short of proof the probability seems strong that Bhataraka belonged to the Gurjara tribe, and that it was the reputation of him and his descendants which gave rise to the name Gurjaravata the country of the Gurjaras, a name used at first by outsiders and afterwards adopted by the people of Gujarat. Except Bhataraka and his powerful dynasty no kings occur of sufficient importance to have given their name to the great province of Gujarat. Against their Gurjara origin it may be urged that the Chinese traveller Huen Tsiang (A.D. 610) calls the king of Valabhi a Kshatriya. Still Huen Tsiang's remark was made more than a century after the establishment of the dynasty when their rise to power and influence had made it possible for them to ennoble themselves by calling themselves Kshatriyas and tracing their lineage to Puranic heroes. That such ennobling was not only possible but common is beyond question. Many so-called Rājput families in Gujarat and Kāthiavāda can be traced to low or stranger tribes. The early kings of Nandipurī or Nandod (A.D. 150) call themselves Gurjaras and the later members of the same dynasty trace their lineage to the Mahābhārata hero Karna. Again two of the Nandod Gurjaras Dadda II and Jayabhata II helped the Valabhis under circumstances which suggest that the bond of sympathy

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A.D. 509-766.

Religion

Origin of
the Valabhis

¹ Compare Buddhist Records, II 268 note 76 and Ind. Ant. VI 9. The meaning and reference of the title *Bappa* have been much discussed. The question is treated at length by Mr. Fleet (Corp. Ins. Ind. III 186 note 1) with the result that the title is applied not to a religious teacher but to the father and predecessor of the king who makes the grant. According to Mr. Fleet *bappa* would be used in reference to a father, *bāra* in reference to an uncle.

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may have been their common origin. The present chiefs of Nándod derive their lineage from Karna and call themselves Gohils of the same stock as the Bhávnagar Gohils who admittedly belong to the Valabhi stock. This supports the theory that the Gurjaras and the Valabhis had a common origin, and that the Gurjaras were a branch of and tributary to the Valabhis. This would explain how the Valabhis came to make grants in Broach at the time when the Gurjaras ruled there. It would further explain that the Gurjaras were called *sámantas* or feudatories because they were under the overlordship of the Valabhis.¹

History

The preceding chapter shows that except Chandragupta (A.D. 410) Kumáragupta (A.D. 416) and Skandagupta (A.D. 456) none of the Guptas have left any trace of supremacy in Gujarát and Káthiáváda. Of what happened in Gujarát during the forty years after Gupta 150 (A.D. 469), when the reign of Skandagupta came to an end nothing is known or is likely to be discovered from Indian sources. The blank of forty years to the founder Bhatárka (A.D. 509) or more correctly of sixty years to Dhruvasena (A.D. 526) the first Valabhi king probably corresponds with the ascendancy of some foreign dynasty or tribe. All trace of this tribe has according to custom been blotted out of the Sanskrit and other Hindu records. At the same time it is remarkable that the fifty years ending about A.D. 525 correspond closely with the ascendancy in north and north-west India of the great tribe of Ephthalites or White Huns. As has been shown in the Gupta Chapter, by A.D. 470 or 480, the White Huns seem to have been powerful if not supreme in Upper India. In the beginning of the sixth century, perhaps about A.D. 520, Cosmas Indicopleustes describes the north of India and the west coast as far south as Kalliena that is Kalyán near Bombay as under the Huns whose king was Gollas.² Not many years later (A.D. 530) the Hun power in Central India suffered defeat and about the same time a new dynasty arose in south-east Káthiáváda.

The Valabhis
 A.D. 207-526

The first trace of the new power, the earliest Valabhi grant, is that of Dhruvasena in the Valabhi or Gupta year 207 (A.D. 526). In this grant Dhruvasena is described as the third son of the Senapati or general Bhatárka. Of Senapati Bhatárka neither copperplate nor inscription has been found. Certain coins which General Cunningham Arch. Surv. Rept. IX Pl. V has ascribed to Bhatárka have on the obverse a bust, as on the western coins of

Kumāragupta and on the reverse the Śaiva trident, and round the trident the somewhat doubtful legend in Gupta characters :

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Raja Mahakshata Paramāhitrabhakta Śrī Sarva bhāṭṭāraka

Of the king the great Kshatri, great devotee of the sun, the illustrious Sarva bhāṭṭāraka

This Sarva seems to have been a Rāshtrakūṭa or Gurjara king. His coins were continued so long in use and were so often copied that in the end upright strokes took the place of letters. That these coins did not belong to the founder of the Valabhi dynasty appears not only from the difference of name between Bhāṭṭāraka and Bhāṭārka but because the former was a king and the founder of the Valabhis a general.

Of the kingdom which Senāpati Bhāṭārka overthrew the following details are given in one of his epithets in Valabhi copperplates : 'Who obtained glory by dealing hundreds of blows on the huge and very mighty armies of the Maṭṭrakas, who by force had subdued their enemies.' As regards these Maṭṭrakas it is to be noted that the name Maṭṭraka means Solar. The sound of the compound epithet *Maṭṭraka-amitra* that is Maṭṭraka-enemy used in the inscription makes it probable that the usual form Mihira or solar was rejected in favour of Maṭṭraka which also means solar to secure the necessary assonance with *amitra* or enemy. The form Mihira solar seems a Hindunizing or meaning-making of the northern tribal name Meḍh or Mehr, the Mehrs being a tribe which at one time seem to have held sway over the whole of Kāthiāwāda and which are still found in strength near the Barda hills in the south-west of Kāthiāwāda¹. The Jethvā chiefs of Porbandar who were formerly powerful rulers are almost certainly of the Mehr tribe. They are still called Mehr kings and the Mehrs of Kāthiāwāda regard them as their leaders and at the call of their Head are ready to fight for him. The chief of Mehr traditions describes the fights of their founder Makarādhvaja with one Mayūradhvaja. This tradition seems to embody the memory of an historical struggle. The *makara* or fish is the tribal badge of the Mehrs and is marked on a Morbi copperplate dated A D 901 (G 585) and on the forged Dhūnski grant of the Mehr king Jāśkādeva. On the other hand Mayūradhvaja or peacock-bannered would be the name of the Guptas beginning with Chandragupta who ruled in Gujarāt (A D 396-416) and whose coins have a peacock on the reverse. The tradition would thus be a recollection of the struggle between the Mehrs and Guptas in which about A D 470 the Guptas were defeated. The Mehrs seem to have been a northern tribe, who, the evidence of place names seems to show, passed south through Western Rājputana, Jaslo, Ajo, Bad, and Koml leaders of this tribe giving their names to the settlements of Jesalmir, Ajmir, Badmer, and Komalmer. The resemblance of name and the nearness of dates suggest a connection between the Mehrs and the great Panjāb conqueror of the Guptas Mihirakula (A D 512-540?) If not them-

Senāpati Bhāṭārka,
A D 509-520?

The Maṭṭrakas,
A D 470-509

¹ The Mehrs seem to have remained in power also in north east Kāthiāwāda till the thirteenth century. Mokherāji Gohil the famous chief of Piram was the son of a daughter of Dhanu Mehr or Mair of Dhanduka, Rās Māla, I, 316.

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A.D. 500-700THE VALABHIS,
A.D. 470-500

selves Hūnas the Mehis may have joined the conquering armies of the Hunas and passing south with the Hūnas may have won a settlement in Kāthiāvāda as the Kāthis and Jhādejās settled about 300 years later. After Senāpati Bhatārka's conquests in the south of the Peninsula the Mehrs seem to have retired to the north of Kāthiāvāda.

The above account of the founder of the Valabhis accepts the received opinion that he was the Senāpati or General of the Guptas. The two chief points in support of this view are that the Valabhis adopted both the Gupta era and the Gupta currency. Still it is to be noted that this adoption of a previous era and currency by no means implies any connection with the former rulers¹. Both the Gurjjaras (A.D. 580) and the Chālukyas (A.D. 642) adopted the existing era of the Traikūtakas (A.D. 248-9) while as regards currency the practice of continuing the existing type is by no means uncommon². In these circumstances, and seeing that certain of the earlier Valabhi inscriptions refer to an overlord who can hardly have been a Gupta, the identification of the king to whom the original Senāpati owed allegiance must be admitted to be doubtful.

All known copperplates down to those of Dharasena (A.D. 579 the great grandson of Bhatārka) give a complete genealogy from Bhatārka to Dharasena. Later copperplates omit all mention of any descendants but those in the main line.

Senāpati's
sons

Senāpati Bhatārka had four sons, (1) Dharasena (2) Dronasimha (3) Dhruvasena and (4) Dharapatta. Of Dharasena the first son no record has been traced. His name first appears in the copperplates of his brother Dhruvasena where like his father he is called Senāpati. Similarly of the second son Dronasimha no record exists except in the copperplates of his brother Dhruvasena. In these copperplates unlike his father and elder brother Dhruvasena is called *Mahārāja* and is mentioned as 'invested with royal authority in person by the great lord, the lord of the wide extent of the whole world'. This great lord or *paramasvāmi* could not have been his father Bhatārka. Probably he was the king to whom Bhatārka owed allegiance. It is not clear where Dronasimha was installed king probably it was in Kāthiāvāda from the south-east of which his father and elder brother had driven back the Mehrs or Martiakas³.

¹ All the silver and copper coins found in Valabhi and in the neighbouring town of Sihor are poor imitations of Kumāragupta's (A.D. 417-453) and of Skandagupta's (A.D. 454-470) coins, smaller lighter and of bad almost rude workmanship. The only traces of an independent currency are two copper coins of Dharasena, apparently Dharasena IV, the most powerful of the dynasty who was called *Chakravartin* or Emperor. The question of the Gupta Valabhi coins is discussed in Jour. Royal Asiatic Socy. for Jan. 1893 pages 133-143. Dr Bühler (page 138) holds the view put forward in this note of Dr Bhargava's namely that the coins are Valabhi copies of Gupta currency. Mr Smith (Ditto, 142-143) thinks they should be considered the coins of the kings whose names they bear.

² The three types of coins still current at Ujjain, Bhilsa, and Gwālor in the territories of His Highness Sindhus are imitations of the previous local Muhammadan coinage.

³ As the date of Dronasimha's investiture is about A.D. 520 it is necessary to consider what kings at this period claimed the title of supreme lord and could boast of ruling the whole earth. The rulers of this period whom we know of are Mihirakula,

The third son Dhruvasena is the first of several Valabhis of the name. Three copperplates of his remain. The Kukad grant dated Gupta 207 (A D 526),¹ an unpublished grant found in Junj (and dated Gupta 210 (A D 527)), and the Vajch grant dated Gupta 216 (A D 535).² One of Dhruvasena's attributes *Parama-bhaṭṭarāḥ* *pratyakṣa* 'Bowing at the feet of the great lord, apparently applies to the same paramount sovereign who installed his brother Dronasimha. The paramount lord can hardly be Dhruvasena's father as his father is either called *Bhaṭṭarāḥ* without the *parama* or more commonly *Śarāṭh* that is general. Dhruvasena's other political attributes are *Maharāja* Great King or *Mahāmānata* Great Chief, the usual titles of a petty feudatory king. In the A D 535 plates he has the further attributes of *Mahapratihara* the great doorkeeper or chamberlain, *Mahadandanayaka* the great magistrate, and *Mahāśaktiśrīṣṭa* (?) or great general titles which seem to show he still served some overlord. It is not clear whether Dhruvasena succeeded his brother Dronasimha or was a separate contemporary ruler. The absence of 'sitting at the feet of' or other successional phrase and the use of the epithet 'serving at the feet of' the great lord seem to show that his power was distinct from his brothers. In any case Dhruvasena is the first of the family who has a clear connection with Valabhi from which the grants of A D 526 and 529 are dated.

In these grants Dhruvasena's father Bhatārka and his elder brothers are described as 'great Mahesvaras' that is followers of Śiva, while Dhruvasena himself is called *Paramabhaṭṭarāḥ* the great Vajshaya. It is worthy of note, as stated in the A D 535 grant, that his niece Duddā (or Lulī?) was a Buddhist and had dedicated a Buddhist monastery at Valabhi. The latest known date of Dhruvasena is A D 535 (G 216). Whether Dharapatta or Dharapatta's son Guhasena succeeded is doubtful. That Dharapatta is styled Maharāja and that a twenty-four years' gap occurs between the latest grant of Dhruvasena and A D 559 the earliest grant of

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A D 509-766Dhruvasena I
A D 526-535

Yasodharman Vishnuvardhana, the descendants of Kumāragupta's son Paragupta, and the Gupta chiefs of Eastern Malwa. Neither Toramāna nor Mihirdula appears to have borne the paramount title of Paramesvara though the former is called *Maharājādhirāja* in the Iran inscription and *Asvapati* or Lord of the Earth (— simply king) on his coins. In the Gwalior inscription Mihirdula is simply called Lord of the Earth. He was a powerful prince but he could hardly claim to be ruler of "the whole circumference of the earth." He therefore cannot be the installer of Dronasimha. Taking next the Guptas of Magadha we find on the Bhatārka seal the title of *Maharājādhirāja* given to each of them, but there is considerable reason to believe that their power had long since shrunk to Magadha and Eastern Malwa, and if Hsuen Tsang's Bilāditya is Narasimhagupta, he must have been about A D 520 a feudatory of Mihirakula, and could not be spoken of as supreme lord, nor as ruler of the whole earth. The Guptas of Malwa have even less claim to these titles, as Bhānugupta was a mere *Mahirāja*, and all that is known of him is that he won a battle at Iran in Eastern Malwa in A D 510-11. Last of all comes Vishnuvardhana or Yasodharman of Mandasor. In one of the Mandasor inscriptions he has the titles of *Rājādhirāja* and *Paramesvara* (A D 512-33), in another he boasts of having carried his conquests from the *Laulūtya* (*Brahmaputra*) to the western ocean and from the *Himālaya* to mount *Mahendra*. It seems obvious that Yasodharman is the Paramesvara of the Valabhi plate, and that the reference to the western ocean relates to Bhatārka's successes against the *Maltrakas* — (A M T J)

¹ Ind Ant V 201² Ind Ant IV 104³ In a commentary on the *Kalpasutra* *Dandanāyaka* is described as meaning *Tantira-pala* that is head of a district

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1st Valabhis,
A.D. 569-569

Gulhasena
A.D. 569-569

Gulhasena favours the succession of Dharapatta. On the other hand in the A.D. 559 grant all Gulhasena's sons are said to be cleansed by falling at the feet of, that is, by succeeding, Dhruvasena. It is possible that Dharapatta may have ruled for some years and Dhruvasena again risen to power.

Of Gulhasena (A.D. 539?-569) three plates and a fragment of an inscription remain. Two of the grants are from Valabhi dated A.D. 559 and 565 (G 210 and 216)¹; the third is from Bhavnagar dated A.D. 567 (G 218).² The inscription is on an earthen pot found at Valabhi and dated A.D. 566 (G 217).³ In all the later Valabhi plates the genealogy begins with Gulhasena who seems to have been the first great ruler of his dynasty. Gulhasena is a Sanskrit name meaning 'Whose army is like that of Karttika-svāmi'; his popular name was probably Gulhla. It appears probable that the Gohil and Gehlot Rāpput chiefs of Kāthiāvāda and Rāpputāna, who are believed to be descendants of the Valabhis, take their name from Gulhasena or Gulha, the form Gehlota or Gehlot, *Gulhla-utla*, being a corruption of Gulhaputia or descendants of Gulhla, a name which occurs in old Rāpput records.⁴ This lends support to the view that Gulhasena was believed to be the first king of the dynasty. Like his predecessors he is called Mahārāja or great king. In one grant he is called the great Śaiva and in another the great Buddhist devotee (*paramopasaka*), while he grants villages to the Buddhist monastery of his paternal aunt's daughter Duddā. Though a Śaivite Gulhasena, like most of his predecessors, tolerated and even encouraged Buddhism. His minister of peace and war is named Skandabhata.

The beginning of Gulhasena's reign is uncertain. Probably it was not earlier than A.D. 539 (G 220). His latest known date is A.D. 567 (G 218) but he may have reigned two years longer.

About A.D. 569 (G 250) Gulhasena was succeeded by his son Dharasena II. Five of his grants remain, three dated A.D. 571 (G 252),⁵ the fourth dated A.D. 588 (G 269),⁶ and the fifth dated A.D. 589 (G 270).⁷ In the first three grants Dharasena is called Mahārāja or great king, in the two later grants is added the title Mahāśānta Great Feudatory, seeming to show that in the latter part of his reign Dharasena had to acknowledge as overlord some one whose power had greatly increased.⁸ All his copperplates style Dharasena II *Parama-māhasena* Great Śaiva. A gap of eighteen years occurs between A.D. 589 Dharasena's latest grant and A.D. 607 the earliest grant of his son Śilāditya.

Dharasena II was succeeded by his son Śilāditya I, who is also called Dharmaditya or the son of religion.

The Śāstrīyāna Mahātmya has a prophetic account of one Śilāditya who will be a propagator of religion in Vikrama Samvat

¹ Ind. Ant. VII 60; IV 171

² Ind. Ant. XIV 75

³ Ind. Ant. VIII 302; VII 68; XIII 160

⁴ Ind. Ant. V 206

⁵ Kumbhīpāla Charita, Abu Inscriptions

⁶ Ind. Ant. VI 9

⁷ Ind. Ant. VII 90

⁸ The change of title was probably connected with the increase of Gurjara power, which reached its height in the founding of the Gurjara kingdom of Broach about A.D. 680. See Gupta, N. I, p. 11.

477 (A D 420). This Māhātmya is comparatively modern and is not worthy of much trust. Vikrama Samvat 477 would be A D 420 when no Valabhi kingdom was established and no Śīlāditya can have flourished. If the date 477 has been rightly preserved, and it be taken in the Śāka era it would correspond with Gupta 237 or A D. 556, that is thirty to forty years before Śīlāditya's reign. Although no reliance can be placed on the date still his second name Dharmāditya gives support to his identification with the Śīlāditya of the Māhātmya.

His grants like many of his predecessors style Śīlāditya a great devotee of Śiva. Still that two of his three known grants were made to Buddhist monks shows that he tolerated and respected Buddhism. The writer of one of the grants is mentioned as the minister of peace and war Chandiabhaṭṭi, the Dūtaka or causer of the gift in two of the Buddhist grants is Bhaṭṭa Adityayaśas apparently some military officer. The third grant, to a temple of Śiva, has for its Dūtaka the illustrious Kharagraha apparently the brother and successor of the king.

Śīlāditya's reign probably began about A D 594 (G 275). His latest grant is dated A D 609 (G 290).¹

Śīlāditya was succeeded by his brother Kharagraha, of whom no record has been traced. Kharagraha seems to have been invested with sovereignty by his brother Śīlāditya who probably retired from the world. Kharagraha is mentioned as a great devotee of Śiva.

Kharagraha was succeeded by his son Dharasena III of whom no record remains.

Dharasena III. was succeeded by his younger brother Dhruvasena II also called Bālāditya or the rising sun. A grant of his is dated A D. 629 (G. 310).² As observed before, Dhruvasena is probably a Sanskritised form of the popular but meaningless Dhruvapaṭṭa which is probably the original of Hsien Tsiang's T'u-lu-h'o-po-tu, as A D 629 the date of his grant is about eleven years before the time when (640) Hsien Tsiang is calculated to have been in Mālwa if not actually at Valabhi. If one of Dhruvasena's poetic attributes is not mere hyperbole, he made conquests and spread the power of Valabhi. On the other hand the Navsāri grant of Jayabhata III (A D 706-734) the Gurjara king of Broach states that Dadda II of Broach (A D 620-650) protected the king of Valabhi who had been defeated by the great Śrī Harshadeva (A D. 607-648) of Kanauj.

Dhruvasena II was succeeded by his son Dharasena IV. perhaps the most powerful and independent of the Valabhis. A copper-plate dated A D 649 (G 330) styles him *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Parameśvara*, *Chakravartin* Great Lord, King of Kings, Great Ruler, Universal Sovereign. Dharasena IV's successors continue the title of *Mahārājādhirāja* or great ruler, but none is called *Chakravartin* or universal sovereign a title which implies numerous conquests and widespread power.

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Śīlāditya I
A D 590-609

Kharagraha,
A D 610-615

Dharasena III
A D 615-620

Dhruvasena II.
(Bālāditya)
A D 620-640

Dharasena IV,
A D 640-649.

¹ Ind. Ant. XI 306

² Ind. Ant. VI 13

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Four of Dhara-sena IV's grants remain, one dated A.D. 645 (G 328); the other A.D. 649 (G 330). A grant of his father Dhruvasena dated A.D. 634 (G 315) and an unpublished copperplate in the possession of the Chief of Morbi belonging to his successor Dhruvasena III dated A.D. 651 (G 332), prove that Dhara-sena's reign did not last more than sixteen years. The well known Sanskrit poem Bhatikāvya seems to have been composed in the reign of this king as at the end of his work the author says it was written at Valabhi protected (governed, by the king the illustrious Dhara-sena¹. The author's application to Dhara-sena of the title *Narendra* Lord of Men is a further proof of his great power.

Dharaśena IV was not succeeded by his son but by Dhruvasena the son of Darabhata the son of Dharaśena IV.'s paternal grandfather. Darabhata appears not to have been ruler of Valabhi itself but of some district in the south of the Valabhi territory. His epithet describes him as like the royal sage Agastya spreading to the south, and as the lord of the earth which has for its two breasts the Sahya and Vindhya hills. This description may apply to part of the province south of Kaira where the Sahyādri and Vindhya mountains may be said to unite. In the absence of a male heir in the direct line, Darabhata's son Dhruvasena appears to have succeeded to the throne of Valabhi. The only known copperplate of Dhruvasena III's, dated A.D. 651 (G 332), records the grant of the village of Pūdhapadra in Vantali, the modern Vantali in the Navanagar State of North Kathiawar. A copperplate of his elder brother and successor Kharagraha dated A.D. 656 (G 337) shows that Dhruvasena's reign cannot have lasted over six years.

The less than usually complimentary and respectful reference to Dhruvasena III. in the attributes of Kharagraha suggests that Kharagraha took the kingdom by force from his younger brother as the rightful successor of his father. At all events the succession of Kharagraha to Dhruvasena was not in the usual peaceful manner. Kharagraha's grant dated A.D. 636 (G 337) is written by the Divirapati or Chief Secretary and minister of peace and war Anaballa son of Skandabhata.² The Dūtaka or causer of the gift was the Prayātri or survey officer Śrinā

Kharagraha was succeeded by Śilāditya III son of Kharagraha's elder brother Śilāditya II. Śilāditya II seems not to have ruled at Valabhi but he Derabhata to have been governor of Southern Valabhi as he is mentioned out of the order of succession and with the title Lord of the Earth containing the Vindhya mountain. Three grants of Śilāditya III remain, two dated A.D. 658 (G. 345), and the third dated A.D. 671 (G. 352). He is called *Parama-bhāttārāya* or the Lord, *Mahārājadhīrāja* Chief King among Great Kings, and *Parama-raja* Great Ruler. These titles continue to be applied to all

² *Dicranura caerulea*, *Vireo flavifrons*, *Sitta carolinensis*, *Psaltriparus plumbeus*, etc.

1. The Board of Directors of the E. P. R. Co. is composed of the following members:

subsequent Valabhi kings Even the name Śilāditya is repeated though each king must have had some personal name

Śilāditya III was succeeded by his son Śilāditya IV of whom one grant dated A D 691 (G 372) remains¹ The officer who prepared the grant is mentioned as the general Divirapati Śī Haiagana the son of Bappa Bhogika The Dūtaka or gift-causer is the prince Kharagrāha, which may perhaps be the personal name of the next king Śilāditya V

Of Śilāditya V the son and successor of Śilāditya IV two grants dated A D 722 (G 403) both from Gondal remain Both record grants to the same person. The writer of both was general Gillaka son of Buddhahatta, and the gift-causer of both prince Śilāditya

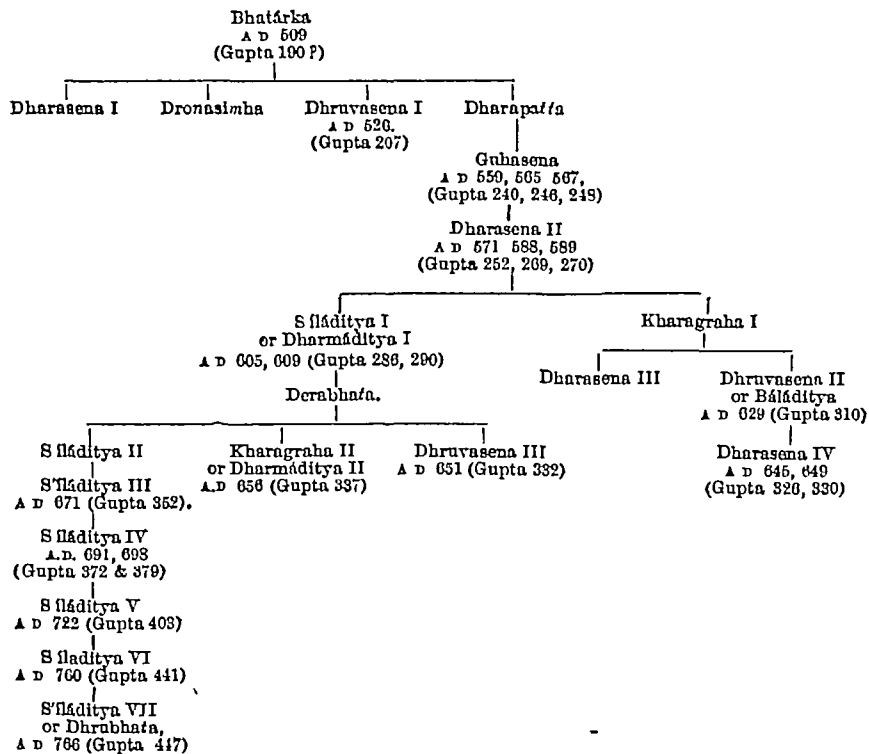
Of Śilāditya VI. the son and successor of the last, one grant dated A D 760 (G. 441) remains The grantee is an Athaivavedī Brāhman The writer is Sasyagupta son of Emapatha and the gift-causer is Gānjasāti Śī Jajjai (or Jajjir)

Of Śilāditya VII the son and successor of the last, who is also called Dhrūbhata (Sk Dhrubabhata), one grant dated A D 766 (G 447) remains

The following is the genealogy of the Valabhi Dynasty

VALABHI FAMILY TREE,

A D. 509 766



Chapter VIII

THE VALABHIS,

A D 509 766

Śilāditya IV

A D 691

Śilāditya V

A D 722

Śilāditya VI.

A.D 760

Śilāditya VII

A D 766

Valabhi
Family Tree

¹ Ind. Ant. V. 208.

Chapter VIII

THE VALABHIS,
A D 509-766The fall of
Valabhi,
A D 759-770

Of the overthrow of Valabhi many explanations have been offered.¹ The only explanation in agreement with the copperplate evidence that a Śilāditya was ruling at Valabhi as late as A D 766 (Val Sam 447)² is the Hindu account preserved by Alberuni (A D 1030)³ that soon after the Sindh capital Mansūra was founded, say A D 750-770, Ranka a disaffected subject of the era-making Valabhi, with presents of money persuaded the Arab lord of Mansūra to send a naval expedition against the king of Valabhi. In a night attack king Valabha was killed and his people and town were destroyed. Alberuni adds: Men say that still in our time such traces are left in

¹ Since his authorities mention the destroyers of Valabhi under the vague term *mlecchhas* or barbarians and since the era in which they date the overthrow may be either the Vikrama B C 57, the Saka A D 78, or the Valabhi A D 319, Tod is forced to offer many suggestions. His proposed dates are A D 244 Vik Sam 300 (Western India, 269), A D 424 Val Sam 105 (Ditto, 51 and 214), A D 524 Val Sam 205 (Annals of Rājasthān, I 83 and 217-220), and A D 619 Val Sam 300 (Western India, 352). Tod identifies the barbarian destroyers of Valabhi either with the descendants of the second century Parthians, or with the White Huns Gētes or Kāthīs, or with a mixture of these who in the beginning of the sixth century supplanted the Parthians (An of Rāj I 83 and 217-220, Western India, 214, 352). Elliot (History, I 408) accepting Tod's date A D 524 refers the overthrow to Skythian barbarians from Sindh. Iphinstone, also accepting A D 524 as an approximate date, suggested (History, 31d Edition, 212) as the destroyer the Sassanian Naushirvān or Khosroes the Great (A D 531-579) citing in support of a Sassanian inroad Malcolm's Persia, I 141 and Pottinger's Travels, 386. Forbes (Rās Malā, I 22) notes that the Jain accounts give the date of the overthrow Vik Sam 375 that is A D 319 apparently in confusion with the epoch of the Gupta era which the Valabhi kings adopted. Forbes says (Ditto, 21) If the destroyers had not been called *mlecchhas* I might have supposed them to be the Dakhan Chlukyas. Genl Cunningham (Anc Geog 318) holds that the date of the destruction was A D 638 and the destroyer the Rāshtrakūṭa Raja Govind who restored the ancient family of Śaurashṭra. Thomas (Prinsep's Useful Tables, 155) fixes the destruction of Valabhi at A D 745 (B 802). In the Kāthiāwār Gazetteer Col. Watson in one passage (page 671) says the destroyers may have been the early Muhammadans who retired as quickly as they came. In another passage (page 274), accepting Mr. Burgess' (Arch Sur Rep IV 75) Gupta era of A D 195 and an overthrow date of A D 642, and citing a Wadhvān couplet telling how Elhal Valabhi withstood the Iranians, Col. Watson suggests the destroyers may have been Iranians. If the Persians came in A D 642 they must have come not as raiders but as refugees. If they could they would not have destroyed Valabhi. If the Persians destroyed Valabhi where next did they flee to?

² Similarly B 205 the date given by some of Col. Tod's authorities (An of Rāj I 82 and 217-220) represents A D 524 the practical establishment of the Valabhi dynasty. The mistake of ascribing an era to the overthrow not to the founding of a state occurs (compare Sachau's Alberuni, II 7) in the case both of the Vikrama era B C 57 and of the Śalivāhana era A D 78. In both these cases the error was intentional. It was devised with the aim of hiding the supremacy of foreigners in early Hindu history. So also, according to Alberuni's information (Sachau, II 7) the Gupta-kāla A D 319 marks the era in, not the beginning of the wicked and powerful Guptas. This device is not confined to India. His Mede informant told Herodotus (B C 450 Rawlinson's Herodotus I 467) that in 703 was the founding of the Median monarchy. The date really marks the overthrow of the Medes by the Assyrian Barzou.

³ Tod (An of Rāj I 231) notices what is perhaps a reminiscence of this date (A D 766). It is the story that Bappa, who according to Mewad tradition is the founder of Gehlot power at Chitor, abandoned his country for Irān in A D. 764 (B 820). It seems probable that this Bappa or Salla is not the founder of Gehlot power at Chitor, but, according to the Valabhi use of Bappa, is the founder's father and that this retreat to Irān refers to his being carried captive to Mansura on the fall either of Valabhi or of Gandhār.

⁴ Journal's Fragments, 143 note 1, Memoire Sur l'Inde, 105, Sachau's Alberuni, I 173. The treachery of the magician Ranka is the same cause as that assigned by Forbes (Rās Malā I 12-15) from Jain sources. The local legend (Ditto, 18) points the inevitable tower of Sūkām moral, a moral which (compare Rās Malā, I 18) is probably at the root of the antique tale of Lot and the Cities of the Plain, that men whose city was completely destroyed must have been sinners beyond others. Dr. Nicholson (J. F. A. S. Ser I Vol XIII page 153) in 1851 thought the site of Valabhi bore many traces of destruction by water.

that country as are found in places wasted by an unexpected attack.¹ For this expedition against Valabhi All-*berum* gives no date. But as Mansura was not founded till A.D. 750² and as the latest Valabhi copperplate is A.D. 766 the expedition must have taken place between A.D. 750 and 770. In support of the Hindu tradition of an expedition from Mansura against Valabhi between A.D. 750 and 770 it is to be noted that the Arab historian of Sindh record that in A.D. 758 (H. 140) the Khelif Mansur sent Amr bin Jumal with a fleet of barks to the coast of Barada. Twenty years later A.D. 776 (H. 160) a second expedition succeeded in taking the town, but, as sickness broke out, they had to return. The question remains should the word, which in the context is Ellhot read as Barada, be read Balda. The lax rules of Arab cursive writing would cause little difficulty in adopting the reading Balda.³ Further it is hard to believe that Valabhi, though to some extent sheltered by its distance from the coast and probably a place of less importance than its character denotes, should be unknown to the Arab conquerors of the seventh and eighth centuries and after its fall be known to All-*berum* in the eleventh century. At the same time, as during the eighth century there was, or at least there may have been, a town Barada on the south-west coast of Kathiavada the iden-

Chapter VIII.

THE VALABHIS,
A.D. 509-766The Fall of
Valabhi,
A.D. 750-770.

¹ Elliot, I. 34, III. 730; for the All-*berum* Arab expedition from Mansura as well as the copperplate dated A.D. 766. It is recorded that Valabhi flourished long before the Arab conquest of Mansura. The statement (see Ind. Ant. III. 533) is by a writer of the twelfth century. The Valabhis were the Pallavas' capital. Mahendravarma Valabhi, Saka, A.D. 649, except All-*berum* himself (see below) none of the Arab geographers of the ninth to the eleventh centuries mentions Valabhi. It is true that according to Lassen (Ind. Ant. 50) Masudi A.D. 916 Istakhri A.D. 951, and Ibn Hikal A.D. 968 all attest the existence of Valabhi up to the present time. This remark is due either to the mistake in reading Malkhet or to the identification of Balwa or Balra with Ellhot (Elliot's History, I. 27-34) with Valabhi. The only known Muslim reference to Valabhi later than A.D. 750 is All-*berum*'s statement (Sachau, II. 7) that the Valabhi of the era is 100 miles or 200 miles south of Anahavada. That after its overthrow Valabhi remained, as it still contains, a local town has been shown in the text. Such an after-life is in no way inconsistent with its destruction as a leading capital in A.D. 767.

² According to All-*berum* (Sachau I. 21) Al-Mansura, which was close to Brindhabad about 37 miles north-east of Hyderabad (Elliot's Muslim History, I. 372-373) was built by the great Muslim ruler Kasim about A.D. 713. Apparently All-*berum* wrote Muslim and Kasim's name for his grandson Amr Muhammad (Elliot, I. 372 note 1 and 412-3) who built the city a little before A.D. 750. Renaud (Fragments, 210) makes Amr the son of Muslim Kasim. Masudi (A.D. 916) gives the same date (A.D. 750), but (Elliot I. 24) makes the builder the Umayyad governor Mansur bin Ibrahim. Idrisi (A.D. 1157) Elliot, I. 78 says Mansura was built and named in honour of the Khelif Abu Jafar al-Mansur. If so its building would be later than A.D. 754. On such a point Idrisi's authority carries little weight. ³ Elliot, I. 244.

⁴ That the word read Barada by Elliot is in the lax pointless *shikasta* writing is shown by the different proposed readings (Elliot, I. 414 note 1) Narand, Barand, and Barid. So far as the original goes Balda is probably as likely a rendering as Barida. Renaud (Fragments, 212) says he cannot restore the name.

Though, except as applied to the Porbandar range of hills, the name Barida is almost unknown, and though Ghumli not Barada was the early (eighth-twelfth century) capital of Porbandar some place named Barida seems to have existed on the Porbandar coast. As early as the second century A.D., Ptolemy (McCrindle, 37) has a town Barida zema on the coast west of the village *Kome* (probably the road or *Tom*) of Saurashtra, and St. Martin (Geographie Grecque et Latine de l'Inde, 203) identifies Pliny's (A.D. 77) Varaita next the Odombura or people of Kachhi with the Varadas according to Hemachandra (A.D. 1150) a class of foreigners or *mb chehhas*. A somewhat tempting identification of Barida is with Berum's Barwa (Sachau, I. 208) or Barnoua (Renaud's Fragments, 121) 84 miles (11 *parasangs*) west of Somanatha. But an examination of Berum's text shows that Barwa is not the name of a place but of a product of Kachhi the *barra* or bezour stone.

Chapter VIII.

THE VALABHIS,
A D 509-766
Valabhi and
the Gehlots.

several considerations bear out the correctness of the Rājput traditions and the Jain records that the Gohls or Sesodias of Mewād came from Bala or Valabhi in Kathiāwāda. Such a withdrawal from the coast, the result of the terror of Arab raids, is in agreement with the fact that from about the middle of the eighth century the rulers of Gujarāt established an inland capital at Anahilavāda (A D 746)¹. It is further in agreement with the establishment by the Gohl refugees of a town Balli in Mewād; with the continuance as late as A D 968 (S 1021) by the Sesodia chief of the Valabhi title Śīlāditya or Sail², and with the peculiar Valabhi blend of Sun and Śiva worship still to be found in Udepur³. The question remains how far can the half-poetic accounts of the Sesodias be reconciled with a date for the fall of Valabhi so late as A D 766. The mythical wanderings, the caveborn Guha, and his rule at Idar can be easily spared. The name Gehlot which the Sesodias trace to the caveborn Guha may as the Bhāvnagar Gehlots hold have its origin in Guhasena (A D 559-567) perhaps the first Valabhi chief of more than local distinction⁴. Tod⁵ fixes the first historical date in the Sesodia family history at A D 720 or 728 the ousting of the Mori or Maurya of Chitor by Bappa or Sail. An inscription near Chitor shows the Mori in power in Chitor as late as A D 714 (S 770)⁶. By counting back nine generations from Sakhi Kumara the tenth from Bappa whose date is A D 1068 Tod fixes A D. 720-728 as the date when the Gohls succeeded the Moris. But

¹ Tod's Western India, 51

² Tod's An. of Raj I 230

³ The cherished title of the later Valabhis, Śīlāditya Sun of Virtue, confirms the special sun worship at Valabhi, which the mention of Dharapātā (A D 550) as a devotee of the supreme sun supports, and which the legends of Valabhi's sun horse and sun fountain keep fresh (Rās Mālā, I 14 15). So the great one-stone linga, the most notable relic of Valabhi city (J R A S Ser I Vol XIII 149 and XVII 271), bear out the Valabhi copperplate claim that its rulers were great worshippers of Śiva. Similarly the Kīna of Udepur, while enjoying the title of Sun of the Hindus, prospering under the sun banner, and specially worshipping the sun (Tod's Annals, I 565) is at the same time the Minister of Śiva the One Ling *Ellingakaducin* (Ditto 222, Rāj Gaz III 53). The blend is natural. The fierce noon tide sun is Mahikālī the Destroyer. Like Śiva the Sun is lord of the Moon. And marshalled by Somanātha the great soul Home the souls of the dead pass heavenwards along the rays of the setting sun [Compare Sachau's Alberuni, II 168]. It is the common sun element in Śaivism and in Vaiṣṇavism that gives their holiness to the sunset shrines of Somanātha and Dwārka. For (Ditto, 169) the setting sun is the door whence men march forth into the world of existence Westwards, heavenwards.

⁴ This explanation is hardly satisfactory. The name Gehlot seems to be Gubhila-putra from Gubhila-putra an ancient Brāhman gotra, one of the not uncommon cases of Rājputs with a Brāhman gotra. The Rājput use of a Brāhman gotra is generally considered a technical affiliation, a mark of respect for some Brāhman teacher. It seems doubtful whether the practice is not a reminiscence of an ancestral Brāhman strain. This view finds confirmation in the Aitpur inscription (Tod's Annals, I 802) which states that Gubhila the founder of the Gohl tribe was of Brāhman race *Vijaya kula*. Compare the legend (Rās Mālā, I 13) that makes the first Śīlāditya of Valabhi (A D 590-609) the son of a Brāhman woman. Compare (Elliot, I 411) the Brāhman Chieftain (A D 630-670) marrying the widow of the Śālin king of Alor in Sindh who is written of as a Rājput though like the later (A D 850-1040) Shihayas of Kabul (Alberuni, Sachau II 13) the dynasty may possibly have been Brāhmans*. The following passage from Hodgkinson's *Notes* (J A Soc Bl. II 218) throws light on the subject. Among the Khāns or Rājputs of Nepal the sons of Brāhmans by Khān women take their fathers' gotras. Compare Hodgkinson's *Panjab Census* 1881 page 236.

* In support of a Brāhman origin is Prinsep's conjecture (J A S. Bl. LXIV, [Feb 1883] page 93) that Divālī the name of the first recorded king may be Divja or Twice born. But Divālī for Devāditya, like Śīlādī for Śīlāditya, seems simpler and the error with which the writer speaks of Chach as the Brāhman almost implies that his predecessors were not Brāhmans. According to Elliot (II. 426) the Pils of Kabul were Rājputs, perhaps Bhattias.

⁵ Tod's Annals, I 229-231

⁶ Annals, I 229.

the sufficient average allowance of twenty years for each reign would bring Rappā to A.D. 770 or 780 a date in agreement with a fall of Valabhi between A.D. 760 and 770, as well as with the statement of Abul Fāzī who, writing in A.D. 1590, says the Rānva's family had been in Mewad for about 800 years.¹

The Arab account of the surprise-attack and of the failure of the invaders to make a settlement agree with the local and Rājputāna traditions that a branch of the Valabhi family continued to rule at Valabhi until its conquest by Mula Rāja Solankhi in A.D. 950.² Though their birds favour the explanation of Valabhi from the Gujarati *vala* 'return' or the Persian *calāh* 'noble' the family claim to be of the old Valabhi stock. They still have the tradition they were driven out by the Muslims, they still keep up the family name of Solat or Siladitya.³

The local tradition regarding the settlement of the Valas in the Bilāshetra south of Valabhi is that it took place after the capture of Valabhi by Mula Rāja Solankhi (A.D. 950).⁴ If, as may perhaps be accepted, the present Valas represent the rulers of Valabhi it seems to follow the Valas were the overlords of Bilāshetra at least from the time of the historical prosperity of Valabhi (A.D. 526-680). The traditions of the Bāliās who held the east of Sorath show that when they arrived (A.D. 1200-1250) the Vala Rājputs were in possession and suggest that the lands of the Valas originally stretched as far west as Dhu.⁵ That the Valas held central Kāthiāwāda is shown by their possession of the old capital Vanthali nine miles south-west of Junagadh and by (about A.D. 850) their transfer of that town to the Chudasamās.⁶ Dhūnk, about twenty-five miles north-west of Junagadh, was apparently held by the Valas under the Jetwas when (A.D. 800-1200)⁷ Ghumli or Bhumli was the capital of south-west Kāthiāwāda. According to Jetwa accounts the Valas were newcomers whom the Jetwas allowed to settle at Dhūnk.⁸ But is the Jetwas are not among the earliest settlers in Kāthiāwāda it seems more probable that, like the Chudasamās at Vanthali, the Jetwas found the Valas in possession. The close connection of the Valas with the earlier waves of Kāthiās is admitted.⁹ Considering that the present

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The Valas of
Kāthiāwāda.

¹ Gladwin's *Am i Akbari*, II 81, *Tod's Annals*, I 235 and note. ² *Tod's* dates are confused. The *Aitpur* inscription (*Ditto*, page 230) gives Sakta Kumār's date A.D. 968 (S. 1021) while the authorities which *Tod* accepts (*Ditto*, 231) give A.D. 1068 (S. 1125). That the Moris were not driven out of Chitor as early as A.D. 728 is proved by the *Nayasi* inscription which mentions the Arabs defeating the Mauryas as late as A.D. 738-9 (Samp. 490). See above page 56.

³ *Tod* Western India 265 says Siddha Rāja (A.D. 1091-1117) Mula Rāja (A.D. 912-997) seems correct. See R48 Mala, I 65. ⁴ Kāthiāwār Gazetteer, 672.

⁵ The chronicles of Bhadroli, fifty-one miles south-west of Bhavnagar, have (Kāth Gaz. 380) a Solat Vala as late as A.D. 1551.

⁶ Kāthiāwār Gazetteer, 672. Another account places the movement south after the arrival of the Gohils A.D. 1250. According to local traditions the Valas did not pass to Bhadroli near Mahuva till A.D. 1554 (Kāth Gaz. 380) and from Bhadroli (Kāth Gaz. 660) retired to Dholavira.

⁷ Kāth Gaz. 111 and 132. According to the *Am i Akbari* (Gladwin, II 69) the inhabitants of the ports of Mahua and Tulāja were of the Vala tribe.

⁸ Kāth Gaz. 680.

⁹ Kāth Gaz. 414.

⁹ The Vala connection with the Kāthiās complicates their history. Col Watson (Kāth Gaz. 130) seems to favour the view that the Valas were the earliest wave of Kāthiās who came into Kāthiāwāda from Malwa apparently with the Guptas (A.D. 469) (*Ditto*, 671). Col Watson seems to have been led to this conclusion in consequence of the existence

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(1881) total of Káthiáváda Vála Rájputs is about 900 against about 9000 Vála Káthiis, the Válas,¹ since their loss of power, seem either to have passed into unnoticeable subdivisions of other Rájput tribes or to have fallen to the position of Káthiis.

The Válas and
Káthiis

If from the first and not solely since the fall of Valabhi the Válas have been associated with the Káthiis it seems best to suppose they held to the Káthiis a position like that of the Jetwas to their followers the Mers. According to Tod² both Válas and Káthiis claim the title *Tata Multónla Rai* Lords of Tata and Multán. The accounts of the different sackings of Valabhi are too confused and the traces of an earlier settlement too scanty and doubtful to justify any attempt to carry back Valabhi and the Válas beyond the Maitraka overthrow of Gupta power in Káthiáváda (A. D. 470-480). The boast that Bhatárka, the reputed founder of the house of Valabhi (A. D. 509), had obtained glory by dealing hundreds of blows on the large and very mighty armies of the Maitrakas who by force had subdued their enemies, together with the fact that the Valabhis did and the Maitrakas did not adopt the Gupta era and currency seem to show the Válas were settled in Káthiáváda at an earlier date than the Mers and Jetwas. That is, if the identification is correct, the Válas and Káthiis were in Káthiáváda before the first wave of the White Huns approached. It has been noticed above under Skandagupta that the enemies, or some of the enemies, with whom, in the early years of his reign A. D. 452-454, Skandagupta had so fierce a struggle were still in A. D. 456 a source of anxiety and required the control of a specially able viceroy at Junágadh. Since no trace of the Káthiis appears in Káthiáváda legends or traditions before the fifth century the suggestion may be offered that under Vála or Bála leadership the Káthiis were among the enemies who on the death of Kumáragupta (A. D. 454) seized the Gupta possessions in Káthiáváda. Both Válas and Káthiis would then be northerners driven south from Multán and South

of the petty state of Kátti in west Khándesh. But the people of the Kátti state in west Khándesh are Bhils or Kolis. Neither the people nor the position of the country seems to show connection with the Káthiis of Káthiáváda. Col. Watson (Káth. Gaz. 130) inclines to hold that the Válas are an example of the rising of a lower class to be Rájputs. That both Válas and Káthiis are northerners admitted into Hinduism may be accepted. Still it seems probable that on arrival in Káthiáváda the Válas were the leaders of the Káthiis and that it is mainly since the fall of Valabhi that a large branch of the Válas have sunk to be Káthiis. The Káthi traditions admit the superiority of the Válas. According to Tod (Western India, 270 Annals, I. 112-113) the Káthiis claim to be a branch or descendants of the Válas. In Káthiáváda the Válas, the highest division of Káthiis (Rás Málá, I. 296; Káth. Gaz. 122, 123, 131, 139), admit that their founder was a Vála Rájput who lost caste by marrying a Káthi woman. Another tradition (Rás Málá, I. 296, Káth. Gaz. 122 note 1) records that the Káthiis flying from Sindh took refuge with the Válas and became their followers. Col. Watson (Káth. Gaz. 130) considers the practice in Porbandar and Navanagar of styling any lady of the Dhánk Vála family who marries into their house Káthiánólá, the Káthi lady proves that the Válas are Káthiis. But as this name must be used with respect it may be a trace that the Válas claim to be lords of the Káthiis as the Jetwas claim to be lords of the Mers. That the position of the Válas and Káthiis as Rájputs is doubtful in Káthiáváda and is assured (Tod's Annals, I. 111) in Rájputána is strange. The explanation may perhaps be that aloofness from Muhammadans is the practical test of honour among Rájputana Hindus, and that in the troubled times between the thirteenth and the seventeenth centuries, like the Jhálás, the Válas and Káthiis may have refused Moghal alliances, and so won the approval of the Ránás of Mewad.

¹ Káth. Gaz. 119-129² Western India, 207, Annals, I. 112-113

Sindh by the movements of tribes displaced by the advance of the Ephthalites or White Huns (A D 440-450) upon the earlier North Indian and border settlements of the Yunn-Yunn or Avars.¹

The Sesodia or Gohil tradition is that the founder of the Válas was Kanakšen who, in the second century after Christ, from North India established his power at Virat or Dholka in North Gujarát and at Dhink in Káthiaváda.² This tradition, which according to Tod³ is supported by at least ten genealogical lists derived from distinct sources, seems a reminiscence of some connection between the early Válas and the Kshatriyas of Junágadh with the family of the great Kushan emperor Kanishka (A D 78-98). Whether this high ancestry belongs of right to the Válas and Gohils or whether it has been won for them by their lands nothing in the records of Káthiaváda is likely to be able to prove. Besides by the Válas Kanakšen is claimed as an ancestor by the Chávalas of Okhmandal as the founder of Kanakapuri and as reigning in Krishn's throne in Dwarká.⁴ In support of the form Kanika for Kanishka is the doubtful Kanika-Sakas or Kanishka-Sakas of Varahamihira (A D 550). The form Kanik is also used by Alberuni for the famous Vihára or monastery at Pesháwar of whose founder Kanak Alberuni relates many widespread legends. Tod⁵ says, 'If the traditional date (A D 144) of Kanakšen's arrival in Káthiaváda had been only a little earlier it would have fitted well with Wilson's Kanishka of the Rájá Tarangini.' Information brought to light since Tod's time shows that hardly any date could fit better than A D 144 for some member of the Kushán family, possibly a grandson of the great Kanishka, to make a settlement in Gujarát and Káthiaváda. The date agrees closely with the revolt against Vasudeva (A D 123-150), the second in succession from Kanishka, raised by the Panjab Yaudheyas, whom the great Gujarát Kshatriya Rudradaman (A D 113-155), the introducer of Kanishka's (A D 78) era into Gujarát, humbled. The tradition calls Kanakšen Koslaputra and brings him from Lohkot in North India.⁶ Kosala has been explained as Oudh and Lohkot is Lahore, but as Kanak came from the north not from the north-east an original Kushána-putra or Son of the Kushán may be the true form. Similarly Lohkot cannot be Lahore. It may be Alberuni's Lohavar or Lahur in the Kashmir uplands one of the main centres of Kushan power.⁷

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Descent from
Kanakšen,
A D 150

¹ It is worthy of note that Bilas and Káthiás are returned from neighbouring Panjab districts. Bilas from Dera Ismail Khán (Panjab Census Report 1891 Part III 310), Káthiá Rájputs from Montgomery (Ditto 315), and Káthiá Váts from Jhang and Dera Ismail Khán (Ditto, 143). Compare Ibbetson's (1881) Panjab Census, I 259, where the Káthiás are identified with the Kathuon who fought Alexander the Great (B.C. 325) and also with the Kathis of Káthiaváda. According to this report (page 240) the Válas are said to have come from Malwa and are returned in List Panjab.

² Tod's Annals, I 83 and 215, II liot, II 110, Jour B Br A S XXIII

³ Annals, I 215

⁴ Káthi Gaz 559

⁵ Brihat Samhitá, XIV 21. The usual explanation (compare Fleet Ind Ant XXII 180) Gold Sakas seems meaningless.

⁶ Sachau, II 11. Among the legends are the much applied tales of the foot stamped cloth and the self sacrificing minister.

⁷ Western India, 213

⁸ Tod's Annals, I 83, 215; Western India, 270-352

⁹ Sachau, I 205, II 341. For the alleged descent of the Sesodias and Válas from Ráma of the Sun race the explanation may be offered that the greatness of Kanishka, whose power was spread from the Ganges to the Oxus, in accordance with the Hindu

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THE VALABHIS,
A D 509 - 766Mewād and
the Persians.

One further point requires notice, the traditional connection between Valabhi and the Rānās of Mewād with the Sassanian kings of Persia (A D 250 - 650). In support of the tradition Abul Fazl (A D 1590) says the Rānās of Mewād consider themselves descendants of the Sassanian Naushirvān (A D 531 - 579) and Tod quotes fuller details from the Persian history Maasei-al-Umra¹. No evidence seems to support a direct connection with Naushirvān². At the same time marriage between the Valabhi chief and Maha Banu the fugitive daughter of Yazdigerd the last Sassanian (A D 651) is not impossible³. And the remaining suggestion that the link may be Naushirvān's son Naushizād who fled from his father in A D 570 receives support in the statement of Procopius⁴ that Naushizād found shelter at Belapatan in Khuzistān perhaps Balapatan in Gurjaristān. As these suggestions are unsupported by direct evidence, it seems best to look for the source of the legend in the fire symbols in use on Kāthiāváda and Mewad coins. These fire symbols, though in the main Indo-Skythian, betray from about the sixth century a more direct Sassanian influence. The use of similar coins coupled with their common sun worship seems sufficient to explain how the Agnikulas and other Kāthiāváda and Mewād Rājputs came to believe in some family connection between their chiefs and the fireworshipping kings of Persia⁵.

Válas

Can the Vála traditions of previous northern settlements be supported either by early Hindu inscriptions or from living traces in the present population of Northern India? The convenient and elaborate tribe and surname lists in the Census Report of the Panjáb, and vaguer information from Rajputāna, show traces of Bālas and Vālas among the Musalmān as well as among the Hindu population of Northern India⁶. Among the tribes mentioned in Varāha-Mihira's sixth century (A D 530)⁷ lists the Vāhlikas appear along with the dwellers on Sindhu's banks. An inscription of a king Chandra, probably Chandragupta and if so about A D 350-400,⁸ boasts of crossing the seven mouths of the Indus to attack the Vāhlikas. These references suggest that the Balas or Valas are the Vāhlikas and that the Bāhlikas of the Harivamśa (A D 350-500?) are not as Langlois supposed people then ruling

doctrine (compare Beal's Buddhist Records, I 99 & 152, Rās Mālā, I 320, Fryer's New Account, 190) that a conqueror's success is the fruit of transcendent merit in a former birth, led to Kanishka being considered an incarnation of Rama. A connection between Kanishka and the race of the Sun would be made easy by the intentional confusing of the names Kshatrapa and Kshatriya and by the fact that during part at least of his life fire and the sun were Kanishka's favourite deities.

¹ Gladwin's Ain-i Akbari, II 81. Tod's Annals, I 235.

² The invasion of Sindh formerly (Reinaud's Fragments, 29) supposed to be by Naushirvan in person according to fuller accounts seems to have been a raid by the ruler of Seist in (Elliot, I 407). Still Reinaud (Mémoire Sur l'Inde, 127) holds that in sign of vassalage the Sindh king added a Persian type to his coins.

³ Compare Tod's Annals, I 255-239 and Rawlinson's Seventh Monarchy, 576.

⁴ Rawlinson's Seventh Monarchy, 452 note 3.

⁵ Compare Tod's Annals, I 63, Thomas' Prinsep, I 413, Cunningham's Arch. Survey, VI 201. According to their own accounts (Rās Mālā, I 296) the Kāthi learned sun worship from the Vála of Dhānk by whom the famous temple of the sun at Thān in Kāthiāváda was built.

⁶ Vālas Musalmān Jats in Labor and Gurdaspur. Vāls in Gujarāt and Gujranwāla. Vāls in Mozaffarnagar and Dhera Ismael Khan. Also Vālahs Hindus in Kangra. Panjāb Census of 1891, III 162.

⁷ Brihat Samhitā, V 80.

⁸ Corp. Ins. Ind. III. 140 141.

in Balkh but people then established in India¹ Does it follow that the Vāhlikas of the inscriptions and the Ballukas of the Harivamśa are the Panjab tribe referred to in the Mahābhārata as the Bahikas or Balhikas, a people held to scorn as keeping no Brāhman rites, their Brahmans degraded, their women abandoned?² Of the two Mahābhārata forms Bahika and Balhika recent scholars have preferred Bāhlika with the sense of people of Balkh or Baktria³ The name Balhika might belong to more than one of the Central Asian invaders of Northern India during the centuries before and after Christ, whose manner of life might be expected to strike an Āryāvarta Brāhman with horror The date of the settlement of these northern tribes (B C 150 - A D 300) does not conflict with the comparatively modern date (A D 150-250) now generally received for the final revision of the Mahābhārata⁴ This explanation does not remove the difficulty caused by references to Bāhikas and Balhikas in Pāṇini and other writers earlier than the first of the after-Alexander Skythian invasions At the same time as shown in the footnote there seems reason to hold that the change from the Bakhtri of Darius (B C 510) and Alexander the Great (B C 330) to the modern Balkh did not take place before the first century after Christ If this view is correct it follows that

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¹ The references are, Langlois' Harivamśa, I. 388-420, II 178 That in A D 247 Balkh or Baktria was free from Indian overlordship (McCruddle's Periplus, 121), and that no more distant tribe than the Gandhāras finds a place in the Harivamśa lists combine to make it almost certain that, at the time the Harivamśa was written, whatever their origin may have been, the Bāhlikas were settled not in Baktria but in India

² The passage from the Karna Parva or Eighth Book of the Mahābhārata is quoted in Muir's Sanskrit Texts, II 482, and in greater fullness in St Martin's Geog Grequo et Latine de l'Inde, 402-410 The Bāhikas or Balhikas are classed with the Madras, Gandhāras, Arattas, and other Panjab tribes In their Brāhman families it is said the eldest son alone is a Brāhman The younger brothers are without restraint Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, Sudras, even Barbers A Brāhman may sink to be a Barber and a barber may rise to be a Brāhman The Bāhikas eat flesh even the flesh of the cow and drink liquor Their women know no restraint They dance in public places unclad save with garlands In the Harivamśa (Langlois, I 493 and II, 178, 388, 420) the Balhikas occur in lists of kings and peoples

³ Kern in Muir's Sanskrit Texts, II 446 St. Martin (Geog Greque et Latine de l'Inde, 149) takes Bāhika to be a contraction of Bāhlika Reasons are given below for considering the Mahābhārata form Bāhika a confusion with the earlier tribes of that name rather than a contraction of Bāhlika or Bāhlika The form Bāhika was also favoured by the writer in the Mahābhārata because it fitted with his punning derivation from their two fiend ancestors *Vahi* and *Hika* St Martin, 408

⁴ St. Martin Geog Greque et Latine de l'Inde, 403, puts the probable date at B C 380 or about fifty years before Alexander St. Martin held that the passage belonged to the final revision of the poem Since St. Martin's time the tendency has been to lower the date of the final revision by at least 500 years The fact noted by St. Martin (Ditto, page 404) that Jartika which the Mahābhārata writer gives as another name for Bāhika is a Sanskritised form of Jat further supports the later date It is now generally accepted that the Jats are one of the leading tribes who about the beginning of the Christian era passed from Central Asia into India

⁵ The name Valabhi, as we learn from the Jain historians, is a Sanskritised form of Valah, which can be easily traced back to one of the many forms (Ballika, Bāhlika, Balhika, Bāhlika, Bāhlika, Vāhlika, Vāhlika, Vāhlika, Vāhlika, Vāhlika) of a tribal name which is of common occurrence in the Epics This name is, no doubt rightly, traced back to the city of Balkh, and originally denoted merely the people of Baktria There is, however, evidence that the name also denoted a tribe doubtless of Baktrian origin, but settled in India the Emperor Chandra speaks of defeating the Vāhlikas after crossing the seven mouths of the Indus Varāha Mihira speaks of the Vāhlikas along with the people who dwell on Sindhu's banks (Br Sam V 80) and, most decisive of all, the Kāśikā Vṛtti on Pāṇ VIII iv 9 (A D 650) gives Bāhlika as the name of the people of the Sauvira country, which, as Alberuni tells us, corresponded to the

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if the form Bahlika occurs in Páṇini or other earlier writers it is a mistaken form due to some copyist's confusion with the later name Bahlika. As used by Páṇini the name Bálhika applied to certain Panjáb tribes seems a general term meaning Outsider a view which is supported by Brian Hodgson's identification of the Mahábhārata Bálhikas with the Bahings one of the outcaste or broken tribes of Nepál.¹ The use of Bálhika in the Mahábhārata would then be due either to the wish to identify new tribes with old or to the temptation to use a word which had a suitable meaning in Sanskrit. If then there is fair ground for holding that the correct form of the name in the Mahábhārata is Bálhika and that Bálhika means men of Balkh the question remains which of the different waves of Central Asian invaders in the centuries before and after Christ are most likely to have adopted or to have received the title of Baktrians. Between the second century before and the third century after Christ two sets of northerners might justly have claimed or have received the title of Baktrians. These northerners are the Baktrian Greeks about B.C. 180 and the Yuechi between B.C. 20 and A.D. 300. Yavana is so favourite a name among Indian writers that it may be accepted that whatever other northern tribes the name Yavana includes no name but Yavana passed into use for the Baktrian Greeks. Their long peaceful and civilised rule (B.C. 130 - A.D. 300?) from their capital at Balkh entitles the Yuechi to the name Baktrians or Bálhikas. That the Yuechi were known in India as Baktrians is proved by the writer of the *Periplus* (A.D. 247), who, when Baktria was still under Yuechi rule, speaks of the Baktrianoi as a most warlike race governed by their own sovereign.² It is known that in certain cases the Yuechi tribal names were of local origin. Kushán the name of the leading tribe is according to some authorities a place-name.³

modern Multán, the very country to which the traditions of the modern Válas point

If the usual derivation of the name Bálhika be accepted,* it is possible to go a step further and fix a probable limit before which the tribe did not enter India. The name of Balkh in the sixth century B.C. was, as we learn from Darius' inscriptions, Bálhtri, and the Greeks also knew it as Baktra. The Avesta form is Bahdhi, which according to the laws of sound change established by Prof. Darmstadter for the Arachosian language as represented by the modern Pushtu, would become Bahh (see *Chants Populaires des Afghans*, *Introd.* page xxvii). This reduction of the hard aspirates to spirants seems to have taken place about the first century A.D. parallel cases are the change from Parthava to Pallava, and Mithra to Mihira. It would seem therefore that the Bálhikas did not enter India before the first century A.D. and if we may identify their subduer Chandra with Chandragupta I, we should have the fourth century A.D. as a lower limit for dating their invasion.

Unfortunately, however, these limits cannot at present be regarded as more than plausible for the name Balluka or Valluka appears to occur in works that can hardly be as modern as the first century A.D. The *Atharvaveda paríśistas* might be put aside, as they show strong traces of Greek influence and are therefore of late date and the supposed occurrences in Páṇini belong to the commentators and to the *Ganapátha* only and are of more or less uncertain age. But the name occurs, in the form Balluka, in one hymn of the *Atharvaveda* itself (Book V 22) which there is no reason to suppose is of late date.

The lower limit is also uncertain as the identification of Chandra of the inscription with the Gupta king is purely conjectural — (A. M. T. J.)

* There is a very close parallel in the modern Panjáb, where (see Census Report of 1881) the national name Baluch has become a tribal name in the same way as Bálhika.

¹ Hodgson's *Essays on Indian Subjects*, I 405 Note.

² McCrindle's *Periplus*, 121. Compare Rawlinson's *Seventh Monarchy*, 79. The absence of Indian reference to the Yuechi supports the view that in India the Yuechi were known by some other name.

³ According to Renaud (Mémoire Sur l'Inde, 82 note 3) probably the modern

And it is established that the names of more than one of the tribes who about n.c. 50 joined under the head of the Kusháns were taken from the lands where they had settled. It is therefore in agreement both with the movements and with the practice of the Yuechi, that, on reaching India, a portion of them should be known as Bahlukas or Bálukas. Though the evidence falls short of proof there seems fair reason to suggest that the present Rajput and Káthi Válas or Bálas of Gujarat and Rajputána, through a Sanskritised Váhluka, may be traced to some section of the Yuechi, who, as they passed south from Baktria, between the first century before and the fourth century after Christ, assumed or received the title of men of Bálukh.

One collateral point seems to deserve notice. St Martin¹ says 'The Greek historians do not show the least trace of the name Báluka.' Accepting Báluka, with the general sense of Outsider, as the form used by Indian writers before the Christian era and remembering² Pánuini's description of the Malavas and Kshudrakas as two Báluka tribes of the North-West the fact that Pánuini lived very shortly before or after the time of Alexander and was specially acquainted with the Panjáb leaves little doubt that when (c. 326) Alexander conquered their country the Mallor and Oxydrakai, that is the Malavas and Kshudrakas, were known as Bálukas. Seeing that Alexander's writers were specially interested in and acquainted with the Mallor and Oxydrakai it is strange if St Martin is correct in stating that Greek writings show no trace of the name Báluka. In explanation of this difficulty the following suggestion may be offered.³ As the Greeks sounded their *h* (x) as a spirit, the Indian Báluka would strike them as almost the exact equivalent of their own word *ἑρμῆς*. More than one of Alexander's writers has curious references to a Bacchic element in the Panjáb tribes. Arrian⁴ notices that, as Alexander's fleet passed down the Jhelum, the people lined the banks chanting songs taught them by Dionysus and the Baccantes. According to Quintus Curtius⁵ the name of Father Bacchus was famous among the people to the south of the Mallor. These references are vague. But Strabo is definite.⁶ The Mallor and Oxydrakai are reported to be the descendants of Bacchus. This passage is the more important since Strabo's use of the writings of Aristobulus Alexander's historian and of Onesikritos Alexander's pilot and Bráhmán-interviewer gives his details a special value.⁷ It may be said Strabo explains why the Mallor and Oxydrakai were called Bacchic and Strabo's explanation is not in agreement with the proposed Báluka origin. The answer is that Strabo's explanation can be proved to be in part, if not altogether, fictitious. Strabo⁸ gives two reasons why the Oxydrakai

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Valab.

Kochanva or Kushanva sixty or seventy miles west of Samarkand. This is Hsuen Tsang's (A.D. 620) K'uh shwangi ni kia or Kushánika. See Beal's Buddhist Records, I 34.

¹ Etude sur la Géographie Grecque et Latine de l'Inde, 147.

² McCrindle's Alexander in India, 350.

³ The suggestion is made by Mr A. M. T. Jackson.

⁴ McCrindle's Alexander, 136.

⁵ McCrindle's Alexander, 252.

⁶ Compare Strabo, XV I 8. The Oxydrakai are the descendants of Dionysus. Again, XV I 24. The Mallor and the Oxydrakai who as we have already said are fabled to be related to Dionysus.

⁷ See McCrindle's Alexander, 157, 369, 378, 398. Compare St Martin Geog. Grecque et Latine de l'Inde, 102.

⁸ Strabo, XV I 8 and 24, Hamilton's Translation, III 76, 95.

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A.D. 509-766

Vilas

were called Bacchic. First because the vine grew among them and second because their kings marched forth *Bakhlukós* that is after the Bacchic manner. It is difficult to prove that in the time of Alexander the vine did not grow in the Panjáb. Still the fact that the vines of Nysa near Jalálábad and of the hill Meros are mentioned by several writers and that no vines are referred to in the Greek accounts of the Panjáb suggests that the vine theory is an after-thought.¹ Strabo's second explanation, the Bacchic pomp of their kings, can be more completely disproved. The evidence that neither the Malloi nor the Oxydrakai had a king is abundant.² That the Greeks knew the Malloi and Oxydrakai were called Bakkhikai and that they did not know why they had received that name favours the view that the explanation lies in the Indian name Báhika. One point remains. Does any trace of the original Báhikas or Outsiders survive? In Cutch Káthiáváda and North Gujarát are two tribes of half settled cattle-breeders and shepherds whose names Rahbáris as if Rahábaher and Bhaiváds as if Baherváda seem like Báhika to mean Outsider. Though in other respects both classes appear to have adopted ordinary Hindu practices the conduct of the Bhavád women of Káthiáváda during their special marriage seasons bears a curiously close resemblance to certain of the details in the Mahábhárata account of the Báhika women. Colonel Barton writes³ 'The great marriage festival of the Káthiáváda Bhaváds which is held once in ten or twelve years is called the Milkdrinking, *Dulhpíno*, from the lavish use of milk or clarified butter. Under the exciting influence of the butter the women become frantic singing obscene songs breaking down hedges and spoiling the surrounding crops.' Though the Bhaváds are so long settled in Káthiáváda as to be considered aboriginals their own tradition preserves the memory of a former settlement in Márwá.⁴ This tradition is supported by the fact that the shrine of the family goddess of the Cutch Raháris is in Jodhpur,⁵ and by the claim of the Cutch Bhaváds that their home is in the North-West Provinces.⁶

¹ References to the vines of Nysa and Meros occur in Strabo, Pliny, Quintus Curtius, Philostratus, and Justin. McCrindle's Alexander in India, 193 note 1, 321, and 339. Strabo (Hamilton's Translation, III 86) refers to a vine in the country of Musikanus or Upper Sindh. At the same time (Ditto, 108) Strabo accepts Megasthenes' statement that in India the wild vine grows only in the hills.

The Kathaii Malloi and Oxydrakai are (Arrian in McCrindle's Alexander, 115, 137, 140, 149) called independent in the sense of kingless. They (Ditto, 154) sent leading men not ambassadors (compare also Diodorus Siculus and Plutarch, Ditto 287, 311) the Malloi had to choose a leader (Q. Curtius, Ditto 236).

² Káthiavár Gazetteer, 138.

⁴ Káthiavár Gazetteer, 137.

⁵ Cutch Gazetteer, 80.

⁶ Cutch Gazetteer, 81.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CHÁLUKYAS

(A.D. 631-710)

THE Chálukyas conquered their Gujarát provinces from the south after subduing the Konkán Mauryas of Puri either Rájipuri (that is Jampra on Elephanta in Bombay harbour). The fifth century Vada inscription of king Suketavarman proves that this Maurya dynasty¹ ruled in the Konkán for at least a century before they came into collision with the Chálukyas under Kirtivarman.² They were finally defeated and their capital Puri taken by Chandabinda an officer of Pulakesi II (A.D. 610-640).³ The Chálukyas then pressed northwards, and an inscription at Ahole in South Bijapur records that as early as A.D. 634 the kings of Lata, Malava, and Gujjara submitted to the prowess of Pulakesi II (A.D. 610-640).

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THE CHÁLUKYAS,
A.D. 631-710

The regular establishment of Chálukya power in South Gujarát seems to have been the work of Dhíráśraya Jayasimhavarman son of Pulakesi II and younger brother of Vikramaditya Satyashraya (A.D. 670-680). A grant of Jayasimhavarman's son Sahaditya found in Navsári describes Jayasimhavarman as receiving the kingdom from his brother Vikramaditya. As Jayasimhavarman is called *Paramabháttarata* Great Lord, he probably was practically independent. He had five sons and enjoyed a long life, ruling apparently from Navsári. Of the five Gujarát Chálukya copperplates noted below, three are in an era marked Sam which is clearly different from the Saka era (A.D. 78) used in the grants of the main Chálukyas. From the nature of the case the new era of the Gujarát Chálukyas may be accepted as of Gujarát origin. Grants remain of Jayasimhavarman's sons dated S. 121, 113, and 190.⁴ This checked by Vikramaditya's known date (A.D. 670-680) gives an initial between A.D. 219 and 259. Of the two Gujarát eras, the Gupta-Valabhi (A.D. 319) and the Trakútaka (A.D. 218-9), the Gupta-Valabhi is clearly unsuitable. On the other hand the result is so closely in accord with A.D. 218-9, the Trakútaka epoch, as to place the correctness of the identification almost beyond question.

Jayasimhavarman,
A.D. 666-693

Jayasimhavarman must have established his power in South Gujarát before A.D. 669-70 (T. 121), as in that year his son Sryáśraya made a grant as then apparent. Another plate of Sryáśraya found in Surat shows that in A.D. 691-2 (T. 113) Jayasimhavarman was still ruling with Sryáśraya as then apparent. In view of these facts the establishment of Jayasimhavarman's power in Gujarát must be taken at about A.D. 666. The copperplates of his sons and grandson do not say whom Jayasimhavarman overthrew. Probably the defeated rulers were Gujjaras, as about this time a Gujjara dynasty held the Broach district with its capital at Nándípurí the modern Nándod in the Rajppla State about thirty-five miles east of Broach. So far

¹ Bom. Gaz. XIV. 172

² Ind. Ant. VIII. 213

³ Ind. Ant. VIII. 214.

⁴ J. B. B. R. A. S. XVI. 107. Proceedings VIIth Oriental Congress, 2107

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A.D. 634-739Jayasimhavarman,
A.D. 669-693

as is known the earliest of the Nanded Gurjjaras was Dadda who is estimated to have flourished about A.D. 550 (T. 331).¹ The latest is Jayabhatta whose Navsari copperplate bears date A.D. 734-5 (T. 486)² so that the Gurjjara and Chalukya kingdoms flourished almost at the same time. It is possible that the power of the earlier Gurjjara kings spread as far south as Balsar and even up to Konkan limits. It was apparently from them that, during the reign of his brother Vikramaditya, Jayasimhavarman took South Gujarāt, driving the Gurjjaras north of the Tapti and eventually confining them to the Broach district, the Gurjjaras either acknowledging Chalukya sovereignty or withstanding the Chalukyas and retaining their small territory in the Broach district by the help of the Valabhis with whom they were in alliance.³ In either case the Chalukya power seems to have hemmed in the Broach Gurjjaras, as Jayasimhavarman had a son Buddhavarman ruling in Kaira. A copperplate of Buddhavarman's son Vijayaraja found in Kaira is granted from Vijayapura identified with Bijapur near Parantij, but probably some place further south, as the grant is made to Brahmins of Jambusar. Five copperplates remain of this branch of the Chalukyas, the Navsari grant of Sryasraya Siladitya Yuvaraja dated A.D. 669-70 (T. 421); the Surat grant of the same Siladitya dated A.D. 691-2 (T. 443); the Balsar grant of Vinayaditya Mangalaraja dated A.D. 731 (Saka 653); the Navsari grant of Pulakesi Janaraya dated A.D. 735-9 (T. 496); the Kaira grant of Vijayaraja dated Samvatsara 394; and the undated Nirpan grant of Nagavarddhana Tribhuvana'raya.

Sryasraya
Siladitya
(Navsari)
A.D. 669-670.

The first four grants mention Jayasimhavarman as the younger brother of Vikramaditya Satya'raya the son of Pulakesi Satyasraya the conqueror of Harshavarddhana the lord of the North. Jayasimhavarman's eldest son was Sryasraya Siladitya who made his Navsari grant in A.D. 669-70 (T. 421): the village granted being said to be in the Navsarikā Vishaya. Sryasraya's other plate dated A.D. 691-2 (T. 443) grants a field in the village of Osumbhalā in the Karmaveya Ahira that is the district of Kāmlej on the Tapti fifteen miles north-east of Surat. In both grants Siladitya is called Yuvaraja, which shows that his father ruled with him from A.D. 669 to A.D. 691. Both copperplates show that these kings treated as their overlords the main dynasty of the southern Chalukyas as respectful mention is made in the first plate of Vikramaditya Satya'raya and in the second of his son Vinayaditya Satya'raya. Apparently Sryasraya died before his father as the two late grants of Balsar and Khedā give him no place in the list of rulers.

Mangalaraja,
A.D. 731.

Jayasimhavarman was succeeded by his second son Mangalaraja. A plate of his found at Balsar dated A.D. 731 (Saka 653) records a grant made from Mangalapuri, probably the same as Puri the doubtful Konkan capital of the Silaharas.⁴ As his elder brother was heir-apparent in A.D. 691-2 (T. 443), Mangalaraja must have succeeded some years later, say about A.D. 698-9 (T. 459). From this it may be inferred that the copperplate of A.D. 731 was issued towards the end of his reign.

¹ See Chap. X. below.² Ind. Ant. XIII. 73.
³ E. B. R. A. S. XVI. 5⁴ Ind. Ant. XIII. 70.

Mangalarāja was succeeded by his younger brother Pulakeśi Janāśraya. This is the time of Khalif Hushām (H 105-125, A.D. 721-743) whose Sindh governor Junaid is recorded to have sent expeditions against Marmad, Mandal, Dalmaj (Kāmlaj?), Bārus, Uzain, Mahib, Bahrimad (Mevad?), Al Baidūmān (Bhīmāl?), and Juzi. Though several of these names seem to have been misread and perhaps misspelt on account of the confusion in the original Arabic, still Marmād, Mandal, Bārus, Uzain, Mahib, and Juzi can easily be identified with Marvad, Mandal near Viramgām, Bharuch, Ujjain, Mālwa, and Gurjara. The defeat of one of these raids is described at length in Pulakeśi's grant of A.D. 738-9 (T 190) which states that the Arab army had afflicted the kingdoms of Sindhu, Kacchella, Saurāṣṭra, Chāvotika, Maurya, and Gurjara that is Sindhu, Kacch, the Chavada, the Mauryas of Chitor,¹ and the Gurjaras of Bhīmāl.²

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THE CHALUKYAS.
A.D. 634-740.Pulakeśi
Janāśraya,
A.D. 738

¹ For the Moris or Mauryas, described as a branch of Pratihāras, who held Chitor during the eighth century compare Tol. Jr. R. A. S. 211, Wilson's Works, XII 132.
² The text of the copperplate runs:

- गरशसीरमुद्रोद्धारिणि तरलतरतारतरवारिदा
[24] रितोदितसैन्धवकर्णहेतुसौराष्ट्र चावोटक मीर्यगुजैरादिरा [ज्ये] नि शेष-
दाक्षिणात्यक्षितिपतिभि
[25] गीपया दक्षिणापथप्रवेश.....प्रथममेव नवसारिकाविषयप्र-
साधनायागते त्वरित

PLATE II

- [1] तुरगखरमुखरुखरोत्खातधरिणिधूलिधूसरिनादिगन्तरे कुन्तप्रान्तानितान्तावि-
मर्शमानरभसाभिधावितो
[2] इतस्यन्तेदरविवरविनिर्गतात्रप्रथुतररुधिरधारारजितकवचभीषणवपुपि स्वा-
मिमहा
[3] सन्मानदानग्रहणं क्रीकृतस्वशिरोभिरभिमुखमापतितैप्रदयदशनाप्रदष्टोष्ट-
पुटकैरने
[4] कसमराजिरविवरवरिकरिकाटितटहयविघटनविशालितघनरुधिरपटलपाट-
लितपटुकपाणपट्टैरपि महा
[5] योवैरलन्धपरभागे विपक्षक्षपणाक्षेपक्षिप्रतीक्षणक्षुरप्रप्रहारविलूनवैरि-
शिरकमलगलनलैरा
[6] हवरसरभसरोमाचकचुकाच्छादिततनूभिरनेकैरपि नरेन्द्रब्रदब्रदारकैरजित-
पूर्वे : व्यपगतमस्माक
[7] प्रणमनेन स्वामिन स्वशिर प्रदानेनाद्यतावदेकजन्मीयामित्येवमिषोपजातप-
रितोपानन्तरप्रहतपटुप
[8] टहरवप्रवृत्तकवन्धवद्वारासमण्डलीके समराशिरासि विजितेताजिकानिके शो-
न्यानुरागिणा श्रीवदत्रमनरे
[9] त्रेण प्रसादीकृतापरनामचतुष्टयस्तद्यथा दक्षिणापथसाधारणचलुकिकुलाल-
कारपृथ्वीवदत्रमानिवर्त्तकनिव
[10] र्त्तयित्रवनिजनाश्रयश्रीपुलकेशिराजस्सर्वानेवात्मीयान्

Chapter IX

THE CHÁLUKYAS,
A D 634-740

Buddhavarman,
A.D 713 (?)

Pulakeśi was at this time ruling at Navsári. It is uncertain how much longer this Chálukya kingdom of Navsári continued. It was probably overthrown about A D 750 by the Gujarát branch of the Ráshtrakútas who were in possession in A D 757-8¹

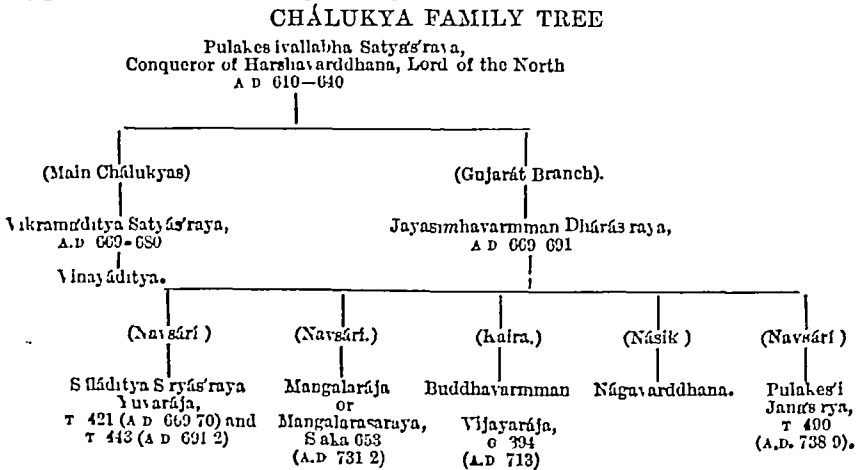
The Kaira grant dated 394 gives in hereditary succession the names Jayasimha, Buddhavarman, and Vijayarāja². The grant is made from Vijayapura, which, as the late Colonel West suggested, may be Bijápúr near Parántij though this is far to the north of the otherwise known Chálukya limits. The village granted is Pariyaya in the Kásákula division. If taken as Traikútaka the date 394 corresponds to A D 642-3. This is out of the question, since Vijayarāja's grand-uncle Vikramáditya flourished between A D 670 and 680. Professor Bhandarkar considers the plate a forgery, but there seems no sufficient reason for doubting its genuineness. No fault can be found with the character. It is written in the usual style of Western Chálukya grants, and contains the names of a number of Bráhmaṇ grantees with minute details of the fields granted a feature most unusual in a forged grant. In the Gupta era, which equally with the Traikútaka era may be denoted by the word *Sam* and which is more likely to be in use in North Gujarát the 394 would represent the fairly probable A D 713. Jayasimha may have conquered part of North Gujarát and sent his son Buddhavarman to rule over it.

Nágavarddhana

Jayasimha appears to have had a third son Nágavarddhana ruling in West Násik which was connected with South Gujarát through Balsár, Párdi, and Penth. The Nirpan grant of Nágavarddhana is undated,³ and, though it gives a wrong genealogy, its seal, the form of composition, the *biruda* or title of the king, and the alphabet all so closely agree with the style of the Gujarát Chálukya plates that it cannot be considered a forgery.

Not long after A D 740 the Chálukyas seem to have been supplanted in South Gujarát by the Ráshtrakútas.

Chálukya
Tree



¹ Journal B B R A S XVI 105

² Ind. Ant VII. 241.

³ Ind Ant IX 123

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THE CHĀLUKYAS,
A.D. 634-740

A.D. 610-610

Vijayarāja's grant of the year 794 (A.D. 642-3) is the earliest trace of Chālukya rule in Gujarat. Dr. Bhagvānlāl, who believed in its genuineness, supposes it to be dated in the Gupta era (c. 794 = A.D. 711) and infers from it the existence of Chālukya rule far to the north of Broach. But the most curious comparison of it with the Khedā grants of Dadda II (see Ind. Ant. XIII. 81ff) which are dated (admittedly in the [so-called] Trakutaka era) 750 and 757 respectively, shows that a large number of Dadda's grantees reappear in the Chālukya grant. The date of the Chālukya plate must therefore be interpreted as a Trakutaka or Chedi date.

Thus being so, it is clearly impossible to suppose that Vijayarāja's grandfather Jayasimha is that younger son of Pulakesi II (A.D. 610-610) who founded the Gujarat branch family. It has been usually supposed that the Jayasimha of our grant was a younger brother of Pulakesi II, but this also is chronologically impossible for Jayasimha can hardly have been more than ten years of age in A.D. 597-98, when his elder brother was set aside as too young to rule. His son Buddhavarman could hardly have been born before A.D. 610, so that Buddhavarman's son Vijayarāja must have made his grant at the age of twelve at latest. The true solution of the question seems to be that given by Dr. Bhandarkar in his Early History of the Deccan (page 12 note 7), namely that the grant is a forgery. To the reasons advanced by him may be added the fact pointed out by Mr. Fleet (Ind. Ant. VII. 251) that the grant is a palimpsest, the engraver having originally commenced it "Śaṣṭi Vijayavikṣepān Na". It can hardly be doubted that *Na* is the first syllable of Nandipuri the palace of the Gurjara kings. Many of the grantees were Brahmins of Jambusar and subjects of Dadda II of Broach, whose grants to them are extant. It seems obvious that Vijayarāja's grant was forged in the interest of these persons by some one who had Gurjara grants before him as models, but knew very little of the forms used in the chancery of the Chālukyas.

Setting aside this grant, the first genuine trace of Chālukya rule in Gujarat is to be found in the grant of the Sindhra chief Nikumbhallasakti, which bears date Sam. 406 (A.D. 654-5) and relates to the gift to a Brahmin of the village of Bahsa (Wanesa) in the Trayvana (Ten) district. Dr. Bühler has shown (Ind. Ant. XVIII. page 265ff) that the Sindhra's were a Kaniya family, and that Nikumbhallasakti must have come to Gujarat as a Chālukya feudatory, though he names no overlord. He was doubtless subordinate to the Chālukya governor of Nāsik.

The next grant that requires notice is that of Nāgavarādhana, who describes himself distinctly as the son of Pulakesi's brother Jayasimha, though Dr. Bhagvānlāl believed this Jayasimha to be Pulakesi's son. Mr. Fleet points out other difficulties connected with this grant, but on the whole decides in favour of its genuineness (see Ind. Ant. IX. 123). The description of Pulakesi II in this grant refers to his victory over Harshavarādhana, but also describes him as having conquered the three kingdoms of Chera, Chola, and Pandya by means of his horse of the Chitrakantha breed, and as meditating on the feet of Śrī Nāgavarādhana. Now all of these epithets, except the reference to Harshavarādhana, belong properly, not to Pulakesi II but to his son Vikramāditya I. The conquest of the confederacy of Cholas, Cheras (or Kērlas), and Pāndyas is ascribed to Vikramāditya in the inscriptions of his son Vinayāditya (Fleet in Ind. Ant. X. 134) the Chitrakantha horse is named in Vikramāditya's own grants (Ind. Ant. VI. 75 &c.) while his meditation upon the feet of Nāgavarādhana recurs in the T. 421 grant of Śrī Śāstraya Sīlāditya (B. B. R. A. S. XVI. 1ff). This confusion of epithets between Pulakesi II and Vikramāditya makes it difficult to doubt that Nāgavarādhana's grant was composed either during or after Vikramāditya's reign, and under the influence of that king's grants. It may be argued that even in that case the grant may be genuine, its inconsistencies being due merely to carelessness. This supposition the following considerations seem to negative. Pulakesi II. was alive at the time of Hsuen Tsang's visit (A.D. 640), but is not likely to have reigned very much longer. And, as Vikramāditya's reign is supposed to have begun about A.D. 669-70, a gap remains of nearly thirty years. That part of this period was occupied by the war with the three kings

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of the south we know from Vikramāditya's own grants but the grant of Sryásraya Silāditya referred to above seems to show that Vikramāditya was the successor, not of his father, but of Nágavarddhana upon whose feet he is described as meditating. It follows that Nágavarddhana succeeded Pulakesi and preceded Vikramāditya on the imperial throne of the Chálukyas whereas his grant could not have been composed until the reign of Vikramāditya.

Although the grant is not genuine, we have no reason to doubt that it gives a correct genealogy, and that Nágavarddhana was the son of Pulakesi's brother Jayasimha and therefore the first cousin of Vikramāditya. The grant is in the regular Chálukya style, and the writer, living near the Northern Chálukya capital, Násik, had better models than the composer of Vijayarāja's grant. Both grants may have been composed about the time when the Chálukya power succumbed to the attacks of the Ráshtrakútas (A.D. 743) —(A. M. T. J.)

CHAPTER X.
THE GURJJARAS
(A.D 580-808)

DURING Valabhi and Chálukya ascendancy a small Gurjara kingdom flourished in and about Broach. As has been noticed in the Valabhi chapter the Gurjaras were a foreign tribe who came to Gujarát from Northern India. All the available information regarding the Broach Gurjaras comes from nine copperplates,¹ three of them forged, all obtained from South Gujarát. These plates limit the regular Gurjara territory to the Broach district between the Mahí and the Narbada, though at times their power extended north to Khedá and south to the Tápti. Like the grants of the contemporary Gujarát Chálukyas all the genuine copperplates are dated in the *Tiaikúta* era which begins in A.D. 249-50.² The Gurjara capital seems to have been Nándipurí or Nándor,³ the modern Nándod the capital of Rájpipla in Rewa Kántha about thirty-four miles east of Broach. Two of their grants issue *Nándipurítah*⁴ that is 'from Nándipurí' like the *Valabhítah* or 'from Valabhi' of the Valabhi copperplates, a phrase which in both cases seems to show the place named was the capital since in other Gurjara grants the word *vásaka* or camp occurs.⁵

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THE GURJJARAS,
A.D. 580-808

Though the Gurjaras held a considerable territory in South Gujarát their plates seem to show they were not independent rulers. The general titles are either *Samadhigata-panchamahásabda* 'He who has attained the five great titles,' or *Sámanta* Feudatory. In one instance Jayabhaṭa III who was probably a powerful ruler is called *Sámantádhipati*⁶ Lord of Feudatories. It is hard to say to what suzerain these Broach Gurjaras acknowledged fealty. Latterly they seem to have accepted the Chálukyas on the south as their overlords. But during the greater part of their existence they may have been feudatories of the Valabhi dynasty, who, as

Copperplates

¹ Ind. Ant. V 109ff, Ind. Ant. VII 61ff; Jour. R. A. S. (N. S.), I 274ff; Ind. Ant. XIII 81-91, Jour. B. B. R. A. Soc. X 19ff, Ind. Ant. XIII 115-119. Ind. Ant. XVII and Ep. Ind. II 19ff. ² See above page 107.

³ That Nándor or Nándod was an old and important city is proved by the fact that Bráhmans and Vániás called Nándorás that is of Nándor are found throughout Gujarát. Mángrol and Chorvád on the South Káthiáwáda coast have settlements of Velári betel-vine cultivators who call themselves Nandora Vániás and apparently brought the betel-vine from Nándod. Dr. Bühler, however, identifies the Nándipurí of the grants with an old fort of the same name about two miles north of the east gate of Broach. See Ind. Ant. VII 62. ⁴ Ind. Ant. XIII 81, 88. ⁵ Ind. Ant. XIII 70.

⁶ The fact that the Umetá and Iláo plates give their grantor Dadda II the title of *Maharajádhiraja* Supreme Lord of Great Kings, is one of the grounds for believing them forgeries.

in his grants of Samvat 252¹ (A D 571) calls himself Mahārāja, while in his grants of 269 and 270² (A D 588 and 589), he adds the title of Mahāsamanta, which points to subjection by some foreign power between A D 571 and A D 588. It seems highly probable that this power was that of the Gujjaras of Bhīnmāl, and that their successes therefore took place between A D. 580 and 588 or about A D 585.

The above mentioned anonymous grant of the year 346 (A D. 594-95) is ascribed with great probability to Dadda I who is known from the two Khedā grants of his grandson Dadda II (c. 620-650 A D)³ to have "uprooted the Nāga" who must be the same as the jungle tribes ruled by Nirhullaka and are now represented by the Nāikdās of the Panch Mahāls and the Talabdas or Locals of Broach. The northern limit of Dadda's kingdom seems to have been the Vindhya, as the grant of 380 (A D 628-29) says that the lands lying around the feet of the Vindhya were for his pleasure. At the same time it appears that part at least of Northern Gujarāt was ruled by the Mahāsāmanta Dharasena of Valabhi, who in Val 270 (A D 589-90) granted a village in the *āhāra* of Khetaka (Khedā)⁴. Dadda is always spoken of as the *Sāmanta*, which shows that while he lived his territory remained a part of the Gurjjara kingdom of Bhīnmāl. Subsequently North Gujarāt fell into the hands of the Mālava kings, to whom it belonged in Huen Tsiang's time (c 640 A D)⁵. Dadda I is mentioned in the two Khedā grants of his grandson as a worshipper of the sun the fragmentary grant of 346 (A.D. 594-95) which is attributed to him gives no historical details.

Dadda I was succeeded by his son Jayabhata I who is mentioned in the Khedā grants as a victorious and virtuous ruler, and appears from his title of Vitarāga the Passionless to have been a religious prince.

Jayabhata I was succeeded by his son Dadda II who bore the title of Praśāntarāga the Passion-calmed. Dadda was the donor of the two Khedā grants of 380 (A D 628-29) and 385 (A D 633-34), and a part of a grant made by his brother Ranagraha in the year 391 (A D. 639-40) has lately been published⁶. Three forged grants purporting to have been issued by him are dated respectively Śaka 400 (A D 478), Śaka 415 (A D 493), and Śaka 417 (A D 495)⁷. Both of the Khedā grants relate to the gift of the village of Suśhapadiaka (Sisodra) in the Akrūreśvara (Ankleśvar) vishaya to certain Brāhmins of Jambusar and Broach. In Ranagraha's grant the name of the village is lost.

Dadda II's own grants describe him as having attained the five great titles, and praise him in general terms and both he and his brother Ranagraha sign their grants as devout worshippers of the sun. Dadda II heads the genealogy in the later grant of 456 (A D 704-5),⁸ which states that he protected "the lord of Valabhi who had been defeated by the great lord the illustrious Harshadeva". The event referred to must have been some expedition of the great Harshavardhana of Kanauj.

Chapter X.

THE GURJJARAS,
A D 580-808

Dadda I
c 585-605 A D

Jayabhata I
Vitarāga,
c 605-620 A D

Dadda II
Praśāntarāga,
c 620-650 A D

¹ Ind. Ant. VII 68, VIII 302, XIII 160, and XV 187

² Ind. Ant. VI 9, VII 70

³ Ind. Ant. XIII 81-88

⁴ Ind. Ant. VII 70

⁵ Beal's Buddhist Records, II 266, 268

⁶ Ind. Ant. XIII 81-88, Ep. Ind. II 19.

⁷ On these forged grants see below page 117

⁸ Ind. Ant. XIII. 70

Chapter X

THE GURJJARAS,
A D 580-808Dadda II
Prasantaṅga,
c 620-650 A D

(A D 607-648), perhaps the campaign in which Harsha was defeated on the Narbada by Pulakeśi II (which took place before A D 634). The protection given to the Valabhi king is perhaps referred to in the Khedā grants in the mention of "strangers and suppliants and people in distress" If this is the case the defeat of Valabhi took place before A D 628-29, the date of the earlier of the Khedā grants. On the other hand, the phrase quoted is by no means decisive, and the fact that in Hiuen Tsiang's time Dhruvasena of Valabhi was son-in-law of Harsha's son, makes it unlikely that Harsha should have been at war with him. It follows that the expedition referred to may have taken place in the reign of Dharaśena IV who may have been the son of Dhruvasena by another wife than Harsha's granddaughter.

To Dadda II's reign belongs Hiuen Tsiang's notice of the kingdom of Broach (c 640 A D)¹ He says "all their profit is from the sea" and describes the country as salt and barren, which is still true of large tracts in the west and twelve hundred years ago was probably the condition of a much larger area than at present. Hiuen Tsiang does not say that Broach was subject to any other kingdom, but it is clear from the fact that Dadda bore the five great titles that he was a mere feudatory. At this period the valuable port of Broach, from which all then profit was made, was a prize fought for by all the neighbouring powers. With the surrounding country of Lāta, Broach submitted to Pulakeśi II (A D 610-640)² it may afterwards have fallen to the Mālava kings, to whom in Hiuen Tsiang's time (A D 640) both Khedā (K'ic-ch'a) and Anandapura (Vadnagai) belonged, later it was subject to Valabhi, as Dharaśena IV. made a grant at Broach in V S 330 (A D 649-50)³

Knowledge of the later Gurjjaras is derived exclusively from two grants of Jayabhata III dated respectively 456 (A D 704-5) and 486 (A D. 734-5)⁴ The later of these two grants is imperfect, only the last plate having been preserved. The earlier grant of 456 (A D 704-5) shows that during the half century following the reign of Dadda II the dynasty had ceased to call themselves Gurjjaras, and had adopted a Purāṇic pedigree traced from king Karna, a hero of the Bhārata war. It also shows that from Dadda III onward the family were Śaivas instead of sun-worshippers.

The successor of Dadda II. was his son Jayabhata II who is described as a warlike prince, but of whom no historical details are recorded.

Jayabhata's son, Dadda III Bāhusahāya, is described as waging wars with the great kings of the east and of the west (probably Mālava and Valabhi). He was the first Śaiva of the family, studied Manu's works, and strictly enforced "the duties of the *varnas* or castes and of the *āśramas* or Brāhman stages" It was probably to him that the Gurjjaras owed their Purāṇic pedigree and then recognition as true Kṣhatṛiyas. Like his predecessors Dadda III

¹ Beal's Buddhist Records, II 259.² Ind Ant VIII 237.³ Ind Ant XV 335⁴ Ind Ant. V. 109, XIII. 70Jayabhata II
c 650-675 A DDadda III
Bāhusahāya,
c 675-700

was not an independent ruler. He could claim only the five great titles, though no hint is given who was his suzerain. His immediate superior may have been Javasinha the Chálukya, who received the province of Látá from his brother Vikramáditya (c 669-680 A.D.)¹

The son and successor of Dadda III was Jayabhāṭa III whose two grants of 136 (A.D. 701-5) and 186 (A.D. 731-5)² must belong respectively to the beginning and the end of his reign. He attained the five great titles, and was therefore a feudatory, probably of the Chálukyas, but his title of Maháśamantádhupatí implies that he was a chief of importance. He is praised in vague terms, but the only historical event mentioned in his grants is a defeat of a lord of Valabhi, noted in the grant of 486 (A.D. 731-5). The Valabhi king referred to must be either Śíláditya IV (A.D. 691) or Śíláditya V (A.D. 722). During the reign of Jayabhāṭa III took place the great Arab invasion which was repulsed by Pulakesi Janíśraya at Navsírí.³ Like the kingdoms named in the grant of Pulakesi, Broach must have suffered from this raid. It is not specially mentioned probably because it formed part of Pulakesi's territory.

After A.D. 731-5 no further mention occurs of the Gurjaras of Broach. Whether the dynasty was destroyed by the Arabs or by the Gujarát Ráshtrakúṭas (A.D. 750) is not known. Later references to Gurjaras in Ráshtrakúṭa times refer to the Gurjaras of Bhínmal not to the Gurjaras of Broach, who, about the time of Dadda III (c. 675-700 A.D.), ceased to call themselves Gurjaras.

Chapter X.

THE GURJJARAS,
A.D. 580-808Jayabhāṭa III.
c. 701-731 A.D.

A few words must be said regarding the three grants from Ilāo, Umetá, and Bagumrá (Ind. Ant. XIII 116, VII 61, and XVII 183) as their genuineness has been assumed by Dr. Bühler in his recent paper on the Mahábhārata, in spite of Mr. Fleet's proof (Ind. Ant. XVIII 19) that their dates do not work out correctly.

Dr. Bhagvinkar's (Ind. Ant. XIII 70) chief grounds for holding that the Umetá and Ilāo grants (the Bagumrá grant was unknown to him) were forgeries were

(1) Their close resemblance in palaeography to one another and to the forged grant of Dharaśena II of Valabhi dated S'aka 100,

(2) That though they purport to belong to the fifth century they bear the same writer's name as the Khedá grants of the seventh century.

Further Mr. Fleet (Ind. Ant. XIII 116) pointed out

(3) That the description of Dadda I in the Ilāo and Umetá grants agrees almost literally with that of Dadda II in the Khedá grants, and that where it differs the Khedá grants have the better readings.

To these arguments Dr. Bühler has replied (Ind. Ant. XVII 183)

(1) That though there is a resemblance between these grants and that of Dharaśena II, still it does not prove more than that the forger of Dharaśena's grant had one of the other grants before him,

(2) That, as the father's name of the writer is not given in the Khedá grants, it cannot be assumed that he was the same person as the writer of the Ilāo and Umetá grants, and

¹ B. B. R. A. S. J. I. XVI 15f.

² Ind. Ant. V 109, XIII 70. The earlier grant was made from Káyávatára (Kárwán) the later one is mutilated. ³ Before A.D. 738-9. See Chap. IX. above.

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THE GUJJARAS,
A.D. 580-803

(3) That genuine grants sometimes show that a description written for one king is afterwards applied to another, and that good or bad readings are no test of the age of a grant.

It may be admitted that Dr Bühler has made it probable that the suspected grants and the grant of Dharasena were not all written by the same hand, and also that the coincidence in the writer's name is not of much importance in itself. But the paleographical resemblance between Dharasena's grant on the one hand and the doubtful Gurjjara grants on the other is so close that they must have been written at about the same time. As to the third point, the verbal agreement between the doubtful grants on the one hand and the Kheḍā grants on the other implies the existence of a continuous tradition in the record office of the dynasty from the end of the fifth till near the middle of the seventh century. But the Saṅkheḍā grant of Narihalla (Ep. Ind. II. 21) shows that towards the end of the sixth century the lower Narkadā valley was occupied by jungle tribes who acknowledged the supremacy of the Kalachuris. Is it reasonable to suppose that after the first Gurjjara line was thus displaced, the restorers of the dynasty should have had any memory of the forms in which the first line drew up their grants? At any rate, if they had, they would also have retained their original seal, which, as the analogy of the Valabhi plates teaches us, would bear the founder's name. But we find that the seal of the Kheḍā plates bears the name "Sāmanta Dadda," who can be no other than the "Sāmanta Dadda" who ruled from c. 585-605 A.D. It follows that the Gurjjaras of the seventh century themselves traced back their history in Broach no further than A.D. 585. Again, it has been pointed out in the text that a passage in the description of Dadda II (A.D. 620-650) in the Kheḍā grants seems to refer to his protection of the Valabhi king, so that the description must have been written for him and not for the fifth century Dadda as Dr Bühler's theory requires.

These points coupled with Mr Fleet's proof (Ind. Ant. XVIII. 91) that the Saka dates do not work out correctly, may perhaps be enough to show that none of these three grants can be relied upon as genuine.—(A. M. T. J.)

CHAPTER XI.

THE RÁSHTRAKÚṬAS

(A D 743-974.)

THE Ráshtrakúṭa connection with Gujarát lasted from S'aka 665 to 891 (A D 713-974) that is for 231 years. The connection includes three periods. A first of sixty-five years from S'aka 665 to 730 (A D 743-808) when the Gujarát ruler was dependent on the main Dakhan Ráshtrakúṭa a second of eighty years between S'aka 730 and 810 (A D 808-888) when the Gujarát family was on the whole independent and a third of eighty-six years S'aka 810 to 896 (A D 888-974) when the Dakhan Ráshtrakúṭas again exercised direct sway over Gujarát.

Information regarding the origin of the Ráshtrakúṭas is imperfect. That the Gujarát Ráshtrakúṭas came from the Dakhan in S'aka 665 (A D 743) is known. It is not known who the Dakhan Ráshtrakúṭas originally were or where or when they rose to prominence. Ráthod the dynastic name of certain Kanauj and Máuwar Rajputs represents a later form of the word Ráshtrakúṭa. Again certain of the later inscriptions call the Ráshtrakúṭas Rattas a word which, so far as form goes, is hardly a correct Prakrit contraction of Ráshtrakúṭa. The Sanskritisation of tribal names is not exact. If the name Rattā was strange it might be pronounced Ratta, Ratha, or Reddi. This last form almost coincides with the modern Kánarese caste name Reddi, which, so far as information goes, would place the Ráshtrakúṭas among the tribes of pre-Sanskrit southern origin.

If Ratta is the name of the dynasty *lúṭa* or *lúda* may be an attribute meaning prominent. The combination Ráshtrakúṭa would then mean the chiefs or leaders as opposed to the rank and file of the Rattas. The bardic accounts of the origin of the Ráthods of Kanauj and Marwár vary greatly. According to a Jain account the Ráthods, whose name is fancifully derived from the *rahit* or spine of Indra, are connected with the Yavans through an ancestor Yavanaśva prince of Párlipur. The Ráthod genealogies trace their origin to Kuśa son of Ráma of the Solar Race. The bards of the

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Their Origin.

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Their Name.

Solar Race hold them to be descendants of Hiraṇya Kaśipu by a demon or *dātya* mother. Like the other great Rājput families the Rāthods' accounts contain no date earlier than the fifth century A.D. when (A.D. 470, S. 526) Nāin Pāl is said to have conquered Kānaṇj slaying its monarch Ajipāl¹. The Dakhan Rāshtrakūtas (whose earliest known date is also about A.D. 450) call themselves of the Lunar Race and of the Yadu dynasty. Such contradictions leave only one of two origins to the tribe. They were either foreigners or southerners Brāhmanised and included under the all-embracing term Rājput.

Early Dynasty,
A.D. 450-500

Of the rise of the Rāshtrakūtas no trace remains. The earliest known Rāshtrakūta copper plate is of a king Abhimanyu. This plate is not dated. Still its letters, its style of writing, and its lion seal, older than the Garuda mark which the Rāshtrakūtas assumed along with the claim of Yādava descent, leave no doubt that this is the earliest of known Rāshtrakūta plates. Its probable date is about A.D. 450. The plate traces the descent of Abhimanyu through two generations from Mānānka. The details are

Mānānka,
|
Devatāja
|
Bhaviṣya.
|
Abhimanyu

The grant is dated from Mānapura, perhaps Mānānka's city, probably an older form of Mānyakheta the modern Malkhed the capital of the later Rāshtrakūtas about sixty miles south-east of Sholāpur. These details give fair ground for holding the Mānānkas to be a family of Rāshtrakūta rulers earlier than that which appears in the usual genealogy of the later Rāshtrakūta dynasty (A.D. 500-972).

The
Main Dynasty,
A.D. 630-972

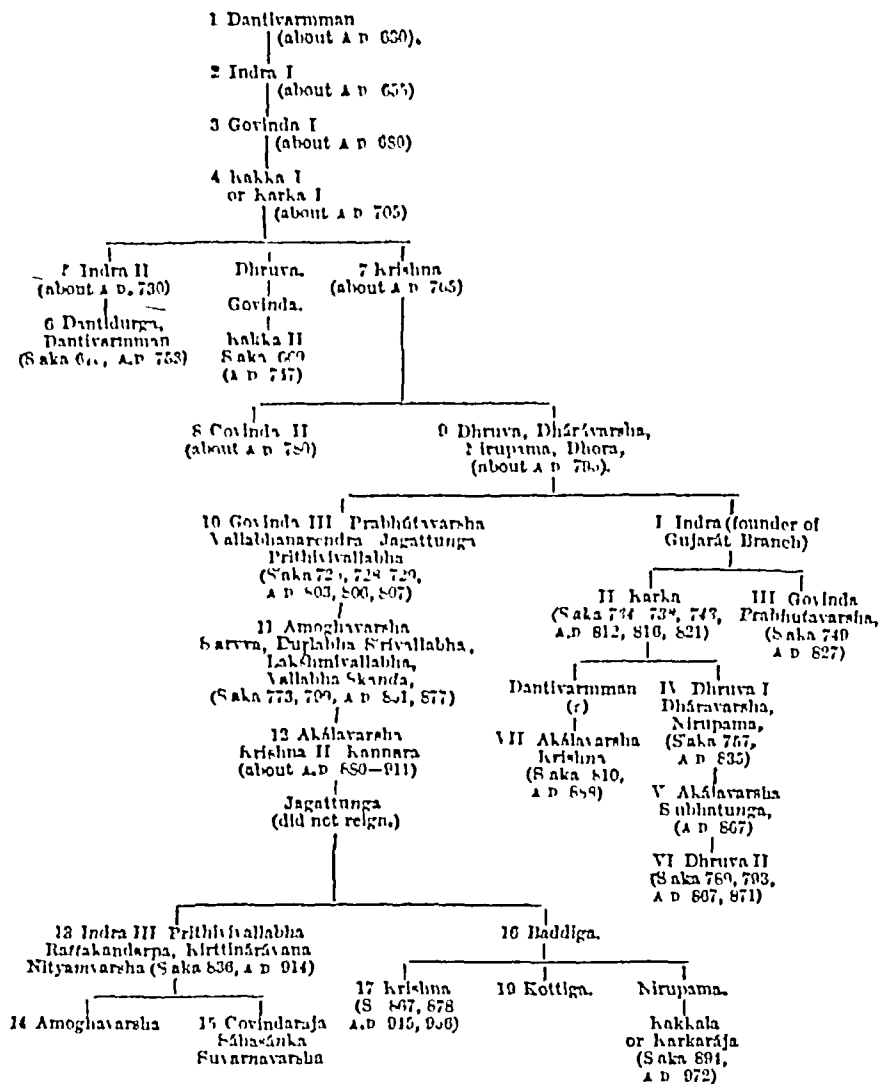
The earliest information regarding the later Rāshtrakūtas is from a comparatively modern, and therefore not quite trustworthy, Chālukya copper plate of the eleventh century found by Mr. Wathen. This plate states that Jayasimha I. the earliest Chālukya defeated the Rāshtrakūta Indira son of Kṛṣṇa the lord of 800 elephants. The date of this battle would be about A.D. 500. If historic the reference implies that the Rāshtrakūtas were then a well established dynasty. In most of their own plates the genealogy of the Rāshtrakūtas begins with Govinda about A.D. 680. But that Govinda was not the founder of the family is shown by Dantidurga's Elura Daśavatāra inscription (about A.D. 750) which gives two earlier names Dantivarman and Indra. The founding of Rāshtrakūta power is therefore of doubtful date. Of the date of its overthrow there is no question. The overthrow came from the hand of the Western Chālukya Tailappa in Śaka 894 (A.D. 972) during the reign of the last Rāshtrakūta Kakka III. or Kakkala.

¹ Tod's Annals of Rājasthān, I. 88, II. 2.

The following is the Ráshtrakúṭa family tree

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RÁSHTRAKÚṬAS,
A.D. 743-974
Ráshtrakúṭa
Family Tree,
A.D. 630-972



The earliest Gujarát Ráshtrakúṭa grant, Kakka's of S'aka 669 (A.D. 747), comes from Antoli-Chárolí in Surat. It is written on two plates in the Valabhi style of composition and form of letters, and, as in Valabhi grants, the date is at the end. Unlike Valabhi grants the era is the S'aka era. The grant gives the following genealogy somewhat different from that of other known Ráshtrakúṭa grants

Copperplates

Kakka
|
Dhruva
|
Govinda
|
Kakka II
(S'aka 669, A.D. 747)

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Kakka II
A.D. 747

The plate notices that Kakka the grantor was the son of Govinda by his wife the daughter of the illustrious Nāgavarmman. Kakka is further described by the feudatory title '*Samadhigatapanch-mahāśabdah*' Holder of the five great names. At the same time he is also called *Paramabhattāraka-Mahārāja* Great Lord Great King, attributes which seem to imply a claim to independent power. The grant is dated the bright seventh of Āśvayuja, Śaka 669 (A.D. 747). The date is almost contemporary with the year of Dantidurga in the Sāmangad plate (A.D. 753). As Dantidurga was a very powerful monarch we may identify the first Kakka of this plate with Kakka I, the grandfather of Dantidurga and thus trace from Dhruva Kakka's son a branch of feudatory Rāshtrakūtas ruling in Mālwa or Gujarāt, whose leaders were Dhruva, his son Govinda, and Govinda's son Kakka II. Further Dantidurga's grant shows that he conquered Central Gujarāt between the Mahī and the Nārbadā¹ while his Elura Daśavatāra inscription (A.D. 750) shows that he held Lāta and Mālava². Dantidurga's conquest of Central Gujarāt seems to have been signalised by grants of land made by his mother in every village of the Mātri division which is apparently the Mātar tāluka of the Karra district³. It is possible that Dantidurga gave conquered Gujarāt to his paternal cousin's son and contemporary Kakka, the grantor of the Antroli plate (A.D. 747), as the representative of a family ruling somewhere under the overlordship of the main Dakhan Rāshtrakūtas. Kakka's Baroda grant⁴ (A.D. 812) supports this theory. Dantidurga died childless and was succeeded by his uncle Krishna. Of this Krishna the Baroda grant says that he assumed the government for the good of the family after having rooted out a member of the family who had taken to mischief-making. It seems probable that Kakka II, the grantor of the Antroli plate is the mischief-maker and that his mischief was, on the death of Dantidurga, the attempt to secure the succession to himself. Krishna frustrated Kakka's attempt and rooted him out so effectively that no trace of Kakka's family again appears.

Krishna and
Govinda II
A.D. 765-795

From this it follows that, so far as is known, the Rāshtrakūta conquest of Gujarāt begins with Dantidurga's conquest of Lāta, that is South Gujarāt between the Mahī and the Nārbadā, from the Gurjjara king Jayabhaṭa whose latest known date is A.D. 736 or seventeen years before the known date of Dantidurga. The Gurjaras probably retired to the Rājpipla hills and further east on the confines of Mālwa where they may have held a lingering sway⁵. No Gujarāt event of importance is recorded during the reign of Krishna (A.D. 765) or of his son Govinda II (A.D. 780) who about

¹ Ind Ant XI 112

² Bombay Arch Sur Separate Number, 10, 94

³ This verse which immediately follows the mention of Govinda's conquests on the banks of the Mahī and the Nārbadā punningly explains the name of the Mātar tāluka as meaning the Mother's tāluka

⁴ Ind Ant XII 166

⁵ The Khāndesh Reva and Dore Gujars of Chopdā and Raver in the east, and also over most of the west, may be a remnant of these Gujars of Broach who at this time (A.D. 740), and perhaps again about sixty years later, may have been forced up the Nārbadā and Tāpti into South Mālwa and West Khāndesh. This is doubtful as their migration is said to have taken place in the eleventh century and may have been due to pressure from the north the effect of Mahmūd Ghaznavi's invasions (A.D. 1000-1025)

A.D. 795 was superseded by his powerful younger brother Dhruva.¹

Dhruva was a mighty monarch whose conquests spread from South India as far north as Allahabad. During Dhruva's lifetime his son Govinda probably ruled at Mayurakhandi or Morkhandi in the Nāsik district and held the Ghāt country and the Gujarāt coast from Balsir northwards. Though according to a Kapadvanj grant Govinda had several brothers the Radhanpur (A.D. 808) and Van-Dindori (A.D. 808) grants of his son Govinda III state that his father, seeing Govinda's supernatural Kṛishna-like powers, offered him the sovereignty of the whole world. Govinda declined, saying, 'The Kanthlūla or coast tract already given to me is enough.' Seeing that Mayurakhandi or Morkhandi in Nāsik was Govinda's capital, this Kanthlūla appears to be the coast from Balsir northwards.

According to Gujarāt Govinda's (A.D. 827-833) Kāvī grant (A.D. 827), finding his power threatened by Stambha and other kings, Dhruva made the great Govinda independent during his own lifetime. This suggests that while Dhruva continued to hold the main Rashtrakūṭa sovereignty in the Dakhan, he probably invested Govinda with the sovereignty of Gujarāt. This fact the Kāvī grant (A.D. 827) being a Gujarāt grant would rightly mention while it would not find a place in the Radhanpur (A.D. 808) and Van-Dindori (A.D. 808) grants of the main Rashtrakūṭas. Of the kings who opposed Govinda the chief was Stambha who may have some connection with Cambay, a, during the time of the Anahilavāda kings, Cambay came to be called Stambha-tirtha instead of by its old name of Gambhuta. According to the grants the allied chiefs were no match for Govinda. The Gurjara fled through fear, not returning even in dreams, and the Mālwa king submitted. Who the Gurjara was it is hard to say. He may have belonged to some Gurjara dynasty that rose to importance after Dantidurga's conquest or the name may mean a ruler of the Gurjara country. In either case some North Gujarāt ruler is meant whose conquest opened the route from Broach to Mālwa. From Mālwa Govinda marched to the Vindhya where the king apparently of East Mālwa named Marī Sarva submitted to Govinda paying tribute. From the Vindhya Govinda returned to Gujarat passing the rains at Śrībhavana,² apparently Śrībhon in the Amol taluka of Broach, a favourite locality which he had ruled during his father's lifetime. After the rains Govinda went south as far as the Tungabhadra. On starting for the south Govinda handed Gujarāt to his brother Indra with whom begins the Gujarāt branch of the Rashtrakūṭas. Several plates distinctly mention that Indra was given the kingdom of the lord of Lāṭa by (his brother) Govinda. Other Gujarāt grants, apparently with intent to show that Indra won Gujarat and did not receive it in gift, after mentioning Sarva Amoghavarsha as the successor of Govinda (A.D. 818), state that the king (apparently of Gujarāt) was Sarva's uncle Indra.

Chapter XI

THE
RASHTRAKÚTAS,
A.D. 743-874
Dhruva I
A.D. 795.

Govinda III.
A.D. 800-809

¹ Ind Ant VI 65, Jour. R. A. Soc. V. 350

² Ind Ant VI 65

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THE
RÁSHTRAKÚTAS,
A.D. 743-974

Indra,
A.D. 803-812.

As Govinda III handed Gujarát to his brother Indra about S'aka 730 (A.D. 808) and as the grant of Indra's son Karka is dated S'aka 734 (A.D. 812) Indra's reign must have been short. Indra is styled the ruler of the entire kingdom of Látésvara,¹ the protector of the *mandala* of Látá given to him by his lord. An important verse in an unpublished Baroda grant states that Indra chased the lord of Gurjjara who had prepared to fight, and that he honourably protected the multitude of Dakhan (Dakshinápátha) feudatories (*mahásúmantas*) whose glory was shattered by Srívallabha (that is S'arvva or Amoghavarsha)² then heir-apparent of Govinda. That is, in attempting to establish himself in independent power, Indra aided certain of the Ráshtrakúta feudatories in an effort to shake off the overlordship of Amoghavarsha.

Karka I.
A.D. 812-821

Indra was succeeded by his son Karka I who is also called Suvarnavarsha and Pátalamalla. Karka reversed his father's policy and loyally accepted the overlordship of the main Ráshtrakútas. Three grants of Karka's remain, the Baroda grant dated Saka 734 (A.D. 812), and two unpublished grants from Navsári and Surat dated respectively S'aka 738 (A.D. 816) and S'aka 743 (A.D. 821). Among Doctor Bhagvánlál's collection of inscriptions bequeathed to the British Museum the Baroda grant says that Karka's *súmi* or lord, apparently Govinda III, made use of Karka's arm to protect the king of Málava against invasion by the king of Gurjjara who had become puffed up by conquering the lords of Gauda and Vanga that is modern Bengal. This powerful Gurjjara king who conquered countries so distant as Bengal has not been identified. He must have been ruling north of the Mahí and threatened an invasion of Málwa by way of Dohad. He may have been either a Valabhi king or one of the Bhinmál Gurjjaras, who, during the decline of the Valabhis, and with the help of their allies the Cháavadás of Anahilaváda whose leader at this time was Yog Rája (A.D. 806-841), may have extended their dominion as far south as the Mahí. As the Baroda plate (A.D. 812) makes no mention of Amoghavarsha-S'arvva while the Navsári plate (A.D. 816) mentions him as the next king after Govinda III, it follows that Govinda III died and Amoghavarsha succeeded between A.D. 812 and 816 (S' 734 and 738). This supports Mr. Fleet's conclusion, on the authority of Amoghavarsha's Sirur inscription, that he came to the throne in S'aka 736 (A.D. 814). At first Amoghavarsha was unable to make head against the opposition of some of his relations and feudatories, supported, as noted above, by Karka's father Indra. He seems to have owed his

¹ The kingdom is not called Látá in the copperplate but Látésvara-mandala. An unpublished Baroda grant has गजिनः प्रतापशायन कृषिवरः सर्वस्य उद्विग्न (मण्डलस्य). The ruler famous by glory, of the whole kingdom of the king of Látá. Other published grants record Govinda's gift of Gujarát to Indra as तदनन्तरं देवमण्डलस्य. Of him (Indra) to whom the kingdom of the lord of Látá had been given by him (Govinda). Ind. Ant. XII 162.

² Ind. Ant. XII 169, unpublished Baroda grant. Srívallabha appears to mean Amoghavarsha who is also called Lakshmi Vallabha in an inscription at Sirur in DLávár (Ind. Ant. XII 215).

subsequent success to his cousin Karka whom an unpublished Surat grant and two later grants (S' 757 and S' 789, A D 835 and 867) describe as establishing Amoghavaishya in his own place after conquering by the strength of his arm arrogant tributary Ráshtrakútas who becoming firmly allied to each other had occupied provinces according to their own will

Karka's Baroda plates (S' 734, A.D. 812) record the grant of Baroda itself called Vadapadraka in the text Baroda is easily identified by the mention of the surrounding villages of Jambuváviká the modern Jambuváda on the east, of Ankottaka the modern Akotá on the west, and of Vaggháchchha perhaps the modern Vaghodia on the north. The writer of the grant is mentioned as the great minister of peace and war Nemaditya son of Dugabhatta, and the Dútaka or grantor is said to be Rájaputra that is prince Dantivarman apparently a son of Karka. The grantee is a Bráhman originally of Valabhi

Karka's Navsári grant (S' 738, A D 816) is made from Khedá and records the gift of the village of Samípadiaka in the country lying between the Mahí and the Nairbadá. The grantee is a South Indian Bráhman from Bádami in Bijápura, a man of learning popularly known as Pandita Vallabharája because he was proficient in the fourteen Vidyás. The Dútaka of this grant is a South Indian *bhaṭṭa* or military officer named the illustrious Dronamma

Karka's Surat grant (S' 743, A D 821) is made from the royal camp on the bank of the Vankiká apparently the Vánki creek near Balsár. It records the grant of a field in Ambápátaka village near Nágasárika (Navsári) to a Jain temple at Nágáriká (Navsári). The writer of the grant is the minister of war and peace Náráyana son of Dugabhatta. As this is the first grant by a Gujarát Rashtrakúta of lands south of the Tápti it may be inferred that in return for his support Amoghavaishya added to Karka's territory the portion of the North Konkan which now forms Gujarát south of the Tápti

According to Karka's Baroda plate (S' 734, A D 812) Karka had a son named Dantivarman who is mentioned as the princely Dútaka of the plate. The fact of being a Dútaka implies that Dantivarman was then of age. That Dantivarman was a son of Karka is supported by Akálavarsha's Bagumrá plate (S' 810, A D 888), where, though the plate is badly composed and the grammar is faulty, certain useful details are given regarding Dantivarman who is clearly mentioned as the son of Karka. Karka had another son named Dhruva, who, according to three copperplates, succeeded to the throne. But as Dantivarman's son's grant is dated Śaka 810 or seventy-six years later than the Baroda plate some error seems to have crept into the genealogy of the plate. Neither Dantivarman nor Dhruva seems to have succeeded their father as according to Govinda's Kávi grant (A D 827) their uncle Govinda succeeded his brother Karka. The explanation may be that Dantivarman died during his father's lifetime, and that some years later, after a great yearning for a son,¹ probably in Karka's old age, a second

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THE
RASHTRAKÚTAS,
A D 743-974.

Karka I
A.D. 812-821.

Dantivarman,
Heir Apparent

¹ Several copperplates give Karka the epithet *Putryatāstasya* son yearning

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THE

ΡΑΣΗΤΡΑΓΪΤΑΣ,
A D 743-974

Govinda,
A D 827-833

son Dhruva was born, during whose minority, after Karka's death, Govinda appears to have temporarily occupied the throne.

This Govinda, the brother and successor of Karka, was also called Prabhútarsha. One plate of Govinda's Kávi grant is dated Śaka 749 (A D 827). It gives no details regarding Govinda. The grant is made from Broach and records the gift of a village¹ to a temple of the Sun called Jayádivya in Kotipur near Káviká that is Kávi thirty miles north of Broach. The writer of the grant is Yogeśvara son of Avalokita and the Dútaka or grantor was one Bhatṭa Kumuda. As it contains no reference to Govinda's succession the plate favours the view that Govinda remained in power only during the minority of his nephew Dhruva.

Dhruva I
A D 835-867

This Dhruva, who is also called Nirupama and Dháravarsha, is mentioned as ruler in a Baroda grant dated Śaka 757 (A D. 835)². He therefore probably came to the throne either on attaining his majority in the lifetime of his uncle and predecessor Govinda or after Govinda's death. Dhruva's Baroda grant (S' 757, A D 835) is made from a place called Sarvvamangalá near Khedá and records the gift of a village to a Bráhmaṇa named Yoga³ of Badarasidhi apparently Borsad. The writer of the grant is mentioned as the minister of peace and war, Náráyana son of Durgabhatṭa, and the Dútaka or grantor is the illustrious Devarāja. Dhruva seems to have abandoned his father's position of loyal feudatory to the main Ráshtriakútas. According to a copperplate dated Śaka 832 (A D 910) Vallabha that is Amoghavarsha, also called the illustrious great Skanda, sent an army and besieged and burned the Kanthiká that is the coast tract between Bombay and Cambay. In the course of this campaign, according to Dhruva II's Bagumrá grant (S 789, A D 867),⁴ Dhruva died on the field of battle covered with wounds while routing the army of Vallabha or Amoghavarsha. This statement is supported by a Kanheri cave inscription which shows that Amoghavarsha was still alive in Śaka 799 (A D 877).

Akálavarsha,
A D 867

Dhruva was succeeded by his son Akálavarsha also called Subhatunga. A verse in Dhruva II's Bagumrá grant (S' 789, A D 867) says that Akálavarsha established himself in the territory of his father, which, after Dhruva's death in battle, had been overrun by the army of Vallabha and had been distracted by evil-minded followers and dependants⁵.

Dhruva II
A D 867

Akálavarsha was succeeded by his son Dhruva II also called Dháravarsha and Nirupama. Of Dhruva II two copperplates remain the published Bagumrá grant dated Śaka 789⁶ (A D 867) and an

¹ All village and boundary details have been identified by Dr. Bühler. Ind. Ant. V 148.

² Ind. Ant. XIV 199.

³ This donee is said to have been given the name of Jyotishuka by the illustrious Govindarāja apparently the uncle and predecessor of the granting king.

⁴ Ind. Ant. XII 179.

⁵ Ind. Ant. XII 184. The verse may be translated 'By whom before long was occupied the province handed down from his father which had been overrun by the forces of Vallabha and distracted by numbers of evil-minded followers.'

⁶ Ind. Ant. XII, 179.

unpublished Baroda grant dated Śaka 793 (A D 871)¹ Both plates record that Dhruva crushed certain intrigues among his relatives or *bandhuvarga*, and established himself firmly on the throne. Regarding the troubles at the beginning of his reign the Bagumrá plate states that on one side Vallabha the head of the Dakhan Rāshtrakūtas was still against him, on another side Dhruva had to face an army of Gurjjaras instigated by a member of his own family², thirdly he was opposed by certain of his relatives or *bāndhavaśāh*, and lastly he had to contend against the intrigues of a younger brother or *anya*. It further appears from Dhruva II's Bagumrá plate that he checked an inroad by a Mihira king with a powerful army. This Mihira king was probably a chief of the Kāthiāváda Mehra who on the downfall of the Valabhis spread their power across Gujarāt. In all these troubles the Bagumrá grant notes that Dhruva was aided by a younger brother named Govindarāja. This Govindarāja is mentioned as appointed by Dhruva the Dūtaka of the grant.

Dhruva II's Bagumrá (A D 867) grant was made at Bhrigu-Kachchha or Broach after bathing in the Narbadā. It records the gift to a Brāhman of the village of Páráhanaka, probably the village of Palsána³ twelve miles south-east of Bagumrá in the Balesar subdivision of the Gáikwār's territory of Surat and Navsáří. Dhruva's Baroda grant (A D 871) was also made at Broach. It is a grant to the god Kapāles'vara Mahādeva of the villages Konvali and Nakkabhajja both mentioned as close to the south bank of the Mahí. The facts that the Bagumrá grant (A D 867) transfers a village so far south as Balesar near Navsáří and that four years later the Baroda grant (A D 871) mentions that Dhruva's territory lay between Broach and the Mahí seem to prove that between A D 867 and 871 the portion of Dhruva's kingdom south of Broach passed back into the hands of the main Rāshtrakūtas.

The next and last known Gujarāt Rāshtrakūta king is Akālavarsha-Krishna son of Dantivarmman. A grant of this king has been found in Bagumrá dated Śaka 810 (A D 888)⁴. The composition of the grant is so bad and the genealogical verses after Karka are so confused that it seems unsafe to accept any of

Chapter XI

THE
RĀSHTRAKŪTAS,
A.D. 743-974.
Dhruva II.
A.D. 867

Akālavarsha-
Krishna,
A.D. 888.

¹ This plate was in Dr Bhagvānlál's possession. It is among the plates bequeathed to the British Museum. Dr Bhandárkar (B B R A S JI XVIII 255) mentions another unpublished grant of S' 789 (A D 867) made by Dhruva's brother Dantivarmman.

² These may be either the Gurjjaras between Málva and Gujarāt, or the Bhīmál Gurjjaras north of the Mahí. It is also possible that they may be Chāvadáś as in this passage the term Gurjjara does not refer to the tribe but to the country. [There seems little reason to doubt the reference is to the Gurjjaras of Bhīmál or Śrīmál, probably acting through their underlords the Chāvadáś of Anahilavāda whose king in A.D. 865 was the warlike Kshem Rāja (A D 841-866). Census and other recent information establish almost with certainty that the Chāvadáś or Chāvotakas are of the Gurjjara race.]

³ The identification is not satisfactory. Except the Brāhman settlement of Mottaka, apparently the well known Motāla Brāhman settlement of Motā, which is mentioned as situated on the west though it is on the north east, none of the boundary villages can be identified in the neighbourhood of Palsána. In spite of this the name Palsána and its close vicinity to Bagumrá where the grant was found make this identification probable.

⁴ Ind. Ant. XIII 65

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THE
RÁSHTRAKÚTAS,
A D 743-974
Akálavarsha-
Krishna,
A D 888

its details except its date which is clearly Śaka 810 (A D 888). It seems also improbable that the son of Dantivarman who flourished in Śaka 734 (A D 812) could be reigning in Śaka 810 (A D 888) seventy-six years later. Still the sixty-three years' reign of the contemporary Mányakheṭa Ráshtrakúta Amoghavarsha (Ś. 736-799, A D 814-877) shows that this is not impossible.

The grant which is made from Anklesvar near Broach records the gift to two Bráhmans of the village of Kavithasádhni the modern Kosád four miles north-east of Surat, described as situated in the Variávi (the modern Variáv two miles north of Surat) sub-division of 116 villages in the province of Konkan. The grant is said to have been written by the peace and war minister the illustrious Jajjaka son of Kaluka, the Dútaka being the head officer (*mahattama-avádhlakári*) the Bráhman Ollayaka.¹ This grant seems to imply the recovery by the local dynasty of some portion of the disputed area to the south of the Tápti. This recovery must have been a passing success. After Śaka 810 (A D 888) nothing is known of the Gujarát Ráshtrakútas. And the re-establishment of the power of the Ráshtrakútas of Mányakheṭa of the main line in south Gujarát in Śaka 836 (A D 914) is proved by two copperplates found in Navsári which record the grant of villages near Navsári, in what the text calls the Láta country, by king Indra Nityamvarsha son of Jagattunga and grandson of Krishna Akálavarsha.²

That Amoghavarsha's long reign lasted till Śaka 799 (A.D. 877) is clear from the Kanheri cave inscription already referred to. His reign can hardly have lasted much longer, about Śaka 800 (A D. 878) may be taken to be its end.

Amoghavarsha was succeeded by his son Krishna also called Akálavarsha, both his names being the same as those of the Gujarát Ráshtrakúta king of the same time (A D 888).³ It has been noted above that, in consequence of the attempt of Karka's son Dhruva I. (A D 835-867) to establish his independence, Amoghavarsha's relations with the Gujarát Ráshtrakútas became extremely hostile and probably continued hostile till his death (A D 877). That Amoghavarsha's son Krishna kept up the hostilities is shown by Indra's two Navsári plates of Śaka 836 (A.D. 914) which mention his grandfather Krishna fighting with the roaring Gurjjara.⁴ Regarding this fight the late Ráshtrakúta Kaidá plate (Ś. 891, A.D. 973) further says that Krishna's enemies frightened by his exploits abandoned Khetaka, that is Khedá, with its Mandala and its forepart that is the surrounding country. Probably this roaring Gurjjara or king of Gujarát, was a northern ally called in by some Ráshtrakúta of the

¹ Ind Ant XIII 65 69

² These were among Dr. Bhagvánlal's copperplates, and seem to be the same as the two grants published by Dr. Bhandárkar in B B R A S JI, XVIII 253

³ See above page 127

⁴ The text is उद्यदीधितिरत्तजालजटिलंव्याकृष्टमीदग्धनु । कुद्वेनोपरि वैरिवीरशिर-
सामेव विमुक्ताः शगः । धारासारिणी सेन्द्रचापवलये यस्येत्य मन्दागमे गज्जर्जर-
सगरव्यतिकर जीर्णोजन शसति.

Main Line
Restored,
A.D. 888-974

Krishna
Akálavarsha,
A D 888-914

Gujarāt branch, perhaps by Krishna's namesake the donor of the A D 888 Bagumrā grant. The Dakhan Krishna seems to have triumphed over his Gujarāt namesake as henceforward South Gujarāt or Latī was permanently included in the territory of the Dakhan Rāshtrakūtas.¹

At this time (A D 910) a grant from Kapadvanj dated S' 832 (A D 910) and published in Ep Ind I 52ff states that a *mahā-sāmanta* or noble of Krishna Akālavaiśha's named Prachanda, with his *dandanāyaka* Chandragupta, was in charge of a sub-division of 750 villages in the Khedā district at Haishapura apparently Harsol near Parāntij. The grant gives the name of Prachanda's family as Brāhmaṇaka (?) and states that the family gained its fortune or Lakshmi by the prowess of the feet of Akālavaiśha, showing that the members of the family drew their authority from Akālavaiśha. The grant mentions four of Prachanda's ancestors, all of whom have non-Gujarāt Kānarese-looking names. Though not independent rulers Prachanda's ancestors seem to have been high Rāshtrakūta officers. The first is called Suddha-kkumbadi, the second his son Degadi, the third Degadi's son Rājahamsa, the fourth Rājahamsa's son Dhavalappa the father of Prachanda and Akkuka. The plate describes Rājahamsa as bringing back to his house its flying fortune as if he had regained lost authority. The plate describes Dhavalappa as killing the enemy in a moment and then giving to his lord the Mandala or kingdom which the combined enemy, desirous of glory, had taken. This apparently refers to Akālavaiśha's enemies abandoning Khetaka with its Mandala as mentioned in the late Rāshtrakūta Kaidā plate (A D 973). Dhavalappa is probably Akālavaiśha's general who fought and defeated the roaring Gurjjara, a success which may have led to Dhavalappa being placed in military charge of Gujarāt.² The Kapadvanj (A D 910) grant describes Dhavalappa's son Prachanda with the feudatory title 'Who has obtained the five great words'. Dr Bhagvānlāl believed Prachanda to be a mere epithet of Akkuka, and took Chandragupta to be another name of the same person, but the published text gives the facts as above stated. The grantee is a Brāhman and the grant is of the village of Vyāghrāsa, perhaps Vāgrā in Broach.³ The plate describes Akkuka as gaining glory fighting in the battle field. A rather unintelligible verso follows implying that at this time the Solla-Vidyādhara, apparently the North Konkan S'ilāhāras (who traced their lineage from the Vidyādhara) also helped Akālavaiśha against his enemies,⁴ probably by driving them from South Gujarāt. The S'ilāhāra king at this time would be Jhanjha (A D 916).

¹ It will be noted that in S'aka 836 (A D 914) Krishna's grandson Indra re-grants 400 resumed villages many of which were perhaps resumed at this time by Krishna.

² It follows that none of Dhavalappa's three ancestors had any connection with Gujarāt.

³ Dr Hultsch (Ep Ind I 52) identifies Vyāghrāsa with Vaghās, north east of Kapadvanj. Dr Bhagvānlāl's account of the grant was based on an impression sent to him by the Mamlatdār of Kapadvanj.

⁴ The text is सेह विद्याधरेणापि सेह [हेलो] झालित तपानि पाणिना निहत्या शत्रून्

समये [रे] यजमाकुलमलंकृतं. Dr Hultsch takes the Solla Vidyādhara here named to be another brother of Prachanda and Akkuka. The verso is corrupt.

Chapter XI.

Indra
Ratnaprakāśa,
A.D. 780-814.
Indra
Ratnaprakāśa,
A.D. 814.

Krishna or Akāśavarsha had a son named Jagattunga who does not appear to have come to the throne. Other plates show that he went to Chedi the modern Bundelkhand and remained there during his father's lifetime. By Lakshmi the daughter of the king of Chedi Jagattunga had a son named Indra also called Nityamvarsha Ratnaprakāśa. In both of Indra's Navsāri copperplates (A.D. 914) Indra is mentioned as *Pādīn* 'falling at the feet of,' that is successor of, not his father but his grandfather Akāśavarsha.¹ One historical attribute of Indra in both the plates is that "he arrested in a moment the Mehr,"² apparently referring to some contemporary Mehr king of North Kāśmīr. Both the Navsāri plates of Saka 836 (A.D. 914) note that the grants were made under peculiar conditions. The plates say that the donor Indra Nityamvarsha with his capital at Mānyakhēra had come to a place named Kurundaka for the *pūṣṭakānta* or investiture festival. It is curious that though Mānyakhēra is mentioned as the capital the king is described as having come to Kurundaka for the investiture. Kurundaka was apparently not a large town as the plates mention that it was given in grant.³ At his investiture Indra made great gifts. He weighed himself against gold or silver, and before leaving the scales he gave away Kurundaka and other places, twenty and a half lakhs of dramma coins and 400 villages previously granted but taken back by intervening kings. These details have an air of exaggeration. At the same time gifts of coins by *śāhis* are not improbable by so mighty a king as Indra and as to the villages the bulk of them had already been alienated. The fact of lavish grants is supported by the finding of these two plates of the same date recording grants of two different villages made on the same occasion, the language being the same, and also by a verse in the late Rāshtrakūṭa Kārdā plate (S. 804, A.D. 972) where Indra is described as making numerous grants on copperplates and building many temples of Śiva.⁴ The date of Indra's grants (S. 836, A.D. 914) is the date of his investiture and accession. This is probable as the latest known date of his grandfather Krishna is Saka 833⁵ (A.D. 911) and we know that Indra's father Jagattunga did not reign.⁶ Umra and Tenna, the villages granted in the two investiture plates are described as situated near Kamunājī the modern Kāmlej in the Lāṭa province. They are probably the modern villages of Umra near Sūyan four miles west of Kāmlej, and of Tenna immediately to the west of Bārdolī, which last is mentioned under the form Vārdapallika as the eastern boundary village. Dhruva II's Baramma plate (S. 789, A.D. 867) mentions Tenna as granted

¹ The Kharephian grant makes this clear by passing over Indra's father Jagattunga in the genealogy and entering Indra as the grandson and successor of Akāśavarsha. Journ. B. B. R. A. Soc. L. 1917.

² The text has *Har* 'war' taken as to coincide with the prethal allusion and figure above known. By *Mera* or *deval* *Mera* or *Mara* is meant.

³ Kurundaka may be the village of Kurund in the Thana hills seven miles north-east of Bārdolī. It was a village given away in grant and cannot therefore be any large town. (Marsden) at the first meeting of the Arisana and Pāṇinīyuga in the Southern Marathi Country of the Narada's Vāṇī seems a more likely place for an investiture. ⁴ J. R. A. S. XL 94. ⁵ Ind. Ant. XI, 109. ⁶ See above.

by Dhruva I. to a Bráhmaṇ named Dhoddi the father of the Nenuapa who is the granteo of Dhruva II's A.D. 867 Bagumíá grant, whose son Siddhabhatta is the granteo of Indra's A.D. 914 grant¹ The re-granting of so many villages points to the re-establishment of the main Ráshtrakúta power and the disappearance of the Gujarát branch of the Ráshtrakútas²

Chapter XI.
THE
RÁSHTRAKÚTAS,
A.D. 743-974
Indra
Nityamvarsha,
A.D. 914.

Though no materials remain for fixing how long after A.D. 914 Gujarát belonged to the Mányakheta Ráshtrakútas, they probably continued to hold it till their destruction in Śaka 891 (A.D. 972) by the Western Chálukya king Tailappa. This is the more likely as inscriptions show that till then the neighbours of Gujarát, the North Konkan Siláháras, acknowledged Ráshtrakúta supremacy

It is therefore probable that Gujarát passed to the conquering Tailappa as part of the Ráshtrakúta kingdom Further, as noted below in Part II Chapter II, it seems reasonable to suppose that about Śaka 900 (A.D. 978) Tailappa entrusted Gujarát to his general Bárappa or Dvárappi, who fought with the Solanki Múlarája of Anahlaváda (A.D. 961-997).

[The text does not carry the question of the origin of the Ráshtrakútas beyond the point that, about the middle of the fifth century A.D., two tribes bearing the closely associated names Ráthod and Raṭṭa, the leaders of both of which are known in Sanskrit as Ráshtrakútas, appeared the first in Upper India the second in the Bombay Kanútak, and that the traditions of both tribes seem to show they were either southerners or foreigners Bráhmaṇised and included under the all embracing term Rajput. The Sanskrit form Ráshtrakuta may mean either leaders of the Ráshtra tribe or heads of the territorial division named *ráshtra* The closely related forms Ráshtrapati and Grímakúta occur (above page 82) in Valabhi inscriptions And Mr Fleet (Kanáresu Dynasties, 32) notices that Ráshtrakuta is used in the inscriptions of many dynasties as a title equivalent to Ráshtrapati Such a title might readily become a family name like that of the Sáhi Jits of the Panjáb or the Maráthi surnames Patel, Nadkarni, and Desái It may be noted that one of the Márwár traditions (Rajputána Gazetteer, III 246) connects the word Ráthod with Ráshtra country making the original form Ráshtravara or World blessing and referring to an early tribal guardian Ráshtrasena or the World Falcon It is therefore possible that the origin of both forms of the name, of Ráthod as well as of Ráshtrakuta, is the title ruler of a district At the same time in the case of the southern Ráshtrakútas the balance of evidence is in support of a tribal origin of the name The Raṭṭas of Saundatti in Belgaun, apparently with justice, claim descent from the former Ráshtrakúta rulers (Belgaun Gazetteer, 355) Further that the Ráshtrakútas considered themselves to belong to the Raṭṭa tribe is shown by Indra Nityamvarsha (A.D. 914)

¹ Though the name of the *gotra* *Lakshmanasa* and *Lakshyanasa* differs slightly in the two grants, the identity of the name Nenuapa the son of Dhoddi and the father of Siddhabhatta the A.D. 914 granteo, suggests that the original grant of the village of Tenna by Dhruva I (A.D. 795) had been cancelled in the interval and in A.D. 914 was renewed by king Indra Nityamvarsha [Dr Bhandárkar reads the name in Indra's Navasúri grant (A.D. 914) as Venuapa]
² That in A.D. 915 the Dakhan Ráshtrakútas held Gujarát as far north as Cambay is supported by the Arab traveller Al Masúdi who (Prairies d'Or, I 253-254) speaks of Cambay, when he visited it, as a flourishing town ruled by Banin the deputy of the Balhará lord of Mánkir The country along the gulf of Cambay was a succession of gardens villages fields and woods with date palm and other groves alive with peacocks and parrots.

CHAPTER XII.

THE MIHIRAS OR MERS.

A.D. 470-000.

THAT the Guptas held sway in Káthiaváda till the time of Skandagupta (A.D. 454-470) is proved by the fact that his Sorath Viceroy is mentioned in Skandagupta's inscription on the Girnár rock. After Skandagupta under the next known Gupta king Budhagupta (Gupta 165-180, A.D. 484-499) no trace remains of Gupta sovereignty in Sorath. It is known that Budhagupta was a weak king and that the Gupta kingdom had already entered on its decline and lost its outlying provinces. Who held Suráshtra and Gujarát during the period of Gupta decline until the arrival and settlement of Bhaskara in A.D. 514 (Gupta 195) is not determined. Still there is reason to believe that during or shortly after the time of Budhagupta some other race or dynasty overthrew the Gupta Viceroy of those provinces and took them from the Guptas. These powerful conquerors seem to be the tribe of Maitrakas mentioned in Valabhi copperplates as people who had settled in Káthiaváda and established a *mandala* or kingdom. Though these Maitrakas are mentioned in no other records from Suráshtra there seems reason to identify the Maitrakas with the Mihiras the well-known tribe of Mhers or Mers. In Sanskrit both *mitra* and *mihira* are names of the sun, and it would be quite in agreement with the practise of Sanskrit writers to use derivatives of the one for those of the other. These Mhers or Mers are still found in Káthiaváda settled round the Barda hills while the Porbandar chiefs who are known as Jethváas are recognized as the head of the tribe. The name Jethvá is not a tribal but a family name, being taken from the proper or personal name of the ancestor of the modern chiefs. As the Porbandar chiefs are called the kings of the Mhers they probably belong to the same tribe, though, being chiefs, they try, like other ruling families, to rank higher than their tribe tracing their origin from Hanúmán. Though the Jethváas appear to have been long ashamed to acknowledge themselves to belong to the Mher tribe the founders of minor Mher kingdoms called themselves Mher kings. The Porbandar chiefs have a tradition tracing their dynasty to Makaradhvaja son of Hanúmán, and there are some Puránik legends attached to the tradition. The historical kernel of the tradition appears to be that the Mhers or Jethváas had a *makara* or fish as their flag or symbol. One of the mythical stories of Makaradhvaja is that he fought with Mayúradhvaja. Whatever coating of fable may have overlaid the story, it contains a grain of history. Mayúradhvaja stands for the Guptas whose chief symbol was a peacock *mayúra*, and with them Makaradhvaja that is the people with the fish-symbol that is

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THE MHERS,
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the Mhers had a fight This fight is probably the historical contest in which the Mhers fought with and overthrew the Gupta Viceroy of Káthiáváda

The Káthiáváda Mhers are a peculiar tribe whose language dress and appearance mark them as foreign settlers from Upper India. Like the Málavas, Jats, Gurjaras, and Pahlavas, the Mhers seem to have passed through the Punjáb Sindh and North Gujarát into Káthiáváda leaving settlements at Ajmír, Bádner, Jesalmír, Kokalmír, and Mherváda How and when the Mhers made these settlements and entered Káthiáváda is not known. It may be surmised that they came with Toramána (A D 470-512) who overthrew the Guptas, and advanced far to the south and west in the train of some general of Toramána's who may perhaps have entered Suráshtra This is probable as the date of Toramána who overthrew Budhagupta is almost the same as that of the Maitrakas mentioned as the opponents and enemies of Bhatárka In the time of Bhatárka (A D 509-520?) the Mhers were firmly established in the peninsula, otherwise they would not be mentioned in the Valabhi grants as enemies of Bhatárka, a tribe or *mandala* wielding incomparable power As stated above in Chapter VIII some time after the Mher settlement and consolidation of power, Bhatárka seems to have come as general of the fallen Guptas through Málwa and Broach by sea to East Káthiáváda He established himself at Valabhi and then gradually dislodged the Mhers from Sorath until they retired slightly to the north settling eventually at Morbi, which the Jethvās still recognize as the earliest seat of their ancestors At Morbi they appear to have ruled contemporarily with the Valabhis In support of this it is to be noted that no known Valabhi plate records any grant of lands or villages in Hálár, Machhukántha, or Okhámāndal in North Káthiáváda As the north-most place mentioned in Valabhi plates is Venuthali known as Wania's Vanthali in Hálár it may be inferred that not the Valabhis but the Mhers ruled the north coast of Káthiáváda, probably as feudatories or subordinates of the Valabhis On the overthrow of Valabhi about A D 770 the Mhers appear to have seized the kingdom and ruled the whole of Káthiáváda dividing it into separate chiefships grouped under the two main divisions of Bardái and Gohelvádia About A D 860 the Mhers made incursions into Central Gujarát A copperplate dated Śaka 789 (A D 847) of the Gujarát Rashtrakúta king Dhruva describes him as attacked by a powerful Mihira king whom he defeated¹ At the height of their power the Mhers seem to have established their capital at the fort of Bhumli or Ghumli in the Barda hills in the centre of Káthiáváda The traditions about Ghumli rest mainly on modern Jethvá legends of no historical interest The only known epigraphical record is a copperplate of a king named Jáchikadeva found in the Morbi district² Unfortunately only the second plate remains Still the fish mark on the plate, the locality where it was found, and its date

¹ Ind. Ant. XII. 179.² Ind. Ant. II. 257.

leave little doubt that the plate belongs to the Makaradhvaja or Jethvá kings. The date of the grant is 585 Gupta era the 5th Phálguna Sudi that is A.D. 904, about 130 years after the destruction of Valabhi, a date with which the form of the letters agrees.

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A similar copperplate in which the king's name appears in the slightly different form Jákadēva has been found at Dbiwki in the same neighbourhood as the first and like it bearing the fish mark.¹ This copperplate describes the king as ruling at Bhúmliká or Bhúmlī in Sorath and gives him the high titles of Paramabhattachāraka-Mahārājadhñāja-Paramesvara, that is Great Lord Great King of Kings (Great King, titles which imply wide extent and independence of rule. This grant purports to be made on the occasion of a solar eclipse on Sunday Vikrama Samvat 794 Jyeshtha constellation, the no-moon of the second half of Kārttika. This would be A.D. 738 or 166 years before the Jáchika of the Morbí plate. Against this it is to be noted that the letters of this plate, instead of appearing as old as eighth century letters, look later than the letters of the tenth century Morbí plate. As neither the day of the week, the constellation, nor the eclipse work out correctly Dr. Bhagvanlál believed the plate to be a forgery of the eleventh century, executed by some one who had seen a fish-marked copperplate of Jáchika dated in the *Sala* era. It should however be noted that the names of ministers and officers which the plate contains give it an air of genuineness. Whether the plate is or is not genuine, it is probably true that Jákadēva was a great independent sovereign ruling at Bhúmlī. Though the names of the other kings of the dynasty, the duration of the Bhúmlī kingdom, and the details of its history are unknown it may be noted that the dynasty is still represented by the Porbandar chiefs. Though at present Bhúmlī is deserted several ruined temples of about the eleventh century stand on its site. It is true no old inscriptions have been found, it is not less true that no careful search has been made about Bhúmlī.

Early in the tenth century a wave of invasion from Sindh seems to have spread over Kacch and Káthiáwáda. Among the invading tribes were the Jádejás of Kacch and the Chudásamás of Sorath, who like the Bhattis of Jesalmír call themselves of the Yaduvamsa stock. Doctor Bhagvanlál held that the Chudásamás were originally of the Ábhíra tribe, as their traditions attest connexion with the Ábhíras and as the description of Graharipu one of their kings by Hemachandra in his *Dvyáśraya* points to his being of some local tribe and not of any ancient Rájput lineage. Further in their bardic traditions as well as in popular stories the Chudásamás are still commonly called Áhera-ránás. The position of Aberia in Ptolemy (A.D. 150) seems to show that in the second century the Ahirs were settled between Sindh and the Panjáb. Similarly it may be suggested that Jádejá is a corruption of Jaudhejá which

¹ Ind. Ant. XII. 151

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in turn comes from Yaudheya (the change of *y* to *j* being very common) who in Kshatriya Inscriptions appear as close neighbours of the Ahirs. After the fall of the Valabhis (A.D. 775) the Yaudheyas seem to have established themselves in Kacch and the Ahirs settled and made conquests in Kāthiavāda. On the decline of local rule brought about by these incursions and by the establishment of an Ahir or Chūdāsamā kingdom at Junagadh, the Jethvās seem to have abandoned Bhūmli which is close to Junagadh and gone to Srīnagar or Kāntelan near Porbandar which is considered to have been the seat of Jethvā power before Porbandar.

A copperplate found at Haddālā on the road from Dholka to Dhandhuka dated A.D. 917 (Śaka 839) shows that there reigned at Vadhwān a king named Dharanivārāha of the Chāpa dynasty,¹ who granted a village to one Mahesvarāchārya, an apostle of the Amardaka Śākhā of Saivism. Dharanivārāha and his ancestors are described as foudatory kings, ruling by the grace of the feet of the great king of kings the great lord the illustrious Mahīpāla Deva. This Mahīpāla would seem to be some great king of Kāthiavāda reigning in A.D. 917 over the greater part of the province. Dr. Bhagvānlāl had two coins of this king of about that time, one a copper coin the other a silver coin. The coins were found near Junagadh. The copper coin, about ten grains in weight, has one side obliterated but the other side shows clearly the words Rānā Śrī Mahīpāla Deva. The silver coin, about fourteen grains in weight, has on the obverse a well-executed elephant and on the reverse the legend Rānā Śrī Mahīpāla Deva. From the locality where the name Mahīpāla appears both in coins and inscriptions, and from the fact that the more reliable Chūdāsamā lists contain similar names, it may be assumed as probable that Mahīpāla was a powerful Chūdāsamā ruler of Kāthiavāda in the early part of the tenth century.

After the fall of Valabhi no other reliable record remains of any dynasty ruling over the greater part of Gujarat. The most trustworthy and historical information is in connection with the Chāvādās of Anahlapura. Even for the Chāvādās nothing is available but scant references recorded by Jain authors in their histories of the Solankis and Vaghelās.

The Chūdāsamā,
A.D. 930-940

[The modern traditions of the Chūdāsamā clan trace their origin to the Yādava race and more immediately to the Samma tribe of Nagar Thatha in Sindh.² The name of the family is said to have been derived from Chūdāchandra the first ruler of Vanthalī

¹ The inscription calls Chāpa the founder of the dynasty. The name is old. A king Vyāghrarāja of the Chāpa Vamsa is mentioned by the astronomer Brahmagupta as reigning in Śaka 550 (A.D. 628) when he wrote his book called *Brahma Gupta Siddhānta*. The entry runs "In the reign of Śrī Vyāghramukha of the Śrī Chāpa dynasty, five hundred and fifty years after the Śaka king having elapsed." Jour. B. B. R. A. Soc. VIII. 27. For Dharanivara's grant see Ind. Ant. XII. 190ff.

² Elliot's History, I. 256.

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A.D. 700-1000
THE JETHVÁS

of union between the three classes is not only that they seem to be of foreign that is of non-Hindu origin, but whether or not they belong to the same swarm of northern invaders, that they all apparently entered Kathiaváda either by land or sea through Sindh and Kacch. So far as record or tradition remains the Mers and Jethvás reached Kathiaváda in the latter half of the fifth century after Christ, and the Jhálás, and perhaps a second detachment of Mers and Jethvás, some three hundred years later.¹ The three tribes differ widely in numbers and in distribution. The ruling Jethvás are a small group found solely in south-west Kathiaváda.² The Jhálás, who are also known as Makvānas are a much larger clan. They not only fill north-east Kathiaváda, but from Kathiaváda, about A.D. 1500 spread to Rajputana and have there established a second Jhalāvada,³ where, in reward for their devotion to the Sesodia Rāja of Mewād in his struggles with the Emperor Akbar (A.D. 1580-1600), the chief was given a daughter of the Udepur family and raised to a high position among Rājputs.⁴ The Mers are a numerous and wide-spread race. They seem to be the sixth to tenth century Medhs, Meds, Mandi or Mins of Baluchistan, South-Sindh, Kacch, and Kathiaváda.⁵ Further they seem to be the Mers of Meráda or Medapatha in Rajputana⁶ and of Mairvāda in Malava,⁷ and also to be the Musalmān Meos and Minas of Northern India.⁸ In Gujarāt

¹ According to the Kathiavár Gazetteer pages 110 and 278, the first wave reached about A.D. 600 and the second about 250 years later. Dr Bhagvānlal's identification of the Mers with the Matrakas would take back their arrival in Kathiaváda from about A.D. 650 to about A.D. 450. The Mers were again formidable in Gujarāt in the eleventh and early tenth centuries. In A.D. 867 (see above pages 127 and 130) the Rāshtrakūṭa Dhruva II checked an invader of a Mihira king with a powerful army. Again in A.D. 914 the Rāshtrakūṭa Indra in a moment uprooted the Mehr (Ditto).

² The Ain-i-Akbari (Gladwin II 69) notices that the sixth division of Saurashtra which was almost impervious by reason of mountains rivers and woods, was (A.D. 1580) inhabited by the tribe Chetore that is Jetwa.

³ Of the Jhálás or Chálals the Ain-i-Albīrī (Gladwin II 64) has Cháláwarch (in north-east Kathiaváda) formerly independent and inhabited by the tribe of Chálal.

⁴ Tod's Annals of Rajasthān, II 113.

⁵ Elliot and Dowson I 111 and 519-531. It is noted in the text that to the Arab invaders of the eighth and ninth centuries the Medhs of Hind were the chief people of Kathiaváda both in the south and in Māha in the north. They were as famous by sea as by land. According to Beladuri (A.D. 970) Reinard's Mémoire sur l'Inde 214-235 the Meds of Saurashtra and Kacch were sailors who lived on the sea and sent fleets to a distance. Ibn Khurādadh (A.D. 912) and Idrisi (A.D. 1100), probably from the excellent Adjashīnī (Reinard's Abulfeda, Ixiii and Elliot, I 79), have the term Mandi (Ibid. I 14). The term Mandi survives in a musical mode popular in Egypt and which is called Rajawani. The Mandi is like the Central Asian Mus-tazil (K. S. Faruq Lutfallah).

⁶ Indian Antiquary, VI 191.

⁷ Rajputāra Gazetteer, I 11.

⁸ Indian Gazetteer, I 66, North West Province Gazetteer, III 265, Ibbetson's Punjab Gazetteer page 261. Some of these identifications are doubtful. Dr Bhagvānlal in the text (A.D. 6 and 33) distinguishes between the Mevas or Medas whom he identifies as northern immigrants of about the first century B.C. and the Mers. This view is in agreement with the remark in the Rajputana Gazetteer, I 66 that the Mers have been suspected to be a race of the Indo-Skythian Meds. Again Tod (Annals of Rajasthān, I 9) derives Meráda from *madhva* (Sk.) middle, and the Mer of Merwāda from *meru* a hill. In support of Tod's view it is to be noted that the fort-Baṃmer-Jaisalmer-Kotmīr and Anar which Pundit Bhagvānlal would derive from the personal names of Mer leaders, are all on the hill of red rocks (Anar, I 11, and No. 47). It is on the other hand to be noted that all the forts out of this particular tract of country are called Mers, and that the Malwa of Kani and Malwa which with equal probability may be derived from Kach and Malva hill seem to be tribal or geographical names.

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The Mihira
A.D. 470-500
White Huns

power of the Matrikas with the North Indian empire of the Upphalites, Yethas, or White Hūnas¹

Though the sameness in name between the Mihiras and Mihirakula (A.D. 508-510) the great Indian champion of the White Hūnas, may not imply sameness of tribe it points to a common sun-worship²

That the Multan sun-worship was introduced under Sassanian influence is supported by the fact (Wilson's *Armenia Antiqua*, 357) that the figure of the sun on the fifth century Hindu sun coins is in the dress of a Persian king—that the priests who performed the Multan sun-worship were called Magas, and by the details of the dress and ritual in the account of the introduction of sun-worship given in the Bhavishya Purana³. That the Meyds or Munds had some share in its introduction is supported by the fact that the Purana names the third or Sudra class of the sun-worshippers Mandagis⁴. That the Meyds were associated with the Magas is shown by the mention of the Magas as Mihiragis⁵. The third class whom the Bhavishya Purana associates with the introduction of sun-worship are the Manas who

¹ The evidence in support of the statement that the Matrikas and Hūnas fought at the same time against the same Hindu rulers is given in the text. One of the most important passages is in the grant of Dharmasena III (Lipic Ind. I, 89 [A.D. 651-1]) the reference to Bhatrika the founder of Valabhi (A.D. 500-520) meeting in battle the matchless armies of the Matrikas.

² Mr. Fleet (Lipigraphy Indica, III, 327 and note 12) would identify Mihirakula's tribe with the Matrikas. More recent evidence shows that his and his father Toromana's tribe was the Juvvits. That the White Hūnas or other associated tribes were sun worshippers appears from a reference in one of Mihirakula's inscriptions (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, 164) to the building of a specially fine temple of the sun, and from the fact that in Kashmir Mihirakula founded a city Mihirapura and a temple to Mihirashiva. (Darmstadter in *Journal Asiatique*, X, 70. Fleet in *Indian Antiquary*, XV, 212-213) Mihirakula's (A.D. 508-530) sun worship may have been the continuance of the Kushan (A.D. 1-10) worship of Mithra or Helios (Wilson's *Armenia Antiqua*, 357). At the same time the fact that Mihirakula uses the more modern form Mihir makes it probable (Compare Rawlinson's *Seventh Monarchy*, 284) that Mihirakula's sun-worship was more directly the result of the spread of sun worship in Central Asia under the fiercely propagandist Sassanians Vartham V. or Behram Gur (A.D. 420-410), and his successors Izdgerd II, (A.D. 410-457) and Perozes (A.D. 457-483). The extent to which Zoroastrian influence pervaded the White Hūnas is shown by the Persian name not only of Mihirakula but of Ku-hniwa (A.D. 470-490) the great emperor of the White Hūnas the over-crowner of Persians. That this Indian sun-worship, which, at late date, from the seventh to the tenth century made Multan so famous was not of local origin is shown by the absence of reference to sun worship in Multan in the accounts of Alexander the Great. Its foreign origin is further shown by the fact that in the time of Behram (A.D. 402-410) Sachau's (I, 319) the priests were called Magas and the image of the sun was clad in a richer dress falling to the ankles. It is remarkable as illustrating the Hindu readiness to adopt practices of conquering tribes into the ranks of Brahmins that the surname Magha survives (at least in the 12th century) among Shrivah Brahmins. These Maghas are said to have married Bhujar Rajput girls and to have become the Brahmin Bhogals of Daboi. Even the Munds who had Sudra wives whose descendants were named Mandas, as claimed a share in the temple ceremonies. Remond's *Memoire Sur l'Inde*, 393.

³ Wilson's *Vishnu Purana* Preface, XXXIX in Remond's *Memoire Sur l'Inde*, 391. Details are given in Wilson's *Works*, X, 381-385.

⁴ Remond's *Memoire Sur l'Inde*, 393, Wilson's *Works*, X, 382.

⁵ The name Mihiragis is explained in the Bhavishya Purana as derived from their progeness a daughter of the sage Bhara or Brijashva of the race named Mihira (Remond's *Memoire Sur l'Inde*, 391, Wilson's *Works*, X, 382). The name Mihiragis suggests that the spread of sun worship in the Punjab and Sindh of which the sun worship in Multan, Sindh, Gujarat and Meval and the fire worshipping Rajput and Sindh coins of the fifth and sixth centuries are evidence was helped by the spread of Sassanian influence.

are given a place between the Magas and the Mands. The association of the Mānas with the Mihras or Maitrakas suggests that Māna is Mauna a Purāṇik name for the White Hūnas.¹ That the Multān sun idol of the sixth and seventh centuries was a Hūna idol and Multān the capital of a Hūna dynasty seems in agreement with the paramount position of the Rās of Alor or Rori in the sixth century. Though their defeat by Yasodharmman of Malwā about A.D. 540 at the battle of Karur, sixty miles east of Multān, may have ended Hūna supremacy in north and north-west India it does not follow that authority at once forsook the Hūnas. Their widespread and unchallenged dominion in North India, the absence of record of any reverse later than the Karur defeat, the hopelessness of any attempt to pass out of India in the face of the combined Turk and Sassanian forces make it probable that the Hūnas and their associated tribes, adopting Hinduism and abandoning their claim to supremacy, settled in west and north-west India. This view finds support in the leading place which the Hūnas and Hara-Hūnas, the Maitrakas or Mers, and the Gurjjaras hold in the centuries that follow the overthrow of the White Hūna empire. According to one rendering of Cosmas² (A.D. 525) the chief of Orrhothra or Sorath in common with several other coast rulers owed allegiance to Gollas, apparently, as is suggested at page 75 of the text, to Gulla or Mihingalla the Indian Emperor of the White Hūnas. These details support the view that the Maitrakas, Mihras, or Meis who in Cosmas' time were in power in Kathiawāda, and to whose ascendancy during the seventh and eighth centuries both the Chinese pilgrim Huen Tsang (A.D. 612-610) and the Arab historians of Sindh bear witness, were a portion of the great White Hūna invasion (A.D. 480-530).³ In the many recorded swarmings south from

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White Hunas.

into Baluchistan Kacch Gandevi and other parts of western Sindh through Sakastene the modern western Seistan near the lake Helmund. This Sakastene or land of the Sakas received its name from the settlement in it of one of the earlier waves of the Yuechi in the second or first century before Christ. The name explains the statement in the Bhavishya Purāṇa that sun worship was introduced by Magas into Multān from Sakadvīpa the land of the Sakas. In this connection it is interesting to note that Darmsteter (Zend Avesta xxvii) holds that the Zend Avesta was probably completed during the reign of Shālipur II (A.D. 309-379) that (lxxxix) Zend was a language of eastern Persia an earlier form of Pahlavi, and that (lxxxix) western Seistan and the Helmund river was the holy land of the Avesta the birth place of Zoroaster and the scene of king Vishtaspa's triumphs. A memory of the spread of this western or Sassanian influence remains in the reference in the Mujmalat Tawārikh in Elliot, I 107-109, to the fire temples established in Kandahar (Gandevi) and Buddha (Mansura) by Mahra a general of Bahman that is of Varahran V (A.D. 420-440). It seems probable that Mahra is Mehr the family name or the title (Rawlinson's Sassanian Monarchy, 224 note 4 and 312) of the great Mihran family of Persian nobles. The general in question may be the Mehr Narses the minister of Varahran's son and successor Izdigerd II (A.D. 440-457), who enforced Zoroastrianism in Armenia (Rawlinson, Ditto 305-303). Mehr's success may be the origin of the Indian stories of Varahran's visit to Mālwā. It may further be the explanation of the traces of fire temples and towers of silence noted by Pottinger (1810) in Baluchistān (Travels, 126-127) about sixty miles west of Khelat.

¹ Wilson's Works, IX 207² Compare Præaux's Embassies, 222.³ The White Hūnas overran Bakhtria and the country of the Yuechi between A.D. 450 and 460. About a hundred years later they were crushed between the advancing Turks and the Sassanian Chosroes I or Naushirvān (A.D. 537-590). Rawlinson's Sassanian Monarchy, 420, Specht in Journal Asiatique (1883) Tom II 349-350. The Hūnas supremacy in North India did not last beyond A.D. 530 or 540. The overthrow of their

Dr Bhagvānlāl's view that the Jethvās are Medhs ennobled by long overlordship is somewhat doubtfully shared by Colonel Watson¹ and is not inconsistent with Tod's opinions.² Still though the Hindu ruler-worship, which, as in the case of the Marāṭha Sīvājī, explains the raising to the twice-born of leaders of successful early and foreign tribes makes it possible that the Jethvās were originally Mers, it seems on the whole probable that the Jethvās' claim to an origin distinct from the Mers is well founded. The evidence recorded by Colonel Tod and the name Jethva led the late Dr John Wilson to trace the Jethvās to the Jāts or Jits.³ According to the birds the name of the Kāthiāwāda tribe Jethva is derived from Jetha No 85 or No 95 of the Porbandar list, who was probably so called because he was born under the Jyeshtha constellation.⁴ The common practice of explaining a tribal name by inventing some name-giving chief deprives this derivation of most of its probability.⁵ In the present case it may further be noticed that the name Jethu is borne by two of the chiefs earlier than the Jetha referred to.⁶ In the absence of any satisfactory explanation the name Jethva suggests an origin in Yetha the shortened Chinese form of Ye-ta-i-li-to or Ephthalite the name of the ruling class of the White Hūnas.⁷ It is true that so good an authority as Specht⁸ holds that the shortened form Yetha is peculiar to the Chinese and was never in use. But the form Tetāl or Hantal, adopted by

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A.D. 470-800.
White Hūnas.

hūnās (died A.D. 912) and Idriśī's (perhaps from Aldjaghāni) Mand (Elliot, I 14 and 79, Remond's Abulfeda, lxiii), the present associated Mers and Mins in Rajputāna (Ditto, 53), and perhaps the Musalmān Meos and Minas of the Panjāb (Ibbetson's Census, 261).

¹ The Jethvās are closely allied to the Medhs (Kath Gaz 138), they entered Kāthiāwāda along with the Medhs (Ditto, 278).

² The passages are somewhat contradictory. Tod (Western India, 413) says Jethvās marry with Kāthiās, Ahirs, and Mers. In the Kāthiāwār Gazetteer (page 110) Colonel Barton seems to admit the Jethvās' claim to be of distinct origin from the Mers. In another passage he says (page 138) The Mers claim to be Jethvās this the Jethvās deny. So also Colonel Watson in one passage (page 621) seems to favour a distinct origin while in another (page 279) he says It seems probable the Jethvās are merely the ruling family Rājula of the Mers and that they are all of one tribe. Two points seem clear. The Jethvās are admitted to rank among Kāthiāwāda Rājputs and they formerly married with the Mers. The further question whether the Jethvās were originally of a distinct and higher tribe remains undetermined.

³ Bombay Administration Report for 1873. Colonel Tod made the same suggestion Western India, 256. Compare Pottinger's (Travels in Baluchistan, 81) identification of the Jeths of Kacch-Gandevi north of Khelat with Jāts or Jits.

⁴ Tod's Western India, 113.

⁵ Compare Bühler in Epigraphia Indica, I 291. Like the Chālukyas and other tribes the Jethvās trace the name Jethva to a name giving chief. Of the Jethvās Tod says (Annals of Rajasthan, I 114) The Jethvās have all the appearance of Skythian descent. As they make no pretension to belong to any of the old Indian races they may be a branch of Skythians. In his Western India (page 412), though confused by his identification of Śānkha dwāra with Sakotra instead of with Bet Dwārka (compare Kath Gaz. 619), Tod still holds to a northern origin of the Jethvās.

⁶ Nos. 6 and 82 of Colonel Watson's List, Kāthiāwār Gazetteer, 621. The Pandit's evidence in the text ascribes to the somewhat doubtful Jalkadeva a date of A.D. 738 (Vikram 794), to Jāchikadeva a date of about A.D. 904 (Gupta 585), and to the Gūmli ruins a probable eleventh century. Tod (Western India, 417) traces the Jethvās further back putting the founding of Gūmli or Blumli at about A.D. 692 (S 749) the date of a settlement between the Tuars of Delhi and the Jethvās (Ditto, 411). Col Watson (Kath Gaz. 278) gives either A.D. 650 or A.D. 900.

⁷ The form Yetha is used by the Chinese pilgrim Sung yun A.D. 519. Beal's Buddhist Records, I xc.

⁸ Journal Asiatique (1883), II 319.

Chapter XII.

THE *MĀHĀS,*
A D 470 - 900
White Hūnas,

Armenian Musalmān and Byzantine historians,¹ makes probable an Indian Yethāl or Jethāl if not a Yetha or Jetha. Nor does there seem any reason why Yetha the Chinese form of the word should not be more likely to be adopted in India than the western and otherwise less correct form Tetāl or Haithal. In any case the irregular change from a correct Yethāl to an incorrect Yetha cannot be considered of much importance, if, as seems likely, the change was made in order to give the word an Indian meaning.² The *v* in Jethva would come to be added when the origin from a chief named Jetha was accepted.

Jhālā

Another name for the White Hūnas, or for a section of the White Hūna swarm, is preserved by Cosmas³ in the form *Juvia*. This form, if it is not a misreading for *Ounia* or *Hūna*, suggests *Jāuvla* the recently identified name of the tribe ennobled in India by the great Toramana (A D 450 - 500) and his son Mihirakula (A D 500 - 540), and of which a trace seems to remain in the *Jāwla* and *Jhāwla* divisions of Panjāb Gujjars.⁴ Thus *Jauvla*, under such a fire baptism as would admit the holders of the name among Hindus, might be turned into *Jvāla* flaming and *Jvāla* be shortened to *Jhāla*. That *Jhāla* was formerly punningly connected with flame is shewn by a line from the bard Chand, 'The lord of the Ranās the powerful *Jhāla* like a flaming fire.'⁵ That the *Kāthiāvāda* bards were either puzzled by the name *Jhāla* or were unwilling to admit its foreign origin is shewn by the story preserved in the *Ras Mālā*,⁶ that the tribe got the name because the children of *Hirpāl Makvāna*, about to be crushed by an elephant, were snatched away *jhāla* by their witch mother. It has been noticed in the text that the break in Gujarāt History between A D 480 and 520, agreeing with the term of Hūna supremacy in North India, seems to imply a similar supremacy in Gujarāt. The facts that up to the twelfth century Hūnas held a leading place in Gujarāt chronicles,⁷ and that while in Rajputana and other parts of Northern India the traces of Huns are fairly widespread in Gujarāt they have almost if not altogether disappeared, support the view that the Hūna strain in *Kāthiāvāda* is hid under the names *Mera*, *Jethva*, and *Jhāla*.⁸

¹ *Journal Asiatique* (1883), II 314

² Compare for the chief's name *Jetha*, Colonel Watson *Kāth. Gaz* 622 in the *Jyeshtha Nakshatra*.

³ *Priault's Embassies*, 220, *Migne's Patrologiae Cursus* Vol. 88 page 98

⁴ Census of 1891 III 116. A reference to the *Jhauvlas* is given above page 75 note 4. General Cunningham (Ninth Oriental Congress I 228-244) traces the tribe of *Jhauvla* ruling in *Budh*, *Zabulistan* or *Ghazni*, and *Makran* from the sixth to the eighth and ninth centuries.

⁵ *Tod's Western India*, 191 Note 4. *Tod* adds *Chand* abounds in such jeu de mot on the names of tribes.

⁶ *Ras Mālā*, I 302. *Kāthiavār Gazetteer*, 111. ⁷ *Tod's Annals of Rajasthan*, I 111.

⁸ Among references to Hūnas may be noted in the *Vāyu Purāna* (*Sachau's Alberuni*, I 300) in the west between *Karnapravarna* and *Darva*, in the *Vishnu Purāna* Hūnas between the *Samdhyas* and the *Salvās* (*Wilson's Works*, VII 133 and 134 Note 4), in the eighth century *Tugutsi* lord of the Hūnas who helped *Chitor* (*Tod's Annals*, II 457), in the *Khushu* bard *Mozgi*, traditions of many powerful Hūna kings in India (*Tod's Annals*, I 111 Note 4) among them the Hūna chief of *Baroli* (*ibid.*, II 705), and *Rāja Hūna* of the *Prāmāra* race who was lord of the *Pathār* or plateau of Central India (*ibid.*, II 457).

In the Middle Ages the Hunas were considered Kshatriyas and Kshatriyas married Huna wives (Wilson's Works, VII 131 Note †). Of existing traces in the Panjāb may be noted Hon and Hona Rājputs and Gujjars, Hona Jats, Hon Labānas, Hon Lohārs, Hon Mals, Hon Moelus, Huna Barbers and Haun Rabāris (Panjāb Census 1891 III pages 116, 139, 227, 233, 246, 265, 276, 305, 315). The only traces Colonel Tod succeeded in finding in Gujarāt were a few Huna huts at a village opposite Umetha on the gulf of Cambay, a second small colony near Somanāthā, and a few houses at Trisauli five miles from Baroda (Western India, 247, 323). Since 1825 these traces have disappeared.

Chapter XII

THE MERS,
A.D. 490-900

PART II

THE KINGDOM OF ANAHILAVADA.

A D 720-1300

CHAPTER I.

THE CHÁVADÁS

(A D 720-956)

THE history embodied in the preceding chapters is more or less fragmentary, pieced together from coins, stone and copperplate inscriptions, local traditions, and other similar sources. A history based on such materials alone must of necessity be imperfect, leaving blanks which it may be hoped fresh details will gradually fill.

The rise of the Anahilaváda kingdom (A D 720) marks a new period of Gujarát history regarding which materials are available from formal historical writings.¹ Though this section of Gujarát history begins with the establishment of Anahilavada by the Cháavadás (A D. 720-956) the details for the earlier portions are very imperfect being written during the time of the Chálukya or Solanki (A D 957-1242) successors of the Cháavadás. The chief sources of information regarding the earlier period of Cháavadá rule are the opening chapters of the Prabandhachintámam, Vichárasreni, Sukritasankítana, and Ratnamálá.²

Before the establishment of Anahilaváda a small Cháavadá chiefship centred at Pañchásar, now a fair-sized village in Vadhnár between Gujarát and Kacch.³ The existence of a Cháavadá chiefship at Pañchásar is proved by the Navsari grant dated Samvat 490 (A D 788-89) of the Gujarát Chálukya king Pulikeśi Janásraya. This grant in recording the triumphant progress of an army of Tájikas or Arabs

Chapter I

THE CHÁVADÁS,
A D. 720-956

Pañchásar,
A D 788.

¹ The following manuscript histories have been used in preparing Part II. Hema chandra's *Dvyástrayakávyá*, Merutunga's *Prabandhachintámam*, Merutunga's *Vichárasreni*, Jinaprabhasúri's *Tirthakalpa*, Jinamandanopádhyaya's *Kumárapála-prabandha*, Krishna rishi's *Kumárapálarita*, Krishnabhaṭṭa's *Ratnamálá*, Someśvara's *Kirtikaumudí*, Arisinha's *Sukritasankítana*, Rájasekhara's *Chaturvimsatiprabandha*, Vasupálacharita, and published and unpublished inscriptions from Gujarát and Káthiaváda.

² The *Prabandhachintámam* is a short historical compilation, the *Vichárasreni*, though a more list of kings, is more reliable, the *Ratnamálá* is a poetic history with good descriptions and many fables taken from the *Prabandhachintámam*, the *Sukritasankítana* is a short work largely borrowed from the *Vichárasreni*.

³ This is apparently Vriddhi Ahíra or the Vriddhi Collectorate, probably called after some village or town of that name.

PART II

THE KINGDOM OF ANAHILAVADA.

A D 720-1300

CHAPTER I.

THE CHÁVADÁS

(A D 720-956)

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Chapter I

THE CHAVOTAKAS
A.D. 750-975
I. Chavotakas
A.D. 750

from Sindh to Navsār' and mentioning the kingdoms "afflicted" by the Arabs names the Chavotakas next after the kings of Kacch and Saurashtra. These Chāvotakas can be no other than the Chāvādās of Pañchāsar on the borders of Kacch. The Chāvādās of Pañchāsar do not appear to have been important rulers. At the most they seem to have held Vadhnār and part of the north coast of Kāthiāvāda. Whatever be the origin of the name Chāvādā, which was afterwards Sanskritised into the lugnsounding Chāpotkata or Strongbow, it does not seem to be the name of any great dynasty. The name very closely resembles the Gujarati Chor (Prakrit Chaurā or Choratā) meaning thieves or robbers and Javadā, which is a further corruption of Chāvādā, is the word now in use in those parts for a thief or robber. Except the mention of the Chāvotakas in the Navsārī copperplate we do not find the Chāvādās noticed in any known cotemporary Gujarāt copperplates. For this reason it seems fair to regard them as unimportant rulers over a territory extending from Pañchāsar to Anahilavāda.

Jayaśekhara,
A.D. 695

The author of the Ratnamāla (c. 1230 A.D.) says that in A.D. 695 (S. 755) Jayaśekhara the Chāvādā king of Pañchāsar was attacked by the Chalukya king Bhuvada of Kalyānakataka in Kanauj and slain by Bhuvada in battle. Before his death Jayaśekhara finding his affairs hopeless, sent his pregnant wife Rupasundarī to the forest in charge of her brother Surapāla, one of his chief warriors. After Jayaśekhara's death Rupasundarī gave birth to a son named Varanaja who became the illustrious founder of Anahilavāda. It is hard to say how much truth underlies this tradition. In the seventh century not Chalukya but Pala kings flourished in Kanauj. No place of importance called Kalyānakataka is recorded in the Kanauj territory. And though there was a southern Chalukya kingdom with its capital at Kalyan, its establishment at Kalyan was about the middle of the eleventh not in the seventh century. Further the known Dakhan Chalukya lists contain no king named Bhuvada, unless he be the great Chalukya king Vijayaditya (A.D. 626-733), also called Bhuvanāsraya, who warred in the north and was there imprisoned but made his escape. The inference is that the author of the Ratnamālā knowing the Solankis originally belonged to a city called Kalyan and knowing that a Chalukya king named Bhuvada had defeated the Chāvādās may have called Bhuvada king of Kalyānakataka and identified Kalyānakataka with a country so well known to Purāṇik fame as Kanvaḥ in. This view is supported by the absence in the Prabhūdha-dantamānu and other old records of any mention of an invasion from Kanauj. It is possible that in A.D. 626 some king Bhuvada of the Gujarāt Chalukyas of whom at this time branches were ruling as far north as Kara,¹ invaded the Chāvādās under Jayaśekhara. Since traces of a Chavotaka kingdom remain at least as late as A.D. 720, it seems probable that the destruction of Pañchāsar was caused not by the Arab in A.D. 636, but in the Arab raid mentioned above whose date is given as 720.² About A.D. 720 may therefore be taken as the date

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Chapter I

THE CHAVADAS,
A D 720-956

of the birth of Vanarāja Merutunga the author of the Prabandhachintamani tells how Rupasundarī was living in the forest swinging her son in a hammock, when a Jain priest named Śīlagunasūri noticing as he passed royal marks on the boy bought him from his mother. The story adds that a nun named Vīramatī brought up the boy whom the *sādhu* called Vanarāja or the forest king. When eight years old, the priest employed Vanarāja to protect his place of worship from rats. The boy's skill in shooting rats convinced the priest he was not fit to be a *sādhu* but was worthy of a kingdom. He therefore returned the boy to his mother. These details seem invented by the Jains in their own honour. No mention of any such story occurs in the Ratnamalā.¹

In the forests where Vanarāja passed his youth lived his maternal uncle Surapāla, one of Jvaṣṭekharī's generals, who, after his sovereign's defeat and death, had become an outlaw. Vanarāja grew up under Surapāla's charge. The Prabandhachintamani records the following story of the origin of Vanarāja's wealth. A Kanyākubja king married Mahanākā the daughter of a Gujjarāt king. To receive the proceeds of the marriage cess which the Gujjarāt king had levied from his subjects, a deputation or *pāṇḍhula* came from Kanyākubja to Gujjarāt. The deputation made Vanarāja their leader or *sallabhit* to realize the proceeds of the cess. In six months Vanarāja collected 24 *lāḥs* of *Pāruttha dīrammas*² and 1000 horse, which the deputation took and stabled for Kanyākubja. Vanarāja waylaid and killed them, secured the money and horses, and remained in hiding for a year. With the wealth thus acquired Vanarāja enrolled an army and established his power assuming the title of king. He fixed the site of a capital which afterwards rose to be the great city of Anahilapura. The story of the choice of the site is the usual story of a hunted hare turning on the hounds showing the place to be the special nurse of strength and courage. Vanarāja is said to have asked a Bhārṇvād or Shepherd named Anahila son of Sākhadā to show him the best site. Anahila agreed on condition that the city should be called by his name. Anahila accordingly showed Vanarāja the place where a hare had attacked and chased a dog. Though much in this tradition is fabulous the city may have been called after some local chief since it was popularly known as Anahilavāda (Sk Anahilavāta) that is the place of Anahila. In the Prabandhachintamani Merutunga gives A D 746 (S 802) as the date of the installation of Vanarāja, while in his Vicharasīleni the same author gives A D 765 (S 821 Vaisakha Śukla 2) as the date of the foundation of the city. The discrepancy may be explained by taking A D 746 (S 802) to refer to the date of Vanarāja's getting money enough to fix the site of his capital, and A D 765 (S 821) to refer to the date of his installation in the completed Anahilavāda. Local tradition connects the date A D 746 (S 802) with an image of Ganpatī which is said to be as old as the establishment of the city and

Vanarāja,
A D 720-780 (?).Founding of
Anahilavāda,
A D 746-765.

¹ In the Satyapurnakalpa of his Tirthakalpa, Imaprabhasuri tells an almost identical story of another king.

² This name often recurs in Jain works. These would seem to be Kshatriya coins as Gadghaya coins are simply called *dīrammas*.

Chapter I

THE CHAVADÁS,
A D 720-956

Founding of
Anahilavāda,
A D 746-765

to bear the date 802. But as the letters of the inscription on the image can be made out by ordinary readers they cannot have been inscribed at nearly so early a date as 802. A D 765 (S 821), the year given in the Vichāraśrenī, seems the more probable date for the installation as the Prabandhachintāmanī says that Vanarāja got himself installed at Anahilapura when he was about fifty. This accords with the date fixed on other grounds. Placing Vanarāja's birth at about A D 720 would make him 44 in A D 765 (S 821) the date at which according to the Vichāraśrenī he was formally installed as sovereign of Anahilavāda. Meratunga in both his works gives the length of Vanarāja's life at 109 and of his reign at sixty years. The figure 60 seems to mark the length of his life and not of his reign. So long a reign as sixty years is barely possible for a sovereign who succeeded late in life, and the 109 years of his life can hardly be correct. Taking Vanarāja's age at 45 when he was installed in A D 765 (S 821) and allowing fifteen years more to complete the sixty years A.D. 780 (S 836) would be the closing year of his reign.

Vanarāja's
Installation.

The Prabandhachintāmanī narrates how generously Vanarāja rewarded those who had helped him in his adversity. His installation was performed by a woman named Śrī Devī of Kākara village whom in fulfilment of an early promise Vanarāja had taken to be his sister.² The story regarding the promise is that once when Vanarāja had gone with his uncle on a thieving expedition to Kākara village and had broken into the house of a merchant he by mistake dipped his hand into a pot of curds. As to touch curds is the same as to dine at a house as a guest, Vanarāja left the house without taking anything from it.³ Hearing what had happened the merchant's sister invited Vanarāja as a brother to dinner and gave him clothes. In return Vanarāja promised if he ever regained his father's kingdom he should receive his installation as king at her hands.⁴ Vanarāja chose as minister a Bania named Jāmā. The story is that while Vanarāja was looting with two others he came across a merchant Jāmā who had five arrows. Seeing only three enemies, Jāmā broke and threw away two of the arrows, shouting 'One for each of you'. Vanarāja admiring his coolness persuaded Jāmā to join his band and found him so useful that he promised to make him minister. From the absence of any reference to him in these and similar tales it is probable that his uncle Surapāla died before the installing of Vanarāja. Vanarāja is said to have built at Anahilavāda a Jain temple of Pañchāsarā Pārasnāth so called because the image was brought from the old settlement of Pañchāsar. Mention of this temple continues during the Solanki and Vaghelā times.

His Image.

Vanarāja is said to have placed a bowing image of himself facing the image of Pārasnāth. The figure of Vanarāja is still shown at Sidhpur

¹ The text is 'Pañchāsātavarashadesyah'.

² Probably Kākrej famous for its bullocks.

³ Stories of thieves refraining from plundering houses where they have accidentally laid their hands on salt or millet are common.

⁴ The making of the installation mark on the forehead is the privilege of the king's sister who gives a blessing and receives a present of villages.

and a woodcut of it is given by the late Mr. Forbes in his *Rás Málá*. It is clearly the figure of a king with the umbrella of state and a nimbus round the head and in the ears the long ornaments called *kundalas* noticed by Arab travellers as characteristic of the Bahara or Ráshtrakuta kings who were cotemporary with Vanarāja¹. The king wears a long beard, a short waistcloth or *dhoti*, a waistband or *hammarband*, and a shoulder garment or *uparna* whose ends hang down the back. Besides the earrings he is adorned with bracelets armlets and anklets and a large ornament hangs across the chest from the left shoulder to the right hip. The right hand is held near the chest in the act of granting protection and the left hand holds something which cannot be made out. By his side is the umbrella-bearer and five other attendants. The statue closely resembles the lifesize figure of a king of the Solanki period lying in the yard of a temple at Málá about twenty-four miles north of Somanátha Patan. At Somanátha Patan are similar but less rich cotemporary figures of local officers of the Solankis. Another similar figure of which only the torso remains is the statue of Anrāja the father of Vastupála in a niche in Vastupála's temple at Gúnár. The details of this figure belong to the Solanki period.

The lists of Vanarāja's successors vary so greatly in the names, in the order of succession, and in the lengths of reigns, that little trust can be placed in them. The first three agree in giving a duration of 196 years to the Chávadá dynasty after the accession of Vanarāja. The accession of the Solanki founder Múlarāja is given in the *Vicháras'reni* at Samvat 1017 and in the *Prabandhachintámani* at Samvat 998 corresponding with the original difference of nineteen years (S. 802 and 821) in the founding of the city. This shows that though the total duration of the dynasty was traditionally known to be 196 years the order of succession was not known and guesses were made as to the duration of the different reigns. Certain dates fixed by inscriptions or otherwise known to some compilers and not known to others caused many discrepancies in the various accounts.

According to the calculations given above Vanarāja's reign lasted to about A D 780. Authorities agree that Vanarāja was succeeded by his son Yogarāja. The length of Yogarāja's reign is given as thirty-five years by the *Prabandhachintámani* and the *Ratnamálá* and as twenty-nine by the *Vicháras'reni*. That is according to the *Prabandhachintámani* and *Ratnamálá* his reign closes in A D 841 (S 897) and according to the *Vicháras'reni* in A D 836 (S 891). On the whole the *Prabandhachintámani* date A D. 841 (S 897) seems the more probable. The author of the *Vicháras'reni* may have mistaken the 7 of the manuscripts for a 1, the two figures in the manuscripts of that date being closely alike. If A D 780 is taken as the close of Vanarāja's reign and A D 806 as the beginning of Yogarāja's reign an interval of twenty-six years is left. This blank, which perhaps accounts for the improbably long reign and life assigned to Vanarāja, may have been filled by the forgotten reign of a childless elder brother of Yogarāja.

Chapter I

THE
CHÁVADÁS,
A D 720-956
Image of
Vanarāja

Vanarāja's
Successors,
A D 780-961

Yogarāja,
A D 806-841.

¹ Elliot and Dowson, I. 11.

993 + 19 = 1012) that is five years earlier than S. 1017 the date given by the Vicháras'reni. Until some evidence to the contrary is shown Merutunga's date A D 961 (S 821 + 196 = 1017) may be taken as correct.

Chapter I.
THE CHÁVADÁS,
A D. 720-956.

According to the above the Cháavadá genealogy stands as follows.

Vanaraja, born A D 720, succeeded A D. 765; died A D. 780.

Interval of twenty six years.

Yogaraja, A D 806-841

Ratnadhitya,
A D 812.

Vairasimha,
A D 815

Kshemaraja,
A D. 856.

Chámunda or Bhúyada (?),
A D. 881

Ghaghada or Rághada,
A D 908

Name Unknown,
A D 937-961.

[The period of Cháavadá rule at Anahlaváda is likely to remain obscure until the discovery of cotemporary inscriptions throws more light upon it than can be gathered from the confused and contradictory legends collected by the Solanki historians, none of whom are older than the twelfth century. For the present a few points only can be regarded as established.

- (i) The Cháavadás, Chávoṭakas, or Chápoṭkatas, are connected with the Chapas of Bhínmal and of Vadhvan and are therefore of Gurjjara race (Compare Ind Ant XVII 192)
- (ii) They probably were never more than feudatories of the Bhínmal kings.
- (iii) Though the legend places the fall of Pañchásar in A D 696 and the foundation of Anahlavada in A.D 746, the grant of Pulakeśi Janáśraya shows that a Cháavadá (Chávoṭaka) kingdom existed in A D 728

As regards the chronology of the dynasty, the explanation of the long life of 110 years ascribed to Vanaraja may be that a grandson of the same name succeeded the founder of the family. The name of Chámunda has, as Dr Buhler long ago pointed out, crept in through some error from the Solanki list. But when the same author in two different works gives such contradictory lists and dates as Merutunga does in his Prabandhachintámāni and his Vicharas'reni, it is clearly useless to attempt to extract a consistent story from the chroniclers.—
A. M. T J]

CHAPTER II.

THE CHAULUKYAS OR SOLANKIS

(A.D. 961-1242)

Chapter II.

THE

(CHAULUKYAS,
A.D. 961-1242)

A.D. 961-1242

THE next rulers are the Chaulukyas or Solankis (A.D. 961-1242) whose conversion to Jainism has secured them careful record by Jain chroniclers. The earliest writer on the Solankis, the learned Jain priest Hemachandra (A.D. 1089-1173), in his work called the *Dvyāśraya*, has given a fairly full and correct account of the dynasty up to Siddharāja (A.D. 1143). The work is said to have been begun by Hemachandra about A.D. 1160, and to have been finished and revised by another Jain monk named Abhayatilakagani in A.D. 1255.¹ The last chapter which is in Prakrit deals solely with king Kumārāpāla. This work is a grammar rather than a chronicle, still, though it has little reference to dates, it is a good collection of tales and descriptions. For chronology the best guide is the *Vichārasreṇi* which its author has taken pains to make the chief authority in dates. The *Vichārasreṇi* was written by Merutunga about A.D. 1314, some time after he wrote the *Prabandhachintamani*.

The Name
(Chaulukya)

According to the *Vichārasreṇi* after the Chāvadās, in A.D. 961 (Varshakh Suddha 1017), began the reign of Mularāja the son of a daughter of the last Chāvadā ruler. The name Chaulukya is a Sanskritised form, through an earlier form Chālukya of the old names Chalkya, Chalikya, Chinkya, Chālulya of the great Dakhan dynasty (A.D. 552-973), made to harmonise with the Purāṇik-looking story that the founder of the dynasty sprang from the palm or *chuluka* of Brahma. The form Chaulukya seems to have been confined to authors and writers. It was used by the great Dakhan poet Bilhana (c. 1050 A.D.) and by the Anahilavāda chroniclers. In Gujarāt the popular form of the word seems to have been Solaki or Solanki (a dialectic variant of Chalukya), a name till lately used by Gujarāt bards. The sameness of name seems to show the Dakhan and Gujarāt dynasties to be branches of one stock. No materials are available to trace the original seat of the family or to show when and whence they came to Gujarāt. The balance of probability is, as Dr. Buhler holds, that Mularāja's ancestors came from the north.²

Mularāja
A.D. 961-1025

The *Sakritasankīrtana* says that the last Chāvada king Bhūbbhata was succeeded by his sister's son Mularāja. Of the family or country of Mularāja's father no details are given. The *Prabandhachintamani* calls Mularāja the sister's son of Sāmantasimha and gives the following details. In A.D. 939 of the family of Bhuvada (who destroyed Jayasēkhara, were three brothers Rāji, Bija, and Dandaka, who stopped at Anahilavāda on their way back from a pilgrimage to Somanātha in the guise of Karpātika or Kāpdi beggars. The three brothers attended a cavalry

¹ I. I. Art. IV 71-72 and VI 159² I. I. Art. VI 180E. The current view may be offered that the Karpātika which appears in the list of Mularāja's ancestors, is Karmakulja, an old name of Junagadh. Compare *Ernst* and *Ernst*, 136.

parade held by king Sámantasimha. An objection taken by Ráji to some of the cavalry movements pleased Sámantasimha, who, taking him to be the scion of some noble family, gave him his sister Líládevi in marriage. Líládevi died pregnant and the child, which was taken alive from its dead mother's womb was called Múlarája, because the operation was performed when the Múla constellation was in power. Múlarája grew into an able and popular prince and helped to extend the kingdom of his maternal uncle. In a fit of intoxication Sámantasimha ordered Múlarája to be placed on the throne. He afterwards cancelled the grant. But Múlarája contended that a king once installed could not be degraded. He collected troops defeated and slew his uncle and succeeded to the throne in A.D. 942 (S. 998). The main facts of this tale, that Múlarája's father was one Ráji of the Chálukya family, that his mother was a Cháavadá princess, and that he came to the Cháavadá throne by killing his maternal uncle, appear to be true. That Múlarája's father's name was Ráji is proved by Dr. Buhler's copperplate of Múlarája.¹ Merutunga's details that Ráji came in disguise to Anahilaváda, took the fancy of Sámantasimha, and received his sister in marriage seem fictions in the style common in the bardic praises of Rájput princes. Dr. Buhler's copperplate further disproves the story as it calls Múlarája the son of the illustrious Ráji, the great king of kings *Mahárajádhirája*, a title which would not be given to a wandering prince. Ráji appears to have been of almost equal rank with the Cháavadás. The Ratnamálá calls Ráji fifth in descent from Bhuvada, his four predecessors being Karnáditya, Chandráditya, Somáditya, and Bhuvanáditya. But the Ratnamálá list is on the face of it wrong, as it gives five instead of seven or eight kings to fill the space of over 200 years between Jayaśekhara and Múlarája.

Most Jain chroniclers begin the history of Anahilaváda with Múlarája who with the Jains is the glory of the dynasty. After taking the small Cháavadá kingdom Múlarája spread his power in all directions, overrunning Káthiaváda and Kacch on the west, and fighting Bárappa of Látá or South Gujarát on the south, and Vigraharája king of Ajmir on the north. The Ajmir kings were called Sapádalaksha. Why they were so called is not known. This much is certain that Sapádalaksha is the Sanskrit form of the modern Sewálík. It would seem that the Choháns, whom the Gujarát Jain chroniclers call Sapádalakshíya, must have come to Gujarát from the Sewálík hills. After leaving the Sewálík hills the capital was at Ajmir, which is usually said to have been first fortified by the Chohán king Ajayapála (A.D. 1174-1177).² This story seems invented by the Choháns. The name Ajmir appears to be derived from the Mehrs who were in power in these parts between the fifth and the eighth centuries. The Hammíramahákávyá begins the Chohán genealogy with Vásudeva (A.D. 780) and states that Vásudeva's fourth successor Ajayapála established the hill fort of Ajmir. About this time (A.D. 840) the Choháns seem to have made settlements in the Ajmir country and to have harassed Gujarát. Vigraharája the tenth in suc-

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¹ Ind. Ant. VI. 191ff.² Kirtane's Hammíramahákávyá, I.

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Mularāja,
A.D. 961-996

cession from Vāsudeva is described as killing Mularāja and weakening the Gurjara country¹. The author of the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* gives the following details. The Sapādalaksha or Ajmir king entered Gujarat to attack Mularāja and at the same time from the south Mularāja's territory was invaded by Bārappa a general of king Tailapa of Telingāna². Unable to face both enemies Mularāja at his minister's advice retired to Kanthādurga apparently Kanthkot in Cutch³. He remained there till the Navarātra or Nine-Night festival at the close of the rains when he expected the Sapādalaksha king would have to return to Ajmir to worship the goddess Sākambharī when Bārappa would be left alone. At the close of the rains the Sapādalaksha king fixed his camp near a place called Sākambharī and bringing the goddess Sākambharī there held the Nine-Night festival. This device disappointed Mularāja. He sent for his *sāmantas* or nobles and gave them presents. He told them his plans and called on them to support him in attacking the Sapādalaksha king. Mularāja then mounted a female elephant with no attendant but the driver and in the evening came suddenly to the Ajmir camp. He dismounted and holding a drawn sword in his hand said to the doorkeeper 'What is your king doing. Go and tell your lord that Mularāja waits at his door'. While the attendant was on his way to give the message, Mularāja pushed him on one side and himself went into the presence. The doorkeeper called 'Here comes Mularāja'. Before he could be stopped Mularāja forced his way in and took his seat on the throne. The Ajmir king in consternation asked 'Are you Mularāja?'. Mularāja answered 'I would regard him as a brave king who would meet me face to face in battle. While I was thinking no such brave enemy exists, you have arrived. I ask no better fortune than to fight with you. But as soon as you are come, like a bee falling in at dinner time, Bārappa the general of king Tailapa of Telingana has arrived to attack me. While I am punishing him you should keep quiet and not give me a side blow.' The Ajmir king said, 'Though you are a king, you have come here alone like a foot soldier, not caring for your safety. I will be your ally for life'. Mularāja replied 'Say not so'. He refused the Rāja's invitation to dine, and leaving sword in hand mounted his elephant and with his nobles attacked the camp of Bārappa. Bārappa was killed and eighteen of his elephants and 10,000 of his horses fell into Mularāja's hands. While returning with the spoil Mularāja received news that the Sapādalaksha king had fled.

¹ The Chohāns of Ajmir were also known as the rulers of Sākambharī, the Sāmbhar lake in Rajputāna on the borders of Jaipur and Jodhpur. The corrected edition of the Harsha inscription published by Prof. Kielhorn in *Epigraphia Indica* II. 116ff shows that their first historical king was Guvaka, who reigned some time in the first half of the ninth century (c. 820 A.D.). The Chohāns are still very numerous in the neighbourhood of the Sewālik hills, especially in the districts of Ambālā and Karnal. Compare Ibbetson's *Panjab Census* for 1861.

² It appears from the grant of Saka 972 published by Mr. Dhruva in *Ind. Ant.* XII. 196 and from the Surat grant of Kirttirāja dated Saka 940, that this Bārappa was the founder of a dynasty who ruled Lāta or South Gujarat as underlings of the Dakhan Chalukyas until at least A.D. 1050. Bārappa was, as his name shows, a Southerner from the Kānarese country, but his descendants spell the family name Chalukya in the same way as the dynasty of Anahlavāda.

³ Dr. Bühler (*Ind. Ant.* XII. 123) sees a reference to this retirement in Mularāja's grant of Samrat 1043.

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Mularaja,
A.D. 961-996.

The story of the author of the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* differs from that given by the author of the *Hamirakavya* who describes Mularaja's defeat of Barappa. The truth seems to be that the Agrahara defeated Mularaja and on Mularaja's submission did not press his advantage. In these circumstances Mularaja's victory over Barappa seems improbable. The *Dvayāśraya* devotes twenty-five verses (27-101) of its sixth chapter to the contest between Barappa and Mularaja. The detail may be thus summarised. Once when Mularaja received presents from various Indian kings, Dvirappa¹ king of Lātadesa sent an ill-manned elephant. The marks being examined by royal officers and by prince Chāmuṇḍa they decided the elephant would bring destruction on the king who kept him. The elephant was sent back and prince and Mularaja and he then started with an army to attack Lātadesa and avenge them all. In his march Mularaja first came to the Sādhavati or Sādhmati which formed the boundary of his kingdom and fought with the people. From the Sādhmati he advanced to the river of Paru where also the people became confused. The Lātadesa king prepared for fight and was slain by Chāmuṇḍa in single combat. Mularaja advanced to Broach where Barappa who was assisted by the blind king, opposed him. Chāmuṇḍa overcame them and slew Barappa. After the death of Mularaja and Chāmuṇḍa returned to Anandapura.

The *Dvayāśraya* calls Barappa king of Lātadesa, the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* calls him a general of Tulapa king of Telangana, the *Sulrikānkirtana* a general of the Kanyakulaja king, and the *Kirtikāmuḍī* a general of the Lord of Lāṭa.

Other evidence proves that at the time of Mularaja a Chaulukya king named Barappa did reign in Lātadesa. The Surat grant of Kirtiraja grandson of Barappa is dated A.D. 1015 (Saka 940). This, taking twenty years to a king, brings Barappa's date to A.D. 978 (Saka 900), a year which falls in the reign of Mularaja (A.D. 961-996, S. 1027-1053). The statement in the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* that Barappa was a general of Tulapa seems correct. The southern form of the name Barappa supports the statement. And as Tulapa overthrew the Rashtrakutas in A.D. 972 (Saka 894) he might well place a general in military charge of Lāṭa, and allow him practical independence. This would explain why the *Dvayāśraya* calls Barappa king of Lātadesa and why the *Kirtikāmuḍī* calls him general of the Lord of Lāṭa.

One of Mularaja's earliest wars was with Grahariṇi the Abhira or Chudāmaṇi ruler of Sorath.² According to Mularaja's hands, the cause

¹ Apparently a Sanskrit form of Barappa. ² Broach according to the commentator.

³ The *Sulrikānkirtana* mentions this defeat of Barappa who is said to be a general of the Kanyakulaja or Kanauj king. The *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* (Mularaja prabandha) also mentions the invasion and slaughter of Barappa, but there is no reference to it in the grant of Barappa's descendant Trilochanapada (Ind. Ant. XII, 196ff.).

⁴ Canto II Verse 3.

⁵ As Mr. Forbes rightly observed Grahariṇi the Planet seizer is a made up title based on the resemblance of the planet seizer's name Rāhu to Rā the title of the Chudāmaṇis of Junagadh. The personal name of the chief is not given and the list of the Junagadh Chudāmaṇis is too incomplete to allow of identification.

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of war was Graharipu's oppression of pilgrims to Prabhāsa. Graharipu's capital was Vāmanasthālī, the modern Vanthālī nine miles west of Junāgadh, and the fort of Durgapalli which Graharipu is said to have established must be Junāgadh itself which was not then a capital. He is said to have had much influence over Lākhā son of king Phula of Kacch and to have been helped by Turks and other Mlechhas. When Múlarāja reached the Jambumālī river, he was met by Graharipu and his army. With Graharipu was Lākhā of Kacch, the king of Sindh probably a Sumrā, Mewās Bhīlas, and the sons of Graharipu's wife Nīlī who had been summoned from near the Bhadar river by a message in the Yavana language.¹ With Múlarāja were the kings of Śīlāprastha,² of Mārvar, of Kāsī, of Arbuda or Abu, and of Śrīmāla or Bhīnmāl. Múlarāja had also his own younger brother Gangāmah, his friend king Revatīmitra, and Bhīls. It is specially mentioned that in this expedition Múlarāja received no help from the sons of his paternal uncles Bīja and Dandaka. The fight ended in Graharipu being made prisoner by Múlarāja, and in Lākhā being slain with a spear. After the victory Múlarāja went to Prabhāsa, worshipped the *līnga*, and returned to Anahīlavāda with his army and 108 elephants.

According to the author of the Prabandhachintāmaṇi Lākhī met his death in a different contest with Múlarāja. Lākhī who is described as the son of Phuladā and Kāmalatā daughter of Kīrttirāja a Parmār king, is said to have been invincible because he was under the protection of king Yaśovarman of Mālwa. He defeated Múlarāja's army eleven times. In a twelfth encounter Múlarāja besieged Lākhī in Kapilakot, slew him in single combat, and trod on his flowing beard. Enraged at this insult to her dead son Lākhī's mother called down on Múlarāja's descendants the curse of the spider poison that is of leprosy.³

Mr Forbes, apparently from bardic sources, states that on his wife's death Rāji the father of Múlarāja went to the temple of Vishnu at Dwārakā. On his return he visited the court of Lākhī Phulām and espoused Lākhī's sister Rāyāji by whom he had a son named Rākhāich. This marriage proved the ruin of Rāji. In a dispute about precedence Lākhī slew Rāji and many of his Rājput followers, his wife Rāyāji becoming a Satī. Bīja the uncle of Múlarāja urged his nephew to avenge his father's death and Múlarāja was further incited against Lākhī because Lākhī harboured Rākhāich the younger son of Rāji at his court as a rival to Múlarāja.

According to the Dvyāśraya, either from the rising power of his son or from repentance for his own rough acts, after Chāmunda's victory over Bārappa Múlarāja installed him as ruler and devoted himself to religion and charity. According to the Prabandhachintāmaṇi Múlarāja built in Anahīlavāda a Jain temple named Mūlavasatkā. But as the Nandi

¹ The mention of her name and of the language in which she wrote suggest something remarkable in the race and position of queen Nīlī.

² Perhaps Sithā in Jhālāvād.

³ The same account appears in the Kumārapālacharita.

symbol on his copperplate shows that Múlarāja was a devoted Śaivite, it is possible that this temple was built by some Jain guild or community and named after the reigning chief.¹ Múlarāja built a Mahádeva temple called Múlasvāmi in Anahilaváda, and, in honour of Somanátha, he built the temple of Múlesvara at Mandali-nagara where he went at the bidding of the god.² He also built at Anahilaváda a temple of Mahádeva called Tripurushaprásáda on a site to which the tradition attaches that seeing Múlarāja daily visiting the temple of Múlanáthadeva at Mandali, Somanatha Mahádeva being greatly pleased promised to bring the ocean to Anahilaváda. Somanátha came, and the ocean accompanying the god certain ponds became brackish. In honour of these salt pools Múlarāja built the Tripurushaprásáda. Looking for some one to place in charge of this temple, Múlarāja heard of an ascetic named Kanthadī at Siddhapura on the banks of the Sarasvatī who used to fast every other day and on the intervening day lived on five morsels of food. Múlarāja offered this sage the charge of the temple. The sage declined saying 'Authority is the surest path to hell'. Eventually Vayajalladeva a disciple of the sage undertook the management on certain conditions. Múlarāja passed most of his days at the holy shrine of Siddhapura, the modern Sīdhpur on the Sarasvatī about fifteen miles north-east of Anahilaváda. At Sīdhpur Múlarāja made many grants to Bráhmans. Several branches of Gujarát Bráhmans, Audichyas, Śrīgaudas and Kanojias, trace their origin in Gujarát to an invitation from Múlarāja to Siddhapura and the local Purānas and Māhātmyas confirm the story. As the term Audichya means Northerner Múlarāja may have invited Bráhmans from some such holy place as Kurukshetra which the Audichyas claim as their home. From Kanyákubja in the Madhyadesa between the Ganges and the Yamuná another equally holy place the Kanojias may have been invited. The Śrī Gaudas appear to have come from Bengal and Tīrhut. Gauda and Tīrhut Bráhmans are noted Tántriks and Mantrasāstris a branch of learning for which both the people and the rulers of Gujarát have a great fondness. Grants of villages were made to these Bráhmans. Sīdhpur was given to the Audichyas, Simhapura or Sihor in Káthiaváda to some other colony, and Stambhatīrtha or Cambay to the Śrī Gaudas. At Siddhapura Múlarāja built the famous temple called the Rudramahálaya or the great shrine of Rudra. According to tradition Múlarāja did not complete the Rudramahálaya and Siddharāja finished it. In spite of this tradition it does not appear that Múlarāja died leaving the great temple unfinished as a copperplate of A.D. 987 (S 1043) records that

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¹ Compare the Lakshmi-Vihāra Jain temple in Jesalmir built by the Jain Sangha and called after the reigning king Lakshmaṇa.

² Dr Bühler's copperplate of Múlarāja records a grant to this temple, said to be of Múlanáthadeva in Mandali in the Vardhī zilla, apparently the modern Māndal near Pañchāsar in the Vadhīr province near Jhunjhuváda. The grant is in Samvat 1043 and is dated from Anahilapura though the actual gift was made at Śrīsthala or Sīdhpur after bathing in the Sarasvatī and worshipping the god of the Rudramahálaya. The grant is of the village of Kamboika, the modern Kamboi near Modhera. Ind. Ant. VI 192-193. The grant is said to have been written by a Káyastha named Kátichana and ends with the words "of the illustrious Múlarāja."

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Múlarāja made the grant after worshipping the god of the Rudramahálaya on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the fifteenth of the dark half of Mágha. It would seem therefore that Múlarāja built one large Rudramahálaya which Siddharāja may have repaired or enlarged. Múlarāja is said while still in health to have mounted the funeral pile, an act which some writers trace to remorse and others to unknown political reasons. The Vicháraśreni gives the length of Múlarāja's reign at thirty-five years A.D. 961-996 (S. 1017-1052), the Prabandhachintámani begins the reign at A.D. 942 (S. 998) and ends it at A.D. 997 (S. 1053) that is a length of fifty-five years¹. Of the two, thirty-five years seems the more probable, as, if the traditional accounts are correct, Múlarāja can scarcely have been a young man when he overthrew his uncle's power.

Chámunda,
A.D. 997-1010

Of Múlarāja's son and successor Chámunda no historical information is available. The author of the Prabandhachintámani assigns him a reign of thirteen years. The author of the Dvyáśraya says that he had three sons Vallabha Rāja, Durlabha Rāja, and Nága Rāja. According to one account Chámunda installed Vallabha in A.D. 1010 (S. 1066) and went on pilgrimage to Benares. On his passage through Málwa Muñja the Málwa king carried off Chámunda's umbrella and other marks of royalty². Chámunda went on to Benares in the guise of a hermit. On his return he prayed his son to avenge the insult offered by the king of Málwa. Vallabha started with an army but died of small-pox. The author of the Prabandhachintámani gives Chámunda a reign of six months, while the author of the Vicháraśreni entirely drops his name and gives a reign of fourteen years to Vallabha made up of the thirteen years of Chámunda and the six months of Vallabha. This seems to be a mistake. It would seem more correct, as is done in several copperplate lists, to omit Vallabha, since he must have reigned jointly with his father and his name is not wanted for purposes of succession. The Vicháraśreni and the Prabandhachintámani agree in ending Vallabha's reign in A.D. 1010 (S. 1066). The author of the Dvyáśraya states that Chámunda greatly lamenting the death of Vallabha installed Vallabha's younger brother Durlabha, and himself retired to die at S'uklatíṛtha on the Narbadá.

Durlabha,
A.D. 1010-1022

Durlabha whom the Sukritasankírtana also calls Jagatjampaka or World Guardian came to the throne in A.D. 1010 (S. 1066). The Prabandhachintámani gives the length of his reign at eleven years and six months while the Vicháraśreni makes it twelve years closing it in A.D. 1022 (S. 1078). The author of the Dvyáśraya says that along with his brother Nága Rāja, Durlabha attended the Svayamvara or bridegroom-choosing of Durlabha Deví the sister of Mahendra the

¹ The difference between 1052 and 1053 is probably only a few months.

² The fight with Muñja must have taken place about A.D. 1011 (S. 1067). As Chámunda started just after installing Vallabha the beginning of the reign must be before A.D. 997 as Tailapa who fought with Muñja died in that year. This is proved by a manuscript dated A.D. 994 (S. 1050) which gives the reigning king as Muñja. That Bhaja Muñja's successor was ruling in A.D. 1014 (S. 1070) makes it probable that Muñja's reign extended to A.D. 1011 (S. 1067).

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A D 961-1242.
Durlabha,
A D 1010-1022.

Rāja of Nadol in Mārwaṇ The kings of Anga, Kāśī, Avantī, Chedī, Kuru, Ilīna, Mathurā, Vindhya, and Andhra were also present¹ The princess chose Durlabha and Mahendra gave his younger sister Lakshmī to Durlabha's brother Nāga Rāja The princess' choice of Durlabha drew on him the enmity of certain of the other kings all of whom he defeated. The brothers then returned to Anahīlavāda where Durlabha built a lake called Durlabhasarovara The author of the Prabandhachintāmaṇi says that Durlabha gave up the kingdom to his son (?) Bhīma.² He also states that Durlabha went on pilgrimage and was insulted on the way by Muñja king of Mālwa This seems the same tale which the Dvyās'raya tells of Chāmunda Since Muñja cannot have been a cotemporary of Durlabha the Dvyās'raya's account seems correct

Bhīma I.
A D 1022-1064.

Durlabha was succeeded by his nephew Bhīma the son of Durlabha's younger brother Nāga Rāja The author of the Dvyās'raya says that Durlabha wishing to retire from the world offered the kingdom to his nephew Bhīma, that Bhīma declined in favour of his father Nāga Rāja, that Nāga Rāja refused, that Durlabha and Nāga Rāja persuaded Bhīma to take the government, and that after installing Bhīma the two brothers died together Such a voluntary double death sounds unlikely unless the result was due to the machinations of Bhīma The Prabandhachintāmaṇi gives Bhīma a reign of fifty-two years from A D 1022 to 1074 (S 1078-1130), while the Vichāras'ienī reduces his reign to forty-two years placing its close in A D 1064 (S 1120) Forty-two years would seem to be correct as another copy of the Prabandhachintāmaṇi has 42

Two copperplates of Bhīma are available one dated A D 1030 (S 1086) eight or nine years after he came to the throne, the other from Kacch in A D 1037 (S 1093)

Bhīma seems to have been more powerful than either of his predecessors According to the Dvyās'raya his two chief enemies were the kings of Sindh and of Chedī or Bundelkhand. He led a victorious expedition against Hammuka the king of Sindh, who had conquered the king of Sivasāna and another against Karna king of Chedī who paid tribute and submitted. The Prabandhachintāmaṇi has a verse, apparently an old verse interpolated, which says that on the Mālwa king Bhoja's death, while sacking Dhārāpurī, Karna took Bhīma as his coadjutor, and that afterwards Bhīma's general Dāmara took Karna captive and won from him a gold *mandapikā* or canopy and images of Ganeśa and Nīlakanthes'vara Mahādeva Bhīma is said to have presented the canopy to Somanātha

When Bhīma was engaged against the king of Sindh, Kulachandra the general of the Mālwa king Bhoja with all the Mālwa feudatories, invaded Anahīlavāda, sacked the city, and sowed shell-money at the gate where the time-marking gong was sounded So great was the

¹ This Siyamvara and the list of attendant and rival kings seem imaginary The Nadol chiefship was not important enough to draw kings from the countries named

² The text has son but Bhīma was Durlabha's nephew not his son

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Bhima I
A.D. 1022-1054

loss that the 'sacking of Kulachandra' has passed into a proverb Kulachandra also took from Anahilavāda an acknowledgment of victory or *jayapatra*. On his return Bhoja received Kulachandra with honour but blamed him for not sowing salt instead of shell-money¹. He said the shell-money is an omen that the wealth of Mālwa will flow to Gujarāt. An unpublished inscription of Bhoja's successor Udayāditya in a temple at Udepur near Bhilsā confirms the above stating that Bhīma was conquered by Bhoja's officers².

The Solanki kings of Anahilapura being Śaivites held the god Somanātha of Prabhāsa in great veneration. The very ancient and holy shrine of Prabhāsa has long been a place of special pilgrimage. As early as the Yādavas of Dwārakā,³ pilgrimages to Prabhāsa are recorded but the Mahabhārata makes no mention either of Somanātha or of any other Śaivite shrine. The shrine of Somanātha was probably not established before the time of the Valabhis (A.D. 480-757). As the Valabhi kings were most open-handed in religious gifts, it was probably through their grants that the Somanātha temple rose to importance. The Solankis were not behind the Valabhis in devotion to Somanātha. To save pilgrims from oppression Mularāja fought Graharipu the Abhīra king of Sorath.⁴ Mularāja afterwards went to Prabhāsa and also built temples in Gujarāt in honour of the god Somanātha. As Mularāja's successors Chāmunda and Durlabha continued firm devotees of Somanātha during their reigns (A.D. 997-1022) the wealth of the temple must have greatly increased.

No Gujarāt Hindu writer refers to the destruction of the great temple soon after Bhīma's accession.⁵ But the Musalmān historians place beyond doubt that in A.D. 1024 the famous tenth raid of

Mahmūd's
Invasion,
A.D. 1024.

¹ By sowing corns Kulachandra may have meant to show the cheapness of Anahilavāda. Bhoja's meaning was that as shells are money, to sow shells was to sow Mālwa wealth in Gujarāt. If Kulachandra had sown salt all would have melted, and no trace been left. [This seems a symbolic later-stage explanation. The sense seems to be shell-sowing keeps the Anahilavāda guardians in place since guardians can live in shells. Salt-sowing scares the guardian spirits and makes the site of the city a haunt of demons. Bhoja saw that thanks to his general the Luck of Anahilavāda would remain safe in the shells.]

² The Prabandhaśaṅkṛāṇī tells other stories of the relations between Bhīma and Bhoja. Once when Gujarāt was suffering from famine Bhīma heard that Bhoja was coming with a force against Gujarāt. Alarmed at the news Bhīma asked Dāmara his minister of peace and war to prevent Bhoja coming. Dāmara went to Mālwa, amused the king by witty stories, and while a play was being acted in court degrading and joining other kings, something was said regarding Tailapa of Telangana. On this Dāmara reminded the king that the head of his grandfather Mañja was fixed at Tailapa's door. Bhoja grew excited and started with an army against Telangana. Hearing that Bhīma had come against him as far as Bhamapura (?) Bhoja asked Dāmara to prevent Bhīma advancing further. Dāmara stopped Bhīma by taking him an elephant as a present from Bhoja. The Prabandhaśaṅkṛāṇī gives numerous other stories showing that at times the relations between Bhoja and Bhīma were friendly.

³ See above page 9.

⁴ See above page 160.

⁵ With this silence compare the absence (Reinoud's *Mémoires Sur l'Inde*, 67) of any reference either in Sanskrit or in Buddhist books to the victories, even to the name of Alexander the Great. Also in modern times the ignoring of British rule in the many inscriptions of Jain repairers of temples on Satranjaya hill who belong to British territory. The only foreign reference is by one merchant of Daman who acknowledges the protection of the Portuguese. *Puravakāśa Pāṭasā* the king of the Firangis of Portugal. *Bailei in Epigraphia Indica*, II, 35.

Chapter II

THE
CHAULUKYAS,
A D 961-1242
Somanátha,
A D 1024

Mahmúd of Ghazni, ended in the destruction and plunder of Somanátha.¹

Of the destruction of Somanátha the earliest Musalmán account, that of Ibn Asír (A D 1160-1229), supplies the following details. In the year A D 1024 (H. 414) Mahmúd captured several forts and cities in Hind and he also took the idol called Somanátha. This idol was the greatest of all the idols of Hind. At every eclipse² the Hindus went on pilgrimage to the temple, and there congregated to the number of a hundred thousand persons. According to their doctrine of transmigration the Hindus believe that after separation from the body the souls of men meet at Somanátha, and that the ebb and flow of the tide is the worship paid to the best of its power by the sea to the idol³. All that is most precious in India was brought to Somanátha. The temple attendants received the most valuable presents, and the temple was endowed with more than 10,000 villages⁴. In the temple were amassed jewels of the most exquisite quality and of incalculable value. The people of India have a great river called Ganga to which they pay the highest honour and into which they cast the bones of their great men, in the belief that the deceased will thus secure an entrance to heaven. Though between this river and Somanátha is a distance of about 1200 miles (200 *parasangs*) water was daily brought from it to wash the idol⁵. Every day a thousand Brahmins performed the worship and introduced visitors⁶. The shaving of the heads and beards of pilgrims employed three hundred barbers⁷. Three hundred and fifty persons sang and danced at the gate of the temple,⁸ every one receiving a settled daily allowance. When Mahmúd was gaining victories and demolishing idols in North India, the Hindus said Somanátha is displeased with these idols. If Somanátha had been satisfied with them no one could have destroyed or injured them. When Mahmúd heard this he resolved on making a campaign to destroy Somanátha, believing that when the Hindus saw their prayers and imprecations to be false and futile they would embrace the Faith.

So he prayed to the Almighty for aid, and with 30,000 horse besides volunteers left Ghazni on the 10th Sha'bán (H. 414, A D. 1024).

¹ Elliot and Dowson, II 468ff. Sir H. M. Elliot gives extracts for this expedition from the *Tárikh i-Alfi*, *Tabak't-i Akbari*, *Tabakát i Nu'siri*, and *Rauzat-i safá*.

² Since the earliest times Hindus have held eclipse days sacred. According to the *Mahabharata* the Yáduvas of Dwárká came to Somanátha for an eclipse fair. Great fairs are still held at Somanátha on the Kártika and Chaitra (December and April) fullmoons.

³ This old Indian idea is expressed in a verse in an inscription in Somanátha Patán itself.

⁴ Ten thousand must be taken vaguely.

⁵ Compare Sachau's *Alberuni*, II 104. Every day they brought Somanátha a jug of Ganges water and a basket of Kashmir flowers. Somanátha they believed cured every inveterate sickness and healed every desperate and incurable disease. The reason why Somanátha became so famous was that it was a harbour for those who went to and fro from Sofala in Zanzibar to China. It is still the practice to carry Ganges water to bathe distant gods.

⁶ These must be the local Sompura Brahmins who still number more than five hundred souls in Somanátha Patán.

⁷ Shaving is the first rite performed by pilgrims.

⁸ Dancers are now chiefly found in the temples of Southern India.

Chapter II

THE

CHAULUKYAS,
A.D. 961-1242.Somanátha,
A.D. 1024.

He took the road to Multán and reached it in the middle of Ramzán. The road from Multán to India lay through a barren desert without inhabitants or food. Mahmúd collected provisions for the passage and loading 30,000 camels with water and corn started for Anahilaváda. After he had crossed the desert he perceived on one side a fort full of people in which place there were wells¹. The leaders came to conciliate him, but he invested the place, and God gave him victory over it, for the hearts of the people failed them through fear. He brought the place under the sway of Islám, killed the inhabitants, and broke in pieces their images. His men carrying water with them marched for Anahilaváda, where they arrived at the beginning of Zilkáda.

The Chief of Anahilaváda, called Bhím, fled hastily, and abandoning his city went to a certain fort for safety and to prepare for war. Mahmúd pushed on for Somanátha. On his march he came to several forts in which were many images serving as chamberlains or heralds of Somanátha. These Mahmúd called Shaitán or devils. He killed the people, destroyed the fortifications, broke the idols in pieces, and through a waterless desert marched to Somanátha. In the desert land he met 20,000 fighting men whose chiefs would not submit. He sent troops against them, defeated them, put them to flight, and plundered their possessions. From the desert he marched to Dabalwárah,² two days' journey from Somanátha. The people of Dabalwárah stayed in the city believing that the word of Somanátha would drive back the invaders. Mahmúd took the place, slew the men, plundered their property, and marched to Somanátha.

Reaching Somanátha on a Thursday in the middle of Zilkáda Mahmúd beheld a strong fortress built on the sea-shore, so that its walls were washed by the waves³. From the walls the people jeered at the Musalmáns. Our deity, they said, will cut off the last man of you and destroy you all. On the morrow which was Friday the assailants advanced to the assault. When the Hindus saw how the Muhammadans fought they abandoned their posts and left the walls. The Musalmáns planted their ladders and scaled the walls. From the top they raised their war-cry, and showed the might of Islám. Still their loss was so heavy that the issue seemed doubtful. A body of Hindus hurried to Somanátha, cast themselves on the ground before him, and besought him to grant them victory. Night came on and the fight was stayed.

Early next morning Mahmúd renewed the battle. His men made greater havoc among the Hindus till they drove them from the town to the house of their idol Somanátha. At the gate of the temple the slaughter was dreadful. Band after band of the defenders entered the temple and standing before Somanátha with their hands clasped round their necks wept and passionately entreated him. Then they issued forth to fight and fought till they were slain. The few left alive took

¹ Mahmúd seems to have crossed the desert from Multán and Baháwalpur to Bikanér and thence to Ajmir.

² Apparently Delvada near Uná. Mahmud's route seems to have been from Anahilaváda to Modhera and Mándal, thence by the Little Ran near Pátri and Bajána, and thence by Jhálavád Gohelvád and Bábravád to Delvád.

³ The waves still beat against the walls of the ruined fort of Somanátha.

Chapter II

THE

CHAULUKYAS,
A.D. 961-1242.Somanatha,
A.D. 1024.

to Bhátia, and after reducing the inhabitants to obedience, returned to Ghazni where he arrived on the 10th Safar 417 H (A.D. 1026)

The Rauzatu-s-safá of Mukhand supplements these details with the following account of Mahmúd's arrangements for holding Gujarat. 'It is related that when Sultan Mahmúd had achieved the conquest of Somanátha he wished to fix his residence there for some years because the country was very extensive and possessed many advantages among them several mines which produced pure gold Indian rubies were brought from Sarandíp, one of the dependencies of the kingdom of Gujarat. His ministers represented to Mahmúd that to forsake Khurásán which had been won from his enemies after so many battles and to make Somanátha the seat of government was very improper. At last the king made up his mind to return and ordered some one to be appointed to hold and carry on the administration of the country. The ministers observed that as it was impossible for a stranger to maintain possession he should assign the country to one of the native chiefs. The Sultán accordingly held a council to settle the nomination, in concurrence with such of the inhabitants as were well disposed towards him. Some of them represented to him that amongst the ancient royal families no house was so noble as that of the Dábshilíms of whom only one member survived, and he had assumed the habit of a Bráhmaṇ, and was devoted to philosophical pursuits and austerity.'¹

That Mahmúd should have found it necessary to appoint some local chief to keep order in Gujarat is probable. It is also probable that he would choose some one hostile to the defeated king. It has been suggested above that Bhíma's uncle Durlabha did not retire but was ousted by his nephew and that the story of Vallabha and Durlabha dying together pointed to some usurpation on the part of Bhíma. The phrase the Dábshilíms seems to refer either to Durlabhasena or his son. Whoever was chosen must have lost his power soon after Mahmúd's departure.²

¹ According to Fershta (Bombay Persian Ed. I. 57, Briggs' Translation, I. 74) Mahmud stayed and meant to make his capital at Anahilaváda not at Somanátha. That Mahmud did stay at Anahilaváda the Martyr's Mound and the Ghazni Mosque in Patan are evidence. Still the mound was probably raised and the mosque may at least have been begun in honour of the capture of Anahilaváda on the journey south. Traces of a second mosque which is said to have had a tablet recording Mahmúd of Ghazni as the builder have recently (1878) been found at Munjpur about twenty-five miles south east of Rádhanpur.

² Briggs' Fershta, I. 75. This account of the Dabshilíms reads more like a tradition than an historical record. It is to be noted that the authors both of the 'Ain-i-Akbari (A.D. 1583) and of the Mirat-i-Ahmadí (A.D. 1762) give Chámunnda as king at the time of Mahmud's invasion. Their statements cannot weigh against Ibn Asir's account to the contrary. Dr. Bühler's remarks in Ind. Ant. VI. 184. Of Mahmúd's return to Ghazni the Tabakat-i-Albari says 'When Mahmúd resolved to return from Somanátha that Parama Dev, one of the greatest Rájás of Hindustán, was preparing

¹ Mahmúd scim. The Sultán, not deeming it advisable to contend with this chief, went and thence to Ajl through Sindh. In this journey his men suffered much in some places and apparently of water in others from want of forage. After enduring great difficulties he reached Ghazni in A.D. 1029 (H. 417). This Parama Dev would seem to be the thence by Jhal of A'bu who could well block the Ajmir Gujarat route. The route taken

² The waves must have passed by Mansura near Bráhmaṇabád, Bhátia, and Multan. It

An inscription at Somanátha shows that soon after Mahmúd was gone Bhímdeva began to build a temple of stone in place of the former temple of brick and wood.

A few years later Bhíma was on bad terms with Dhandhuka the Paramara chief of Abu, and sent his general Vimala to subdue him. Dhandhuka submitted and made over to Vimala the beautiful Chitrakúta peak of Abu, where, in A.D. 1032 (S. 1088), Vimala built the celebrated Jain temples known as Vimalavishnu still one of the glories of Abu.¹

Bhíma had three wives Udayamati who built a step-well at Anahlavada, Bukuladevi, and another. These ladies were the mothers of Karna, K-hemaraja, and Mularaja. Of the three sons Mularaja, though his mother's name is unknown, was the eldest and the heir-apparent. Of the kindly Mularaja the author of the Prabandhachintamani tells the following tale. In a year of scarcity the Kutumbikas or cultivators of Vishopaka and Dindim found themselves unable to pay the king his share of the land-produce. Bhimaraja sent a minister to inquire and the minister brought before the king all the well-to-do people of the defaulting villages. One day prince Mularaja saw these men talking to one another in alarm. Taking pity on them he pleased the king by his skilful riding. The king asked him to name a boon and the prince begged that the demand on the villagers might be remitted. The boon was granted, the riots went home in glee, but within three days Mularaja was dead. Next season yielded a bumper harvest, and the people came to present the king with his share for that year as well as with the remitted share for the previous year. Bhímdev declined to receive the arrears. A jury appointed by the king settled that the royal share of the produce for both years should be placed in the king's hands for the erection of a temple called the new Tripurushaprásada for the spiritual welfare of prince Mularaja.²

must have been in the crossing of the great desert that he suffered so severely from scarcity of water and forage. Irfishta (Briggs, I. 75) says that many of Mahmud's troops died rigging mad from the intolerable heat and thirst. The historian Muhammad Utí (A.D. 1200) alleges (Elliot, II. 192) that two Hindus disguised as countrymen offered themselves as guides and led the army three days' march out of the right course, where they were saved only by Mahmud's miraculous discovery of a pool of sweet water. [This tale of the self-sacrificing Bráhman or priest and the miraculous find of water has gathered round Mahmud as the latest of myth centres. It is Herodotus' (Book III. 154-158) old Zopyrus tale (Rawlinson's Seventh Monarchy, 318), it is revived in honour of the Great Kushán Kanishka, A.D. 78 (Beruni in Elliot, II. 11), of the Sassanid Firoz A.D. 457-468 (Rawlinson's Seventh Monarchy, 318), and of a certain king of Zabulistan or Ghazni of uncertain date (Elliot II. 170). Similarly the puzzling Dabshulm tale seems to be peculiar neither to Gujarát nor to Mahmud of Ghazni. It seems a repetition of the tale of Dabshulm the man of the royal race, who, according to the Panchatantra or Fables of Pilpai, was chosen successor of Porus after Alexander the Great's Viceroy had been driven out. (Compare Renard's *Memoire Sur l'Inde*, 127-128.) The *Tabakát-i-Násiri* (A.D. 1227) adds (Elliot, II. 476) that the guide devoted his life for the sake of Somanátha and this account is adopted by Ferishta. Briggs' Translation, I. 78.]

¹ Vasalus Prákrit for Vasati that is residence. The word is used to mean a group of temples.

² Several later mentions of a *Tripurushaprásada* show there was only one building of that name. The statement that the great Mularaja I built a Tripurushaprásada seems a mistake, due to a confusion with prince Mularaja.

Chapter II.

THE

CHAUUKYAS,
A.D. 971-1242

PART I.

A.D. 1022-1064

Bhīma reigned forty-two years. Both the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* and the *Vichārasēpi* mention Karna as his successor. According to the *Dryāśraya* Bhīma wishing to retire to a religious life, offered the succession to Kshemarāja. But Kshemarāja also was averse from the labour of ruling and it was settled that Karna should succeed.

Bhīma died soon after and Kshemarāja retired to a holy place on the Sarasvatī named Mundakeśvara not far from Anahilavāda. Karna is said to have granted Dahithālī a neighbouring village to Devaprāsāda the son of Kshemarāja that he might attend on his father in his religious seclusion. But as the *Kumāravalochana* mentions Kshemarāja being settled at Dahithālī as a ruler not as an ascetic it seems probable that Dahithālī was granted to Kshemarāja for maintenance as villages are still granted to the *bhāṭyās* or brethren of the ruler.

Karna,

A.D. 1024-1074

Karna who came to the throne in A.D. 1024 (S. 1120) had a more peaceful reign than his predecessors. He was able to build charitable public works among them a temple called Karna-mera at Anahilavāda. His only war was an expedition against Ashā Bhil, chief of six lakhs¹ of Bhils residing at Ashāpollī the modern village of Asval near Ahmedabad.² Ashā was defeated and slain. In consequence of an omen from a local goddess named Kochharva,³ Karna built her a temple in Asval and also built temples to Jyanti Devī and Karṇeśvara Mahadeva. He made a lake called Karṇasāgara and founded a city called Karnavati which he made his capital.

Karna had three ministers Munjala, Santa, and Udaya. Udaya was a Śrimalī Vamā of Marwār, who had settled in Anahilavāda and who was originally called Udā. Santa built a Jain temple called Santa-rasahi and Uda built at Karnavati a large temple called Udaya-varaha, containing seventy-two images of Tirthankars, twenty-four past twenty-four present and twenty-four to come. By different wives Uda had five sons, Ahada or Asimada, Chāhoda, Bahada, Amunda and Solā, of whom the last three were half-brothers of the first two.⁴ Except Solā, who continued a merchant and became very wealthy, all the sons entered the service of the state and rose to high stations during the reign of Kumāravala.

In late life Karna married Miyānādevī daughter of Jayakeśi son of Sūthakeśi king of the Kamajaka. According to the *Dryāśraya* a wandering painter showed Karna the portrait of a princess whom he described as daughter of Jayakeśi the Kadamba king⁵ of

¹ 11 lakhs a large number of Bhils of whom Asha was the head.

² Forbes: *Ras Mala* (New Ed.) 79.

³ Probably a Bhil goddess. The name does not sound Sanskrit.

⁴ In one passage the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* calls these princes half-brothers of Udaya. Further details show that they were half-brothers of one another and sons of Udaya.

⁵ The Jayakesi is Jayakesi I. son of Sūthakeśi (Sūthakeśi the third of the Gva. Rājāsūras). Jayakesi's recorded date A.D. 1052 (S. 974) fits well with the time of Karna (Forbes's *Karnas Dynasty*, 91). The *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* calls for following story of the death of Jayakesi. Jayakesi had a favourite party whom he

Chandrapura¹ in the Dakhan, and who he said had taken a vow to marry Karna. In token of her wish to marry Karna the painter said the princess had sent Karna an elephant. Karna went to see the present and found on the elephant a beautiful princess who had come so far in the hope of winning him for a husband. According to the Prabandhachintamani Karna found the princess ugly and refused to marry her. On this the princess with eight attendants determined to burn themselves on a funeral pyre and Udayāmatī Karna's mother also declared that if he did not relent she too would be a sacrifice. Under this compulsion Karna married the princess but refused to treat her as a wife. The minister Muñjala, learning from a *kañchukī* or palace-servant that the king loved a certain courtesan, contrived that Miyānalladevi should take the woman's place, a device still practised by ministers of native states. Karna fell into the snare and the queen became pregnant by him, having secured from the hand of her husband his signet ring as a token which could not be disclaimed. Thus in Karna's old age Miyānalladevi became the mother of the illustrious Siddharāja Jayasinha, who, according to a local tradition quoted by Mr Forbes, first saw the light at Pālanpur.² When three years old the precocious Siddharāja climbed and sat upon the throne. This ominous event being brought to the king's notice he consulted his astrologers who advised that from that day Siddharāja should be installed as heir-apparent.

The Gujarāt chronicles do not record how or when Karna died. It appears from a manuscript that he was reigning in A D 1089 (S 1145).³ The Hammīramahākāvya says 'The illustrious Karna-deva was killed in battle by king Duśśala of Śukambarī,' and the two appear to have been cotemporaries.⁴ The author of the Dvyāśraya says that Karna died fixing his thoughts on Vishnu, recommending to Siddharāja his cousin Devaprasāda son of Kshemarāja. According to the Prabandhachintamani Vichāraśrenī and Sukrita-sankīrtana Karna died in A D 1094 (S 1150).

As, at the time of his father's death, Siddharāja was a minor⁵ the reins of government must have passed into the hands of his mother Miyānalladevi. That the succession should have been attended with struggle and intrigue is not strange. According to the Dvyāśraya Devaprasāda, the son of Kshemarāja burned himself on the funeral pile shortly after the death of Karna, an action which was probably the result of some intrigue regarding the succession. Another intrigue

Chapter II
THE
CHAULUKYAS,
A D 961-1242
Karna,
A D 1064-1094

Siddharāja
Jayasinha,
A D 1094-1143.

one day asked to come out of his cage and dine with him. The parrot said 'The cat sitting near you will kill me.' The king seeing no cat replied 'If any cat kills you I too will die.' The parrot left his cage, ate with the king, and was killed by the cat. Jayakesī made ready his funeral pyre, and, in spite of his minister's prayers, taking the dead parrot in his hand laid himself on the funeral pyre and was burned.

¹ Chandrapura is probably Chandāvar near Gohari in North Kānara.

² Rās Malā (New Edition), 83.

³ Kielhorn's Report on Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1881 page 22.

⁴ Duśśala was sixth in descent from Vīrahārāja the enemy of Mularāja from whom Karna was fifth in descent.

⁵ The date of his installation is given by the author of the Vichāraśrenī as Vikrama S 1150.

Chapter II.

THE

CHALUKYAS,
A.D. 961-1242Siddharāja
Jayasingha,
A.D. 1034-1143

ended in the death of Madanapāla brother of Karna's mother queen Udayamati, at the hands of the minister Śāntu, who along with Muñjala and Udā, helped the queen-mother Miyānalladevi during the regency. Muñjala and Śāntu continued in office under Siddharāja. Another minister built a famous Jain temple named Mahārājabhuvana in Sidhpur at the time when Siddharāja built the Rudramālā. An inscription from a temple near Bhadresar in Kacch dated A.D. 1139 (S. 1195 Āshādha Vād 10, Sunday), in recording grants to Audichya Brahmans to carry on the worship in an old temple of Udalesvara and in a new temple of Kumārapālesvara built by Kumārapāla son of the great prince Āsapāla,¹ notes that Dadaka was then minister of Siddharāja. Among his generals the best known was a chief named Jagaddeva (Jag Dev), commonly believed to be a Paramāra, many of whose feats of daring are recorded in bardic and popular romances.² Though Jag Dev is generally called a Paramāra nothing of his family is on record. The author of the Prabandhachintāmaṇi describes Jagaddeva as a thrice valiant warrior held in great respect by Siddharāja. After Siddharāja's death Jagaddeva went to serve king Permādi to whose mother's family he was related.³ Permādi gave him a chiefship and sent him to attack Mālava.

When Siddharāja attained manhood his mother prepared to go in great state on pilgrimage to Somanātha. She went with rich offerings as far as Bāhuloda apparently the large modern village of Bholada on the Gujarāt-Kāthiavāda frontier about twenty-two miles south-west of Dholka. At this frontier town the Anahilavāda kings levied a tax on all pilgrims to Somanātha. Many of the pilgrims unable to pay the tax had to return home in tears. Miyānalladevi was so saddened by the woes of the pilgrims that she stopped her pilgrimage and returned home. Siddharāja met her on the way and asked her why she had turned back. Miyānalladevi said, I will neither eat nor go to Somanātha until you order the remission of the pilgrim tax. Siddharāja called the Bholada treasurer and found that the levy yielded 72 lakhs a year.⁴ In spite of the serious sacrifice Siddharāja broke the board authorizing the levy of the tax and pouring water from his hand into his mother's declared that the merit of the remission was hers. The queen went to Somanātha and worshipped the god with gold presenting an elephant and other gifts and handing over her own weight in money.

According to the Prabandhachintāmaṇi while Miyānalladevi and Siddharāja were on pilgrimage Yasovarman king of Mālwa continually harassed the Gurjjara-Mandala. Śāntu who was in charge of the kingdom asked Yasovarman on what consideration he would retire

¹ Āsapāla and Kumārapāla appear to be local chiefs.

² Compare Forbes' *Rās Mālā*, I. 118-153.

³ Gor Kādāmba inscriptions say that Jagaddeva was the cousin of the Gor Kādāmba king Vijayarka the nephew of Miyānalladevi and call him by courtesy the younger brother of Vijayarka's son Jayakesi II. He would seem to have been held in esteem by Vijayarka and his son Jayakesi, to have then gone for some time to Siddharāja, and after leaving Siddharāja to have transferred his services to Permādi. His being called Paramāra may be due to his connection with Permādi. Fleet's *Kanare-Dinasties*, 91.

⁴ Seventy-two a favourite number with Indian authors.

Chapter II.

THE

CHAULUKYAS,
A D 961-1212Siddharāja
Jayasingha,
A D 1091-1143

Yaśovarman said he would retire if Siddharāja gave up to him the merit of the pilgrimage to Someshvara. Santu washed his feet and taking water in his hand surrendered to Yaśovarman the merit of Siddharāja, on which, according to his promise, Yaśovarman retired. On his return Siddharāja asked Santu what he meant by transferring his sovereign's merit to a rival. Santu said, 'If you think my giving Yaśovarman your merit has any importance I restore it to you'. This curious story seems to be a Jain fiction probably invented with the object of casting ridicule on the Brāhmanical doctrine of merit. Yaśovarman was not a cotemporary of Siddharāja. The Malwa king referred to is probably Yaśovarman's predecessor Naravaman, of whom an inscription dated A D 1134 (S 1190) is recorded.

Under the name Sadharo Jesingh, Siddharāja's memory is fresh in Gujarāt as its most powerful, most religious, and most charitable ruler. Almost every old work of architectural or antiquarian interest in Gujarāt is ascribed to Siddharāja. In inscriptions he is styled The great king of kings, The great lord, The great Bhartāraka, The lord of Avantī, The hero of the three worlds, The conqueror of Barbaraka, The universal ruler Siddha, The illustrious Jayasimbadeva. Of these the commonest attributes are Siddhachakravartin the Emperor of Magic and Siddharāja the Lord of Magic, titles which seem to claim for the king divine or supernatural powers¹. In connection with his assumption of these titles the Kumārapālaprabandha, the Dvyaśraya, and the Prabandhachintāmanī tell curious tales. According to the Dvyaśraya, the king wandering by night had subdued the Bhūtas, Sakinis, and other spirits. He had also learnt many *mantras* or charms. From what he saw at night he would call people in the day time and say 'You have such a cause of uneasiness' or 'You have such a comfort'. Seeing that he knew their secrets the people thought that the king knew the hearts of all men and must be the *avatāra* of some god. A second story tells how Siddharāja helped a Nūga prince and princess whom he met by night on the Sarasvatī. According to a third story told in the Kumārapālaprabandha two Yoginis or nymphs came from the Himalayas and asked the king by what mystic powers he justified the use of the title Siddharāja. The king agreed to perform some wonders in open court in the presence of the nymphs. With the help of a former minister, Haripāla, the king had a dagger prepared whose blade was of sugar and its handle of iron set with jewels. When the king appeared in court to perform the promised wonders a deputation of ambassadors from king Permādi of Kalyānakataka² was

¹ Prabandhachintāmanī and Kumārapālacharita.

² Dr. Kiellhorn's Report on Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1881 page 22.

³ The Kumārapālacharita says that the title was assumed on the conquest of Barbaraka. The verse is

सिद्धो बर्बरकथस्य सिद्धराजस्ततोभवत्

that is, by him the demon Barbaraka was vanquished, therefore he became Siddharāja The Lord of Magical Power.

⁴ Ind. Ant. IV 265.

⁵ This Permādi may be the Goa Kādamba chief Permādi Sivachitta (A D 1147-1175), who was heir apparent in the time of Siddharāja, or the Sinda chief Permādi who was a cotemporary of Siddharāja and flourished in A D 1144.

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announced. The deputation entered and presented the prepared dagger as a gift from their lord. The king kept the prepared dagger and in its stead sent all round the court a real dagger which was greatly admired. After the real dagger had been seen and returned the king said 'I will use this dagger to show my mystic powers, and in its place taking the false dagger ate its sugar blade. When the blade was eaten the minister stopped the king and said 'Let the Yoginīs eat the handle. The king agreed and as the Yoginīs failed to eat the handle which was iron the superiority of the king's magic was proved.

A fourth story in the Dvyās'raya tells that when the king was planning an invasion of Málwa a Yoginī came from Ujjain to Patan and said 'O Raja, if you desire great fame, come to Ujjain and humbly entreat Kálīka and other Yoginīs and make friends with Yas'ovarman the Raja of Ujjain'. The king contemptuously dismissed her, saying, 'If you do not fly hence like a female crow, I will cut off your nose and ears with this sword.'

So also the king's acts of prowess and courage were believed to be due to magical aid. According to the common belief Siddharāja did his great acts of heroism by the help of a demon named Bárbaro, whom he is said to have subdued by riding on a corpse in a buying ground. The story in the Piabandhachintāmanī is similar to that told of the father of Haishavardhana who subdued a demon with the help of a Yogī. It is notable that the story had passed into its present form within a hundred years of Siddharāja's death. Somesvara in his Kīrtikaumudī says, 'This moon of kings fettered the prince of goblins Barbaraka in a burial-place, and became known among the crowd of kings as Siddharāja'. Older records show that the origin of the story, at least of the demon's name, is historical being traceable to one of Siddharāja's copperplate attributes Barbaraka-jishnu that is conqueror of Barbaraka. The Dvyās'rayakosha represents this Barbaraka as a leader of Rākshasas or Mlechhas, who troubled the Brāhmins at Ś'isthala-Siddhapura. Jayasinha conquered him and spared his life at the instance of his wife Pingalikā. Afterwards Barbaraka gave valuable presents to Jayasinha and 'served him as other Rajputs'.¹ Barbaraka

¹ Ind. Ant. IV 2. Regarding Barbaraka Doctor Bihler remarks in Ind. Ant. VI 167 'The Varvarakas are one of the non-Aryan tribes which are settled in great numbers in North Gujarat, Koli, Bhil, or Mer'. Siddharāja's contests with the Barbarakas seem to refer to what Tod (Western India, 173 and 195) describes as the mounds of mountaineers and foresters on the plains of Gujarat during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. To attempt to identify Bhut Barbar or Varvar is hazardous. The name Barbar is of great age and is spread from India to Morocco. Wilson (Works, VII 176) says 'The analogy between Barbaras and barbarians is not in sound only. In all Sanskrit authorities Barbaras are classed with borderers and foreigners and nations not Hindu. According to Sir Henry Rawlinson (Ferner's Caravan Journeys, 223 note) tribes of Berbers are found all over the east. Of the age of the word Canon Rawlinson (Herodotus, IV 252) writes 'Barbar seems to be the local name for the early race of Accad. In India Ptolemy (A.D. 150, McCrindle's Edn 146) has a town Barbarei on the Indus and the Pemplus (A.D. 247, McCrindle's Edn 103) has a trade-centre Barbarikon on the middle mouth of the Indus. Among Indian writings, in the Rāmāyana (Hall in Wilson's Works, VII 176 Note *) the Barbaras appear between the Tukhāras and the Kambojas in the north in the Mahābhārata (Muir's Sanskrit Texts, I 481-2) in one list Varvaras are entered between Sivaras and Sakas and in another list (Wilson's Works, VII 176)

seems to be the name of a tribe of non-Aryans whose modern representatives are the Bābarās settled in South Kāthiāwāḍa in the province still known as Bābariāwāḍa

A Dohad inscription of the time of Siddharāja dated A D 1140 (S 1196) says of his frontier wars 'He threw into prison the lords of Surāshtra and Malwa, he destroyed Sindhurāja and other kings, he made the kings of the north bear his commands' The Surāshtra king referred to is probably a ruler of the Ahīr or Chudāsamā tribe

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Barbaras come between Kirāṭas and Siddhas. Finally (As. Res. XV 47 footnote) Barbaras is the northmost of the Seven Konkannas. The names Barbarei in Ptolemy and Barbareken in the Pampus look like some local place name, perhaps Bimbhārī, altered to a Greek form. The Hindu tribe names, from the sameness in sound as well as from their position on the north west border of India, suggest the Mongol tribe Juān Juān or Var Var known to the western nations as Avārs, who drove the Little Yuechi out of Balkh in the second half of the fourth century, and, for about a hundred years, ruled to the north and perhaps also to the south of the Hindu Kush. (Specht in Journal Asiatique 1889 II 390-410, Howorth in Jour. R. A. S. XXI 721-810) It seems probable that some of these Var Vars passed south either before or along with the White Hunas (A D 450-550). Var, under its Mongol plural form Avarti (Howorth, *Ibid.* 722), closely resembles Avaritva one of the two main divisions of the Kathis of Kacch (Mr. Erskine's List in J. Bom. Geo. Soc. II 59-60 for Aug. 1838). That among the forty seven clans included under the Avartiyas four (Nos. 30, 35, 42, and 43) are Bābariyas, suggests that the Kathis received additions from the Var Vars at different times and places. Dr. Bühler (Ind. Ant. VI 186) thinks that the Babaro or Barbar or Var-Var who gave trouble to Siddharāja represent some early local non-Aryan tribe. The fact that they are called Rākshasas and Mlecchas and that they stopped the ceremonies at Siddhpur north of Anahilavāḍa seems rather to point to a foreign invasion from the north than to a local uprising of hill tribes. Though no Muhammadan invasion of Gujarat during the reign of Siddharāja is recorded a Jesalmir legend (Forbes' *Rās Mālu*, I 755) tells how Lanza Bijraio the Bhatti prince who married Siddharāja's daughter was hailed by his mother in law as the bulwark of Anahilavāḍa against the power of the king who grows too strong. This king may be Bāhalim the Indian viceroy of the Ghaznavid Bahrām Shāh (A D 1116-1157). Bāhalim (Elliot, II 279, Briggs' *Perista*, I 161) collected an army of Arabs, Persians, Afghāns, and Khuljis, repaired the fort of Nāgor in the province of Sewalik, and committed great devastations in the territories of the independent Indian rulers. He threw off allegiance to Ghazni and advancing to meet Bahrām Shāh near Multān was defeated and slain. Except that they were northerners and that Bāhalim's is the only known invasion from the north during Siddharāja's reign nothing has been found connecting Barbaras and Bāhalim. At the same time that the Barbar or Var-Var of the Gujarat writers may have been non-Hindu mercenaries from the north west frontier whom Siddharāja admitted as Hindu subjects is made not unlikely by two incidents preserved by the Muhammadan historians. The *Tārīkh-i-Sorāth* (Bayley's *Gujarat*, 35 Note *) tells how in A D 1178 from the defeated army of Shāhāb-ud-dīn Ghori the Turkish Afghān and Moghal women were distributed the higher class to high caste and the commoner to low caste Hindus. Similarly how the better class of male captives were admitted among Chakāval and Wadhāl Rayputs and the lower among Khānts, Kolis, Bābaras, and Mers. Again about thirty years later (A D 1210) when his Turk mercenaries, who were not converted to Islām, revolted against Shamsu ud-dīn Altamsh they seized Delhi and built Hindu temples (Elliot, II 237-239). These cases seem to make it likely that among Bāhalim's mercenaries were some un-Islamised North Indian Var Vars and that they were admitted into Hinduism by Siddharāja and as the story states served him as other Rayputs. Some of the new comers as noted above seem to have merged into the Kathis. Others founded or joined the Bābaras who gave their name to Bābariāwāḍa a small division in the south of Kāthiāwāḍa. Though the tribe is now small the 72 divisions of the Bābarās show that they were once important. One of their leading divisions preserves the early form Var (Kāthiawār Gazetteer, 132-133) and supports their separate northern origin, which is forgotten in the local stories that they are descended from Jetvas and Ahirs and have a Brāhman element in their ancestry (Tod's *Western India*, 413, Kāthiawār Gazetteer, 132-123). Of the Var Vars in their old seats a somewhat doubtful trace remains in the Barbaras a tribe of Hazārās near Herat (Bellow in *Imp. and As. Quar. Review* Oct. 1891 page 328) and in the Panjāb (Ibbetson's *Census*, 538) Bhābras a class of Panjāb Jains.

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whose head-quarters were at Junágadh. According to the Prabandha-chintāmaṇi Siddharāja went in person to subdue Noghan or Navaghani the Ahīr ruler of Surāshtra, he came to Vardhamānapura that is Vadhvan and from Vadhvan attacked and slew Noghan. Jinaprabhasūri the author of the Tīrthakalpa says of Gīrnār that Jayasīngha killed the king named Khengār and made one Sajjana his viceroy in Surāshtra. So many traditions remain regarding wars with Khengār that it seems probable that Siddharāja led separate expeditions against more than one king of that name. According to tradition the origin of the war with Khengār was a woman named Rānakadevī whom Khengāra had married. Rānakadevī was the daughter of a potter of Majevādi village about nine miles north of Junágadh, so famous for her beauty that Siddharāja determined to marry her. Meanwhile she had accepted an offer from Khengār whose subject she was and had married him. Siddharāja enraged at her marriage advanced against Khengār, took him prisoner, and annexed Sorath. That Khengār's kingdom was annexed and Sajjana, mentioned by Jinaprabhasūri, was appointed Viceroy is proved by a Gīrnār inscription dated A.D. 1120 (S. 1176).

An era called the Simha Samvatsara connected with the name of Jayasīngha and beginning with A.D. 1113-1114 (S. 1169-70), occurs in several inscriptions found about Prabhāsa and South Kāthiavāda. This era was probably started in that year in honour of this conquest of Khengār and Sorath.¹ The earliest known mention of the Simha Samvatsara era occurs in a step-well at Māngrol called the Sodhah Vāv. The inscription is of the time of Kumārāpāla and mentions Sahajiga the father of Mūlaka the grantor as a member of the bodyguard of the Chālukyas. The inscription states that Sahajiga had several sons able to protect Saurāshtra, one of whom was Somarāja who built the temple of Sahajigeśvara, in the enclosure of the Somanātha temple at Prabhāsa, another was Mūlaka the *nāyaka* of Surāshtra, who is recorded to have made grants for the worship of the god by establishing cesses in Mangalapura or Māngrol and other places. The inscription is dated A.D. 1146 (Monday the 13th of the dark half of Āśvīn Vikrama S. 1202 and Simha S. 32). This inscription supports the view that the Simha era was established by Jayasīngha, since if the era belonged to some other local chief, no Chālukya viceroy would adopt it. The Simha era appears to have been kept up in Gujarāt so long as Anahilapura rule lasted. The well known Verāval inscription of the time of Arjunadeva is dated Hijri 662, Vikrama S. 1320, Valabhi S. 945, Simha S. 151, Sunday the 13th of Āshādha Vadi. This inscription shows that the Simha era was in use for a century and a half during the sovereignty of Anahilavāda in Surāshtra.

Regarding Sajjana Siddharāja's first viceroy in Surāshtra, the Prabandha-chintāmaṇi says that finding him worthy the king appointed Sajjana the *dandādhipati* of Surāshtradeśa. Without consulting his master Sajjana spent three years' revenue in building a stone temple of

¹ Abhyatīlaka Ganī who revised and completed the Dvyāśraya in Vikrama S. 1312 (A.D. 1256) says, in his twentieth Sarga, that a new era was started by Kumārāpāla. This would seem to refer to the Simha era.

Neminátha on Girnár instead of a wooden temple which he removed. In the fourth year the king sent four officers to bring Sajjana to Anahilaváda. The king called on Sajjana to pay the revenues of the past three years. In reply Sajjana asked whether the king would prefer the revenue in cash or the merit which had accrued from spending the revenue in building the temple. Preferring the merit the king sanctioned the spending of the revenues on the Tírtha and Sajjana was reappointed governor of Sorath.¹ This stone temple of Sajjana would seem to be the present temple of Neminatha, though many alterations have been made in consequence of Muhammadan sacrilege and a modern enclosure has been added. The inscription of Sajjana which is dated A D 1120 (S 1176) is on the inside to the right in passing to the small south gate. It contains little but the mention of the Sádhu who was Sajjana's constant adviser. On his return from a second pilgrimage to Somanátha Siddharája who was encamped near Raivataka that is Girnár expressed a wish to see Sajjana's temple. But the Bráhmans envious of the Jains persuaded the king that as Girnár was shaped like a *ling* it would be sacrilege to climb it. Siddharája respected this objection and worshipped at the foot of the mountain. From Girnár he went to Śatruñjaya. Here too Bráhmans with drawn swords tried to prevent the king ascending the hill. Siddharája went in disguise at night, worshipped the Jain god Ádis'vara with Ganges water, and granted the god twelve neighbouring villages. On the hill he saw so luxuriant a growth of the *śallakī* a plant dear to elephants, that he proposed to make the hill a breeding place for elephants a second Vindhya. He was reminded what damage wild elephants would cause to the holy place and for this reason abandoned his plan.

Siddharája's second and greater war was with Málwa. The cotemporary kings of Málwa were the Paramára ruler Naravarman who flourished from A D 1104 to 1133 (S. 1160-1189) and his son and successor Yaśovarman who ruled up to A D 1143 (S 1199) the year of Siddharája's death. As the names of both these kings occur in different accounts of this war, and, as the war is said to have lasted twelve years, it seems that fighting began in the time of Naravarman and that Siddharája's final victory was gained in the time of Yaśovarman in Siddharája's old age about A D 1134 (S 1190). This view is supported by the local story that his expedition against Yaśovarman was undertaken while Siddharája was building the Sahasralinga lake and other religious works. It is not known how the war arose but the statement of the Prabandhachintámanī that Siddharája vowed to make a scabbard of Yaśovarman's skin seems to show that Siddharája received grave provocation. Siddharája is said to have left the building of the Sahasralinga lake to the masons and architects and himself to have

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¹ The Kumárapálacharita states that Sajjana died before the temple was finished, and that the temple was completed by his son Paraśuráma. After the temple was finished Siddharája is said to have come to Somanátha and asked Paraśuráma for the revenues of Sorath. But on seeing the temple on Girnár he was greatly pleased, and on finding that it was called Karna-vihára after his father he sanctioned the outlay on the temple.

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A.D. 961-1242Siddharāja
Jayasingha,
A.D. 1024-1143

started for Málwa. The war dragged on and there seemed little hope of victory when news reached Siddharāja that the three south gates of Dhárā could be forced. With the help of an elephant an entrance was effected. Yaśovarman was captured and bound with six ropes, and, with his captured enemy as his banner of victory, Siddharāja returned to Anahilapura. He remembered his vow, but being prevented from carrying it out, he took a little of Yaśovarman's skin and adding other skin to it made a scabbard. The captured king was thenceforward kept in a cage. It was this complete conquest and annexation of Málwa that made Siddharāja assume the style of Avantínátha 'Lord of Avantī,' which is mentioned as his *biruda* or title in most of the Chalukya copperplates.¹ Málwa henceforward remained subject to Anahilaváda. On the return from Málwa an army of Bhíls who tried to block the way were attacked by the minister Sántu and put to flight.

Siddharāja's next recorded war is with king Madanavarman the Chandela king of Mahobaka the modern Mahobá in Bundelkhand. Madanavarman, of whom General Cunningham has found numerous inscriptions dating from A.D. 1130 to 1164 (S. 1186-1220),² was one of the most famous kings of the Chandela dynasty. An inscription of one of his successors in Kálanjar fort records that Madanavarman 'in an instant defeated the king of Gurjara, as Krishna in former times defeated Kamsa,'³ a statement which agrees with the Gujarát accounts of the war between him and Jayasimha. In this conflict the Gujarát accounts do not seem to show that Siddharāja gained any great victory, he seems to have been contented with a money present. The Kírtikaumudí states that the king of Mahobaka honoured Siddharāja as his guest and paid a fine and tribute by way of hospitality. The account in the Kumárapálacharita suggests that Siddharāja was compelled to come to terms and make peace. According to the Kírtikaumudí, and this seems likely, Siddharāja went from Dhárā to Kálanjara. The account in the Prabandhachintámam is very confused. According to the Kumárapálacharita, on Siddharāja's way back from Dhárā at his camp near Patan a bard came to the court and said to the king that his court was as wonderful as the court of Madanavarman. The bard said that Madanavarman was the king of the city of Mahobaka and most clever, wise, liberal, and pleasure-loving. The king sent a courtier to test the truth of the bard's statement. The courtier returned after six months declaring that the bard's account was in no way exaggerated. Hearing this Siddharāja at once started against Mahobaka and encamping within sixteen miles of the city sent his minister to summon Madanavarman to surrender. Madanavarman who was enjoying himself took little notice of the minister. This king, he said, is the same who had to fight twelve years with Dhárā, if, as is probable, since he is a *kabádi* or wild king, he wants money, pay him what he wants. The money

¹ Ind. Ant. VI. 191ff. Dr. Bühler (Ditto) takes Avantínátha to mean Siddharāja's opponent the king of Malwa and not Siddharāja himself.

² Archaeological Survey Report, XXI. 86

³ Jour. B. A. Soc. (1849), 319

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was paid. But Siddharāja was so struck with Madanavarman's indifference that he would not leave until he had seen him. Madanavarman agreed to receive him. Siddharāja went with a large bodyguard to the royal garden which contained a palace and enclosed pleasure-house and was guarded by troops. Only four of Siddharāja's guards were allowed to enter. With these four men Siddharāja went in, was shown the palace garden and pleasure-houses by Madanavarman, was treated with great hospitality, and on his return to Patan was given a guard of 120 men.

The Dvyāstraya says that after his conquest of Ujjain Siddharāja seized and imprisoned the king of a neighbouring country named Sun. We have no other information on this point.

The Dohad inscription dated A D 1140 mentions the destruction of Sindhuraja that is the king of Sindh and other kings. The Kīrtikaumudī also mentions the binding of the lord of Sindhu. Nothing is known regarding the Sindh war. The Kīrtikaumudī mentions that after a war with Arnorāja king of Sāmbhar Siddharāja gave his daughter to Arnorāja. This seems to be a mistake as the war and alliance with Arnorāja belong to Kumārapāla's reign.

Siddharāja, who like his ancestors was a Śaiva, showed his zeal for the faith by constructing the two grandest works in Gujarāt the Rudramahālaya at Siddhpur and the Sahasralinga lake at Patan. The Jain chroniclers always try to show that Siddharāja was favourably inclined to Jainism. But several of his acts go against this claim and some even show a dislike of the Jains. It is true that the Jain sage Hemāchārya lived with the king, but the king honoured him as a scholar rather than as a Jain. On the occasion of the pilgrimage to Somanātha the king offered Hemāchārya a palanquin, and, as he would not accept the offer but kept on walking, the king blamed him calling him a learned fool with no worldly wisdom. Again on one occasion while returning from Mālwa Siddharāja encamped at a place called Śrīnagara, where the people had decorated their temples with banners in honour of the king. Finding a banner floating over a Jain temple the king asked in anger who had placed it there, as he had forbidden the use of banners on Jain shrines and temples in Gujarāt. On being told that it was a very old shrine dating from the time of Bharata, the king ordered that at the end of a year the banner might be replaced. This shows the reverse of a leaning to Jainism. Similarly, according to the Prabandhachintāmanī, Hemāchārya never dared to speak to the king in favour of Jainism but used to say that all religions were good. This statement is supported by the fact that the opening verses of all works written by Hemāchārya in the time of Siddharāja contain no special praise of Jain deities.

So great is Siddharāja's fame as a builder that almost every old work in Gujarāt is ascribed to him. Tradition gives him the credit of the Dabhoi fort which is of the time of the Vāghelā king Viradhavala, A D 1220-1260. The Prabandhachintāmanī gives this old verse regarding Siddharāja's public works 'No one makes a great temple (Rudramahālaya), a great pilgrimage (to Somanātha), a great Āsthāna (darbār hall), or a great lake (Sahasralinga)

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A.D. 551-1242
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A.D. 1143-1174

king of Śākambhari or Śāmbhar, the Ānalladeva of the Hamnira-mahakavya Kumārāpāla himself was married by his father to one Bhupāladevī. According to the Dvyāsraya, Tribhuvanapāla was on good terms with Siddharāja serving him and going with him to war. The Kumārāpālacharita also states that Kumārāpāla used to attend the court of Siddharāja. But from the time he came to feel that he would have no son and that the bastard Kumārāpāla would succeed him Siddharāja became embittered against Kumārāpāla. According to the Jain chronicles Siddharāja was told by the god Somanātha, by the sage Hemachandra, by the goddess Ambikā of Kodinār,¹ and by astrologers that he would have no son and that Kumārāpāla would be his successor. According to the Kumārāpālacharita so bitter did his hate grow that Siddharāja planned the death of Tribhuvanapāla and his family including Kumārāpāla. Tribhuvanapāla was murdered but Kumārāpāla escaped. Grieved at this proof of the king's hatred Kumārāpāla consulted his brother-in-law Krishnadeva who advised him to leave his family at Dahithālī and go into exile promising to keep him informed of what went on at Anahilapura. Kumārāpāla left in the disguise of a *jatādhārī* or recluse and escaped the assassins whom the king had ordered to slay him. After some time Kumārāpāla returned and in spite of his disguise was recognized by the guards. They informed the king who invited all the ascetics in the city to a dinner. Kumārāpāla came but noticing that the king recognized him in spite of his disguise, he fled. The king sent a trusted officer with a small force in pursuit. Kumārāpāla persuaded some husbandmen, the chief of whom was Bhīma-mha, to hide him in a heap of thorns. The pursuers failing to find him returned. At night Kumārāpāla was let out bleeding from the thorns, and promised the husbandmen that the day would come when their help would be rewarded. He then shaved his topknot or *jatā* and while travelling met with a lady named Devaśrī of Udambara village who pitying him took him into her chariot and gave him food. Kumārāpāla promised to regard her as a sister. He then came to Dahithālī where the royal troops had already arrived. Siddharāja sent an army which invested the village leaving Kumārāpāla without means of escape. He went to a potter named Sayana or Alīnga who hid him in the flues of his brick-kiln throwing hay over him. The troops searched the village, failed to find Kumārāpāla, and retired. The potter then helped Kumārāpāla from his hiding place and fed him. A former friend named Bosarī joined Kumārāpāla and they went away together Kumārāpāla commending his family to the care of Sayana. On the first day they had no food. Next day Bosarī went to beg and they together ate the food given to Bosarī in a monastery or *math* where they slept. In time they came to Cambay where they called upon Hemachārya and asked him their future. Hemachārya knew and recognized Kumārāpāla. Kumārāpāla asked when fate would bless him. Before Hemachārya

¹ Kodinār is a town in Gāndhār territory in Sout'ā Kāśhā āda. This temple of Ambikā is recorded as a place of Jain pilgrimage by the sage Jinaprabhāsurī in his Tribhakti and was a well known Jain shrine during the Anāhila āda period.

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THE

CHAUUKYAS,
A.D. 961-1242Kumárapála,
A.D. 1143-1174.

On his accession Kumárapála installed his wife Bhopaladeví his anointed queen or *pattaráni*, appointed Udayana who had befriended him at Cambay minister, Báhada or Vágbhata son of Udayana¹ chief councillor or *mahámátya*, and Alinga second councillor or *mahápradhána* Áhada or Arabhatta, apparently another son of Udayana, did not acknowledge Kumárapála and went over to Arnorāja Ánaka or Ano king of Sapádalaksha or the Sámbar territory who is probably the same as the Analladeva of the Hammíramahákavya²

The potter Sajjana was rewarded with a grant of seven hundred villages near Chitrakúta or Chitoda fort in Rájputána, and the author of the Prabandhachintámam notices that in his time the descendants of the potter ashamed of their origin called themselves descendants of Sagara Bhímasimha who had Kumárapála in the thorns was appointed head of the bodyguard, Devaśrī made the sister's mark on the royal forehead at the time of Kumárapála's installation and was granted the village of Devayo,³ and Katuka the Vániá of Baroda, who had given Kumárapála parched gram was granted the village of Vaṭapadra or Baroda Bosari Kumárapála's chief companion was given Látamandala, which seems to mean that he was appointed viceroy of Lata or South Gujarát

Kanhada or Krishnadeva Kumárapála's brother-in-law and adviser overvaluing his great services became arrogant and disobedient insulting the king in open court As remonstrance was of no avail the king had Krishnadeva waylaid and beaten by a band of athletes and taken almost dying to his wife the king's sister From this time all the state officers were careful to show ready obedience

The old ministry saw that under so capable and well served a ruler their power was gone They accordingly planned to slay the king and place their own nominee on the throne The king heard of the plot secured the assassins and employed them in murdering the conspirators According to the Prabandhachintámam, Áhada or Arabhatta who had gone over to the Sámbar king and was in charge of the Sámbar infantry, bribed the local nobles as a preliminary to a war which he had planned against Kumárapála. He so far succeeded as to bring Ána or Ánaka the Sámbar king with the whole of his army to the borders of Gujarát to fight Kumárapála⁴ Kumárapála went to meet Ánaka But, in consequence of intrigues, in the battle that followed the Gujarát army did not obey orders Kumárapála advanced in front on an elephant, and Bahada trying to climb on Kumárapála's elephant was thrown to the ground and slain Ánaka was also pierced with arrows and the Sámbar army was defeated and plundered of its horses⁴

¹ The Kumárapálaprabandha says that Udayana was appointed minister and Vágbhata general. Solli the youngest son of Udayana did not take part in politics

² Kirtane's Hammíramahákavya, 13

³ Dhavalakka or Dholka according to the Kumárapálaprabandha.

⁴ According to the Kumárapálacharita Kumárapála's sister who was married to Ána having heard her husband speak slightly of the kings of Gujarát took offence, resented the language, and banded words with her husband who beat her She came to her brother and incited him to make an expedition against her husband.

The *Dyaśraya*, probably by the aid of the author's imagination, gives a fuller account of this war. One fact of importance recorded in the *Dyaśraya* is that *Ānaka* though defeated was not slain, and, to bring hostilities to an end, gave his daughter *Jalhanā* to *Kumārapāla* in marriage. The *Kumārapālacharita* calls the *Sāmbhar* king *Ānorāja* and says that it was *Kumārapāla* who invaded the *Sāmbhar* territory. According to this account *Kumārapāla* went to *Chandrāvatī* near *Ābu* and taking its *Paramāra* king *Vikramasimha* with him marched to *Śākambhari* or *Sāmbhar* and fought *Ānorāja* who was defeated but not killed. *Kumārapāla* threatened to cut out *Ānorāja's* tongue but let him go on condition that his people wore a headdress with a tongue on each side. *Ānorāja* is said to have been confined in a cage for three days and then reinstalled as *Kumārapāla's* feudatory. *Vikramasimha* of *Chandrāvatī*, who in the battle had sided with *Ānorāja*, was punished by being disgraced before the assembled seventy-two feudatories at *Anahilavāda* and was sent to prison, his throne being given to his nephew *Yaśodhavalā*. After his victory over *Ānorāja* *Kumārapāla* fought, defeated, and, according to the *Mṛtikaumudī*, beheaded *Balkāla* king of *Mālwa* who had invaded *Gujarāt*. The result of this contest seems to have been to reduce *Mālwa* to its former position of dependence on the *Anahilavāda* kings. More than one inscription of *Kumārapāla's* found in the temple of *Udayāditya* as far north as *Udayapura* near *Bhilsa* shows that he conquered the whole of *Mālwa*, as the inscriptions are recorded by one who calls himself *Kumārapāla's* general or *dandanāyaka*.

Another of *Kumārapāla's* recorded victories is over *Mallikārjuna* said to be king of the *Konkan* who we know from published lists of the North *Konkan* *Śilāhāras* flourished about A.D. 1160. The author of the *Prabandhachintāmanī* says this war arose from a bard of king *Mallikārjuna* speaking of him before king *Kumārapāla* as *Rūgapitāmaha* or grandfather of kings³. *Kumārapāla* annoyed at so arrogant a title looked around. *Āmbadā*,⁴ one of the sons of *Udayana*, divining the king's meaning, raised his folded hands to his forehead and expressed his readiness to fight *Mallikārjuna*. The king sent him with an army which marched to the *Konkan* without halting. At the crossing of the *Kalāvinī*⁵ it was met and defeated by *Mallikārjuna*. *Āmbadā* returned in disgrace and shrouding himself his umbrella and his tents in crape retreated to *Anahilavāda*. The king finding *Āmbadā* though humiliated ready to make a second venture gave him a larger and better appointed force. With this army *Āmbadā* again started for the *Konkan*, crossed the *Kalāvinī*, attacked *Mallikārjuna*, and in a hand-to-hand fight

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THE
CHAULUKYAS,
A.D. 961-1242.
Kumārapāla,
A.D. 1143-1174.

¹ The *Dyaśraya* does not say that *Kumārapāla's* sister was married to *A'na*.

² This was a common title of the *Śilāhāra* kings. Compare *Bombay Gazetteer*, XIII 437 note 1.

³ *Āmbadā* is his proper name. It is found Sanskritised into *Āmrabhata* and *Ambaka*.

⁴ This is the *Kāverī* river which flows through *Chikhli* and *Balsār*. The name in the text is very like *Karabēnā* the name of the same river in the *Nāsik* cave inscriptions (*Bom Gaz* XVI. 571). *Kalāvinī* and *Karabēnā* being Sanskritised forms of the original *Kāverī*. Perhaps the *Kaverī* is the *Akabarou* of the *Periplus* (A.D. 247).

Chapter II

THE

CHAUHANAS

A.D. 911-1232

Kumārāpāla

A.D. 1113-1176

climbed his elephant and cut off his head. This head cased in gold with other trophies of the war he presented to the king on his triumphant return to Anahilapura. The king was greatly pleased and gave Āmbada the title of *Rājapitāmaha*. Of this Mallikārjuna two stone inscriptions have been found one at Chuplān dated A.D. 1156 (Saka 1078) the other at Bassem dated A.D. 1160 (Saka 1082). If the story that Mallikārjuna was slain is true the war must have taken place during the two years between A.D. 1160 and 1162 (Saka 1082, 1081) which latter is the earliest known date of Mallikārjuna's successor Aparāditya.

The Kumārāpālacharita also records a war between Kumārāpāla and Samara king of Surāshtra or south Kāthiāváda, the Gujarāt army being commanded by Kumārāpāla's minister Udayana. The Prabandhachintāmanī gives Sausara as the name of the Surāshtra king¹ possibly he was some Gohilvād Mēhi chief. Udayana came with the army to Vadhvān, and letting it advance went to Pālitāna. While he was worshipping at Pālitāna, a mouse carried away the burning wick of the lamp. Reflecting on the risk of fire in a wooden temple Udayana determined to rebuild the temple of stone. In the fight with Sausara the Gujarāt army was defeated and Udayana was mortally wounded². Before Udayana died he told his sons that he had meant to repair the temple of Ādiśvara on Satruñjaya and the Sakumikā Vihāra at Broach and also to build steps up the west face of Ginnār. His sons Bāhada and Āmbadā promised to repair the two shrines. Subsequently both shrines were restored, Kumārāpāla and Hemachārya and the council of Anahilapura attending at the installation of Suvrittinātha in the Sakumikā Vihara. The Ginnār steps were also cut, according to more than one inscription in A.D. 1166 (S. 1222)³. This war and Udayana's death must have occurred about A.D. 1149 (S. 1205) as the temple of Ādinātha was finished in A.D. 1156-57 (S. 1211). Bāhada also established near Satruñjaya a town called Bāhadapura and adorned it with a temple called Tribhuvanapalavasati⁴. After the fight with Sausara Kumārāpāla was threatened with another war by Karna king of Dāhala or Chedi. Spies informed the king of the

¹ Sausara or Fusar seems the original form from which Samara was Sanskritised. Fusar corresponds with the Mēhi name Chāchar.

² The Kumārāpālacharita says that Samara was defeated and his son placed on the throne.

³ The translation of the inscription runs: Steps made by the venerable Āmbaka, Samvat 1222. According to the Kumārāpālprabandha the steps were built at a cost of a lakh of *drasmas*, a *dramma* being of the value of about 5 *annas*. According to the Prabandhachintāmanī an earthquake occurred when the king was at Ginnār on his way to Fomānātha. The old ascent of Ginnār was from the north called *Chhatrasulā* that is the umbrella or overhanging rock. Hemachārya said if two persons went up together the *Chhatra* or rock would fall and crush them. So the king ordered Āmabhatta to build steps on the west or Sunyagadh face at a cost of 65 lakhs of *drasmas*.

⁴ The site of Bāhadapura seems to be the ruins close to the east of Pālitāna where large quantities of conch shell bangles and pieces of brick and tile have been found.

This could appear to be the Kalachuri king Gayā Karna whose inscription is dated 902 of the Chedi era that is A.D. 1152. As the earliest known inscription of Gayā Karna is that of Narasimha-deva dated A.D. 1157 (Chedi 907) the death of Gayā Karna falls between A.D. 1152 and 1157 in the reign of Kumārāpāla and the story of his being a child ally concluded may be true.

impending invasion as he was starting on a pilgrimage to Somanátha. Next day he was relieved from anxiety by the news that while sleeping on an elephant at night king Karna's necklace became entangled in the branch of a banyan tree, and the elephant suddenly running away, the king was strangled.

The Prabandhachintámam records an expedition against Sámabhai which was entrusted to Cháhada a younger brother of Báhada. Though Cháhada was known to be extravagant, the king liked him, and after giving him advice placed him in command. On reaching Sámabhai Cháhada invested the fort of Bábránagar but did not molest the people as on that day 700 brides had to be married¹. Next day the fort was entered, the city was plundered, and the supremacy of Kumárapála was proclaimed. This Bábránagar has not been identified. There appears to be some confusion and the place may not be in Sámabhar but in Bábariávada in Káthiávada. Cháhada returned triumphant to Patan. The king expressed himself pleased but blamed Cháhada for his lavish expenditure and conferred on him the title of *Rája-gharatta* the King-grinder.

Though the Gujarát chronicles give no further details an inscription in the name of Kumárapála in a temple at Udepui near Bhilsa dated A.D. 1166 records that on Monday, *Akshaya tṛtīyā* the 3rd of Vaiśákh Sud (S. 1222), Thakkara Cháhada granted half the village of Sangaváda in the Rangáriká district or *bhukti*. Just below this inscription is a second also bearing the name of Kumárapála. The year is lost. But the occasion is said to be an eclipse on Thursday the 15th of Pausli Sudh when a gift was made to the god of Udayapura by Yasodhavalá the viceroy of Kumárapála².

¹ So many marriages on one day points to the people being either Kádva Kunbis or Bharyads among whom the custom of holding all marriages on the same day still prevails.

² The text of the inscription is

- (1) . . . पौषसुदीगुरौ अग्नेह श्रीमदण-
- (2) हिलपाटके [समस्त] राजावलीविराजितपरमभट्टारकमहा-
- (3) [राजधिराजनिर्जित] साकमरीभूपालश्रीमदवन्तिनाथश्रीमत्कु-
- (4) [मारपाल] . नियुक्तमहामात्यश्रीजसोधव—
- (5) ल श्रीकरणादौ समस्तमुद्राव्यापारान्परिपन्थयतीत्येव
- (6) काले [प्रवर्तमाने महाराजा] धिराजश्रीकुमारपालदेवेन विज
- (7) . . . श्रीमदुदयपुरो . . रोचकान्वये महाराज—
- (8) पुत्र . . . महाराजपुत्रवसन्तपाल एव अन
- (9) . . . लिखिता यात्रा । अथ सोमग्रहणपर्वणि
- (10) . . . लयवने समाहृततीर्थोदके स्नात्वा जगद्गु
- (11) . . . सुखपुण्यजयवृद्धये उदयपुरकारि
- (12) . . . कारापित देवश्री

Chapter II

THE
CHALUKYAS,
A.D. 951-1242
Kumárapála,
A.D. 1143-1174

Similar inscriptions of Kumárapála's time and giving his name occur near the ruined town of Kerádu or Kiráta-Kúpa near Bálmer in Western Rájputána. The inscriptions show that Kumárapála had another *Amátya* or minister there, and that the kings of the country round Kerádu had been subject to Gujarát since the time of Siddharája Jayasimha. Finally the inscription of Kumárapála found by Colonel Tod in a temple of Brahma on the pinnacle of Chitoda fort¹ shows that his conquests extended as far as Mewáda.

According to the Kumárapálachint'mani Kumárapála married one Padmávatí of Padmapura. The chronicler describes the city as to the west of the Indus. Perhaps the lady belonged to Padmapura a large town in Kashmír. Considering his greatness as a king and conqueror the historical record of Kumárapála is meagre and incomplete. Materials may still come to light which will show his power to have been surprisingly widespread.

Mr. Forbes² records the following Bráhmanical tradition of a Mewáda queen of Kumárapála, which has probably been intentionally omitted by the Jain chroniclers.

Kumárapála, says the Bráhman tradition, had wedded a Sisodaní Ráni, a daughter of the house of Mewáda. At the time that the sword went for her the Sisodaní heard that the Rája had made a vow that his wives should receive initiation into the Jain religion at Hemáchárya's convent before entering the palace. The Ráni refused to start for Patan until she was satisfied she would not be called on to visit the Áchárya's convent. Jayadeva Kumárapála's household bard became surety and the queen consented to go to Anahilapura. Several days after her arrival Hemáchárya said to the Rája 'The Sisodaní Ráni has never come to visit me.' Kumárapála told her she must go. The Ráni refused and fell ill, and the bard's wives went to see her. Hearing her story they disguised her as one of themselves and brought her privately home to their house. At night the bard dug a hole in the wall of the city, and taking the Ráni through the hole started with her for Mewáda. When Kumárapála became aware of the Ráni's flight he set off in pursuit with two thousand horse. He came up with the fugitives about fifteen miles from the fort of Idar. The bard said to the Ráni, 'If you can enter Idar you are safe. I have two hundred horse with me. As long as a man of us remains no one shall lay hands on you.' So saying he turned upon his pursuers. But the Ráni's courage failed and she slew herself in the carriage. As the fight went on and the pursuers forced their way to the carriage, the maids cried 'Why struggle more, the Ráni is dead.' Kumárapála and his men returned home.³

The Paramára chiefs of Chandrávatí near A'bu were also feudatories of Kumárapála. It has been noted that to punish him for siding with Arnorája of Sámbar Kumárapála placed Vikrama Simha the Chandrávatí chief in confinement and set Vikrama's

¹ Annals of Rájasthan, I 803² Rás Málá (New Edition), 154.³ Rás Málá (New Edition), 154.

nephew Yaśodhavalā on his throne. That Kumārapāla conquered the chiefs of Sāmbhar and Mālwa is beyond question. Among his names is the proud title Avantī-natha Lord of Mālwa.

The Kumārapālaprabandha gives the following limits of Kumārapāla's sway. The Turushkas or Turks on the north, the heavenly Ganges on the east, the Vindhya mountains on the south, the Sindhu river on the west.¹ Though in tradition Kumārapāla's name does not stand so high as a builder as the name of Siddharāja Jayasimha he carried out several important works. The chief of these was the restoring and rebuilding of the great shrine of Someśvara or Somanātha Patan. According to the Prabandhachintāmaṇi when Kumārapāla asked Devasūri the teacher of Hemāchārya how best to keep his name remembered Devasūri replied. Build a new temple of Somanātha fit to last an age or *yuga*, instead of the wooden one which is ruined by the ocean billows. Kumārapāla approved and appointed a building committee or *pañchakula* headed by a Brāhman named Ganda Bhāva Brihaspati the state officer at Somanātha. At the instance of Hemāchārya the king on hearing the foundations were laid vowed until the temple was finished he would keep apart from women and would take neither flesh nor wine. In proof of his vow he poured a handful of water over Nīlakantha Mahādeva, probably his own royal god. After two years the temple was completed and the flag hoisted. Hemāchārya advised the king not to break his vow until he had visited the new temple and paid his obeisance to the god. The king agreed and went to Somanātha, Hemāchārya preceding him on foot and promising to come to Somanātha after visiting Satruñjaya and Gīrnār. On reaching Somanātha the king was received by Ganda-Brihaspati his head local officer and by the building committee, and was taken in state through the town. At the steps of the temple the king bowed his head to the ground. Under the directions of Ganda-Brihaspati he worshipped the god, made gifts of elephants and other costly articles including his own weight in coin, and returned to Anahilapura.

It is interesting to know that the present battered sea-shore temple of Somanātha, whose *garbhagāra* or shrine has been turned into a mosque and whose spire has been shattered, is the temple of whose building and consecration the above details are preserved. This is shown by the style of the architecture and sculpture which is in complete agreement with the other buildings of the time of Kumārapāla.²

Chapter II.

THE

CHAULUKYAS,
A.D. 961-1242,
Kumārapāla,
A.D. 1143-1174.

¹ The text is

य० कौवेरीमा तुरुक्कमैन्द्रीमा त्रिदिवापगा

याम्यामा विन्ध्यमा सिन्धु पश्चिमा यो हासाक्षपत्

² It is also interesting, if there is a foundation of fact to the tale, that this is the temple visited by the Persian poet Sa'adi (A.D. 1200-1230) when he saw the ivory idol of Somanātha whose arms were raised by a hidden priest pulling a cord. According to Sa'adi on pretence of conversion he was admitted behind the shrine, discovered the cord-puller, threw him into a well, and fled. Compare Journal Royal Asiatic Society Bengal VII-2 pages 885-886. That Sa'adi ever visited Somanātha is doubtful. No ivory human image can ever have been the chief object of worship at Somanātha.

Chapter II

THE

CHAUHANAS,
A.D. 1241-1242Kumārāpāla,
A.D. 1143-1174

Kumārāpāla's temple seems to have suffered in every subsequent Muhammadan invasion, in Alaf Khan's in A.D. 1300, in Mozaffar's in A.D. 1320, in Mahmūd Begada's about A.D. 1490, and in Muzaffar II's about A.D. 1530. Time after time no sooner had the invader passed than the work of repair began afresh. One of the most notable restorations was by Khengā IV (A.D. 1279-1333) a Chudasama king of Junāgadh who is mentioned in two Gūnā inscriptions as the repairer of Somanātha after its desecration by Ala-ud-din Khilji. The latest sacrilege, including the turning of the temple into a mosque, was in the time of the Ahmadābād king Muzaffar Shāh II (A.D. 1511-1535). Since then no attempt has been made to win back the god into his old home.

In the side wall near the door of the little shrine of Bhadrakālī in Patan a broken stone inscription gives interesting details of the temple of Somanātha. Except that the right hand corners of some of the lines are broken, the inscription is clear and well preserved. It is dated A.D. 1163 (Valabhi 850). It records that the temple of the god Someśa was first of gold built by Soma, next it was of silver built by Rāvana, afterwards of wood built by Kṛishna, and last of stone built by Bhīmadeva. The next restoration was through Ganda-Brihaspati under Kumārāpāla. Of Ganda-Brihaspati it gives these details. He was a Kanyākubja or Kanoj Brāhman of the Paśupata school, a teacher of the Malwa kings, and a friend of Siddharaja Jayasinha. He repaired several other temples and founded several other religious buildings in Somanātha. He also repaired the temple of Kedarēśvara in Kumaon on learning that the Khasā king of that country had allowed it to fall into disrepair. After the time of Kumārāpāla the descendants of Ganda-Brihaspati remained in religious authority in Somanātha.

Kumārāpāla made many Jain benefactions.¹ He repaired the temple of Sagala-Vasahikā at Stambha-titha or Cambay where Hemāchārya received his initiation or *dīkshā*. In honour of the lady who gave him barley flour and ends he built a temple called the Karāmbaka-Vihāra in Patan. He also built in Patan a temple called the Mouse or Mushaka-Vihāra to free himself from the impurity caused by killing a mouse while digging for treasure. At Dhandhuka Hemacharya's birthplace a temple called the Jholikā-Vihāra or cradle temple was built. Besides these Kumārāpāla is credited with building 1444 temples.

Though Kumārāpāla was not a learned man, his ministers were men of learning, and he continued the practice of keeping at his court scholars especially Sanskrit poets. Two of his leading Pandits were Ramachandra and Udayachandra both of them Jains. Ramachandra is often mentioned in Gujarati literature and appears to have been a great scholar. He was the author of a book called the Hundred Accounts or Prabandhas'atī. After Udayana's death Kumārāpāla's chief minister was Kapardi a man of learning skilled in Sanskrit poetry. And all through his reign his principal adviser

¹ From the Prabandhachintamani and the Kumārāpālacharita.

was Hemachandria or Hemáchárya probably the most learned man of his time. Though Hemácharya lived during the reigns both of Siddharája and of Kumárapála, only under Kumárapála did he enjoy political power as the king's companion and religious adviser. What record remains of the early Solankis is chiefly due to Hemachandria.

The Jain life of Hemáchárya abounds in wonders. Apart from the magic and mystic elements the chief details are Cháchiga a Modh Váma of Dhandhuka¹ in the district of Ardhashṭama had by his wife Páhuṇí² of the Chámunda *gōtra*, a boy named Chángodeva who was born A.D. 1089 (Kartik fullmoon Samvat 1115). A Jain priest named Devachandra A'chárya (A.D. 1078-1170, S. 1134-1226) came from Patan to Dhandhuka and when in Dhandhuka went to pay his obeisance at the Modh Vasubhika. While Devachandria was seated Chángodeva came playing with other boys and went and sat beside the *acharya*. Struck with the boy's audacity and good looks the *acharya* went with the council of the village to Cháchiga's house. Cháchiga was absent but his wife being a Jain received the *acharya* with respect. When she heard that her son was wanted by the council, without waiting to consult her husband, she handed the boy to the *acharya* who carried him off to Karnávati and kept him there with the sons of the minister Udayana. Cháchiga, disconsolate at the loss of his son, went in quest of him vowing to eat nothing till the boy was found. He came to Karnávati and in an angry mood called on the *acharya* to restore him his son. Udayana was asked to interfere and at last persuaded Cháchiga to let the boy stay with Devachandra.

In A.D. 1097, when Chángodeva was eight years old Cháchiga celebrated his son's consecration or *dīkshá* and gave him the name of Somachandria. As the boy became extremely learned Devachandra changed his name to Hemachandria the Moon of gold. In A.D. 1110 (S. 1166) at the age of 21, his mastery of all the S'ástras and Siddhántas was rewarded by the dignity of Súri or sage. Siddharája was struck with his conversation and honoured him as a man of learning. Hemachandria's knowledge wisdom and tact enabled him to adhere openly to his Jain rules and beliefs though Siddharája's dislike of Jain practices was so great as at times to amount to insult. After one of these quarrels Hemáchárya kept away from the king for two or three days. Then the king seeing his humility and his devotion to his faith repented and apologised. The two went together to Somanútha Patan and there Hemáchárya paid his obeisance to the *linga* in a way that did not offend his own faith. During Siddharája's reign Hemáchárya wrote his well known grammar with aphorisms or *sútras* and commentary or *vṛtti* called Siddha-Hemachandra, a title compounded of the king's name and his own. As the Bráhmans found fault with the absence of any detailed references to the king in the work Hemachandra

Chapter II

THE

CHAULUKYAS,
A.D. 961-1242.Kumárapála,
A.D. 1143-1174.

¹ The head-quarters of the Dhandhuka sub division sixty miles south west of Ahmadábád

² Another reading is Láhuṇí.

Chapter II.

THE

CHANDRĀVA
A.D. 1141-1142
Hemachandra
A.D. 1143-1174.

added one verse at the end of each chapter in praise of the king. During Siddharāja's reign he also wrote two other works, the *Haimavāṁśamālā* 'String of Names composed by Hema'chandra' or *Abhikāṁśachintāmaṇi* and the *Anekārthavāṁśamālā* a Collection of words of more than one meaning. He also began the *Dvyaśrayakosha* or Double Dictionary being both a grammar and a history. In spite of his value to Kumārāpāla, in the beginning of Kumārāpāla's reign Hemachārya was not honoured as a spiritual guide and had to remain subordinate to Brāhmins. When Kumārāpāla asked him what was the most important religious work he could perform Hemachārya advised the restoring of the temple of Somanātha. Still Hemachārya so far won the king to his own faith that till the completion of the temple he succeeded in persuading the king to take the vow of *ahimsā* or non-killing which though common to both faiths is a specially Jain observance. Seeing this mark of his ascendancy over the king the king's family priest and other Brāhmins began to envy and thwart Hemachārya. On the completion of the temple, when the king was starting for Somanātha for the installation ceremony the Brāhmins told him that Hemachārya did not mean to go with him. Hemachārya who had heard of the plot had already accepted the invitation. He said being a recluse he must go on foot and that he also wanted to visit Girnar and from Girnar would join the king at Somanātha. His object was to avoid traveling in a palanquin with the king or suffering a repetition of Siddharāja's insult for not accepting a *paṇḍit*. Soon after reaching Somanātha Kumārāpāla asked after Hemachārya. The Brāhmins spread a story that he had been drowned but Hemachārya was careful to appear in the temple as the king needed it. The king saw him, called him, and took him with him to the temple. Some Brāhmins told the king that the Jain priest would not pay any oblation to Śiva, but Hemachārya saluted the god in the following verse in which was nothing contrary to strict Jainism: 'Salvation to him, whether he be Brāhma, Viṣṇu, Hara, or Jina, from whom have Ied desires which produce the sprouts of the seed of worldiness.'¹ After this joint visit to Somanātha Hemachandra gained still more ascendancy over the king, who appreciated his calmness of mind and his forbearance. The Brāhmins tried to prevent the growth of his influence, but in the end Hemachandra overcame them. He induced the king to place in the sight of his Brāhminical family the sanctity of Somanātha Tirthankara among his family gods. He afterwards persuaded Kumārāpāla publicly to adopt the Jain faith by going to the hermitage of Hemachandra and giving

¹ *Pratyaśrayakosha*.² *सर्वं नष्टं कुरुते नराणां, सर्वसुखं ददाति ।**दत्ता वा मिथुनी ह्ये मिनेवा नमस्तुते ।**दत्तं दत्तं नमस्ते दत्ता दत्ता दत्ता नमस्तुते दत्ता दत्ता ।**मिथुनीकृतं न वेदमतेकं दत्तं नमस्तुते ।*

numerous presents to Jain ascetics. Finally under his influence Kumárapála put away all Bráhmancial images from his family place of worship. Having gone such lengths Kumárapála began to punish the Bráhmans who insulted Hemachandra. A Bráhman named Vimarásí, a Pandit at the royal court, who composed a verse insulting Hemachandra, lost his annuity and was reduced to beggary, but on apologising to Hemachandra the annuity was restored. Another Bráhmancial officer named Bháva Brihaspati, who was stationed at Somanátha, was re-called for insulting Hemachandra. But he too on apologising to Hemachandra was restored to Somanátha. Under Hemachandra's influence Kumárapála gave up the use of flesh and wine, ceased to take pleasure in the chase, and by beat of drum forbade throughout his kingdom the taking of animal life. He withdrew their licenses from hunters fowlers and fishermen, and forced them to adopt other callings. To what lengths this dread of life-taking was carried appears from an order that only filtered water was to be given to all animals employed in the royal army. Among the stories told of the king's zeal for life-saving is one of a Bania of Sumbhar who having been caught killing a louse was brought in chains to Anahilaváda, and had his property confiscated and devoted to the building at Anahilaváda of a Louse Temple or Yúká-Vihára. According to another story a man of Nador in Márwár was put to death by Kelhana the chief of Nador to appease Kumárapála's wrath at hearing that the man's wife had offered flesh to a field-god or *Ishtáapála*. Hemachandra also induced the king to forego the claim of the state to the property of those who died without a son.

During Kumárapála's reign Hemachandra wrote many well known Sanskrit and Prakrit works on literature and religion. Among these are the *Adhyátinopanishad* or *Yogaśástra* a work of 12,000 verses in twelve chapters called *Prakásas*, the *Trisássthi-sálákápurushacharitra* or lives of sixty-three Jain saints of the *Utsarpiní* and *Avasarpiní* ages, the *Parisishṭapavān*, a work of 3500 verses being the life of Jain Sthaviras who flourished after Mahāvira, the *Prākṛita Śabdānuśāsana* or Prakrit grammar, the *Dvyáraya*¹ a Prakrit poem written with the double object of teaching grammar and of giving the history of Kumárapála, the *Chhandanuśāsana* a work of about 6000 verses on prosody, the *Langānuśāsana* a work on genders, the *Deśnāmamālā* in Prakrit with a commentary a work on local and provincial words, and the *Alaukārachūdāmāni* a work on rhetoric. Hemachandra died in A.D. 1172 (S. 1229) at the age of 84. The king greatly mourned his loss and marked his brow with Hemachandra's ashes. Such crowds came to share in the ashes of the pyre that the ground was hollowed into a pit known as the *Hama-Khadda* or *Hema's Pit*.

Kumárapála lived to a great age. According to the author of the *Prabandhachintāmāni* he was fifty when he succeeded to the

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CHAULUKYAS,
A.D. 961-1244
Kumárapála,
A.D. 1143-1174

¹ सप्त १२२९ वैशाखशुद्धि ३ सोमे अंगह श्रीमदणहिल्लपटके समस्तराजावलीवि-
राजितमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर अजयपालदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये तत्पादपद्मोपजीविनि महा-
मात्यश्रीसोमेश्वरे श्रीकरणादी

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CHAUUKUTAS,
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Kum'rapála,
A.D. 1143-1174

throne, and after ruling about thirty-one years died in A.D. 1174 (S 1230). He is said to have died of *lūta* a form of leprosy. Another story given by the Kumárapálaprabandha is that Kumárapála was imprisoned by his nephew and successor Ajayapála. The Kumárapálaprabandha gives the exact length of Kumárapála's reign at 30 years 8 months and 27 days. If the beginning of Kumárapála's reign is placed at the 4th Magsar Sud Samvat 1299, the date of the close, taking the year to begin in Kártika, would be Bhádrapada Suddha Samvat 1229. If with Gujarát almanacs the year is taken to begin in Áshádha, the date of the close of the reign would be Bhádrapada of Samvat 1230. It is doubtful whether either Samvat 1229 or 1230 is the correct year, as an inscription dated Samvat 1229 Vaishákha Suddha 3rd at Udayapura near Bhilsá describes Ajayapála Kumárapála's successor as reigning at Anahilapura. This would place Kumárapála's death before the month of Vaishákha 1229 that is in A.D. 1173.¹

Ajayapála,
A.D. 1174-1177.

As Kumárapála had no son he was succeeded by Ajayapála the son of his brother Mahipála.² According to the Kumárapálaprabandha Kumárapála desired to give the throne to his daughter's son Pratápamalla, but Ajayapála raised a revolt and got rid of Kumárapála by poison. The Jain chroniclers say nothing of the reign of Ajayapála because he was not a follower of their religion. The author of the Sukritasankirtana notices a small silver canopy or pavilion shown in Ajayapála's court as a feudatory's gift from the king of Sapádalaksha³ or Sewálik. The author of the Kirtikaumudí dismisses Ajayapála with the mere mention of his name, and does not even state his relationship with Kumárapála. According to the Prabandhachintamani Ajayapála destroyed the Jain temples built by his uncle. He showed no favour to Ámbadá and Kumárapála's other Jain ministers. Ajayapála seems to have been of a cruel and overbearing temper. He appointed as his minister Kapardi because he was of the Bráhmanical faith.⁴ But considering his manners arrogant he ordered him to be thrown into a caldron of boiling oil. On another occasion he ordered the Jain scholar Rámachandra to sit on a red-hot sheet of copper. One of his nobles Ámra-bhata or Ámbadá refused to submit to

¹ Regarding the remarkable story that not long before their deaths both Hemáchandra and Kumárapála inclined towards Islam if they did not become converts to Islam (Tells Western India, 184) no fresh information has been obtained. Another curious story of Tells (Di. to 192) also remains doubtful. Kumárapála expelled the tribe of Lár from La Barmolom. That this tribe of Lár can have had to do either with Láta or South Gujarat or with the tribe of Lát Váris seems unlikely. The alternative is Persis from Isfahan to the Persian Gulf whom Tod (Annals of Rajasthan, I 235) notices as sending an expedition from Larshan to Gujarat. In this connection it is worthy of note that Lár remained the seat of a Gucler prince till A.D. 1600 the time of Shah Abás (D'Hérbelot Bib. Or. II 477). A repetition of the Parsis (Cambay Gazetteer, VI 215) may have been the cause of their expulsion from Gujarat.

² See the Dryasaya. A Patan inscription lying at Verdval also calls Ajayapála the son of Kumárapála.

³ Is mentioned in a grant of Bhima II dated S 1233, that Ajayadeva, as he is there called, ruled the Sapádalaksha or Sámbar king tributary. Ind. Ant. VI 190ff.

⁴ The Udayapura inscription mentions Somávara as the minister of Ajayapála in A.D. 1229 (A.D. 1173). See above page 193.

the king, saying that he would pay obeisance only to Vítarāja or Vīrthankara as god, to Hemachandra as guide, and to Kumārāpāla as king. Ajayapāla ordered the matter to be settled by a fight. Āmbadā brought some of his followers to the drum-house near the gate, and in the fight that followed Āmbadā was killed. In A.D. 1177 (S. 1233), after a short reign of three years, Ajayapāla was slain by a doorkeeper named Vijaladeva who plunged a dagger into the king's heart.¹

Ajayapāla was succeeded by his son Mularāja II also called Bāla Mularāja as he was only a boy when installed. His mother was Nāksidevi the daughter of Paramardi, apparently the Kādamba king Permadī or Siva Chitta who reigned from A.D. 1147 to 1175 (S. 1203-1231).² The authors of the Kīrtikaumudī³ and the Sukritasankīrtana say that even in childhood Mularāja II dispersed the Turushka or Muhammadan army.⁴ The Prabandha-chintāmanī states that the king's mother fought at the Gādarāra-ghatta and that her victory was due to a sudden fall of rain. Mularāja II is said to have died in A.D. 1179 (S. 1235) after a reign of two years.

Mularāja II was succeeded by Bhīma II. The relationship of the two is not clearly established. Mr. Forbes makes Bhīma the younger brother of Ajayapāla. But it appears from the Kīrtikaumudī and the Sukritasankīrtana that Bhīma was the younger brother of Mularāja. The Sukritasankīrtana after concluding the account of Mularāja,⁵ calls Bhīma '*asya bandhu*' 'his brother,' and the Kīrtikaumudī, after mentioning the death of Mularāja, says that Bhīma his younger brother '*anujanmāsya*' became king.⁶

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Mularāja II
A.D. 1177-1179

¹ The abuse of Ajayapāla is explained if Tod's statement (Western India, 191) that he became a Muslim is correct.

² Fleet's Kānarese Dynasties, 93.

³ Chapter II. Verse 57.

⁴ We know much less about this event than its importance deserves, for with the exception of a raid made in A.D. 1197 by one of the Ghori generals this victory secured Gujarat from any serious Muhammadan attack for more than a century. We learn from various grants made by Bhīmadeva II (Ind. Ant. VI. 195, 198, 200, 201) that Mularāja's regular epithet in the *Samudra* was "He who overcame in battle the ruler of the Garjjanakas, who are hard to defeat." and Dr. Bühler has pointed out (Ditto, 201) that Garjjanaka is a Sanskritising of the name Ghaznavi. As a matter of fact, however, the leader of the Muslim army was Muhammad of Ghor, and the battle took place in A.D. 1178 (H. 574). One of the two Muhammadan writers who mentions the invasion (Muhammad 'Ufi, who wrote at Delhi about A.D. 1211) says that Muhammad was at first defeated, but invaded the country a second time two years later "and punished the people for their previous misconduct." But this is only mentioned incidentally as part of an anecdote of Muhammad's equity, and there is some confusion with Muhammad's victory in the second battle of Nārāyan (in Jaipur territory) in A.D. 1192, as a better, though slightly later authority, Minhāj us Sirāj, speaks of no second expedition to Gujarat led by Muhammad himself. Minhāj us Sirāj's account of the defeat is as follows (Elliott, II. 204). He (Muhammad) conducted his army by way of Uch and Multān towards Nahrwālā. The Rājā of Nahrwālā, Bhīndeo, was a minor, but he had a large army and many elephants. In the day of battle the Muhammadans were defeated and the Sultan was compelled to retreat. This happened in the year 574 H. (1178 A.D.). Further on we read (Elliott, II. 300) "In 593 H. (1197 A.D.) he (Muhammad's general Kutb ud din) went towards Nahrwālā, defeated Rājā Bhīndeo, and took revenge on the part of the Sultan." As no conquest of the country is spoken of, this expedition was evidently a mere raid. The only inaccuracy in the account is the mention of Bhīma instead of Mularāja as the king who defeated the first invasion.—(A. M. T. J.)

⁵ Sarga II. Verse 47.

⁶ Sarga II. Verse 60.

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 THE
 CHALUKYAS,
 A.D. 931-1242.
 Bhīma II
 A.D. 1179-1242.

Mūlarāja we know came to the throne as a child. Of Bhīma also the Kīrtikaumudī says that he came to the throne while still in his childhood, and this agrees with the statements that he was the younger brother of Mūlarāja. Bhīma probably came to the throne in A.D. 1178 (S 1234). There is no doubt he was reigning in A.D. 1179 (S 1235), as an inscription in the deserted village of Keralu near Balmer of Anahilavāda dated A.D. 1179 (S 1235) states that it was written 'in the triumphant reign of the illustrious Bhīmadeva.'¹ A further proof of his reigning in A.D. 1179 (S 1235) and of his being a minor at that time is given in the following passage from the Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī: In A.D. 1178 (Hijri 574) the Rāi of Nahrwālā Bhīmdeo, was a minor, but he had a large army and many elephants. In the day of battle the Muhammadans were defeated and the Sultān was compelled to retreat.² Merutunga says that Bhīma reigned from A.D. 1179 (S 1235) for sixty-three years that is up to A.D. 1242 (S. 1293), and this is borne out by a copperplate of Bhīma which bears date A.D. 1210 (S 1296³ Mārgha Vadi 14th Sunday⁴)

Bhīma was nicknamed Bholo the Simpleton. The chroniclers of this period mention only the Vāghelās and almost pass over Bhīma. The author of the Kīrtikaumudī says 'the kingdom of the young ruler was gradually divided among powerful ministers and provincial chiefs', and according to the Sukritasankīrtana 'Bhīma felt great anxiety on account of the chiefs who had forcibly eaten away portions of the kingdom'. It appears that during the minority, when the central authority was weak, the kingdom was divided among nobles and feudatories, and that Bhīma proved too weak a ruler to restore the kingly power. Manuscripts and copperplates show that Bhīmadeva was ruling at Anahilavāda in S 1247, 1251, 1261, 1263, and 1264,⁵ and copperplates dated S 1283, 1288, 1295, and 1296 have also been found. Though Bhīma in name enjoyed a long unbroken reign the verses quoted above show that power rested not with the king but with the nobles. It appears from an inscription that in A.D. 1224 (S 1290) a Chālukya noble named Jayantasimha was supreme at Anahilavāda though he mentions Bhīma and his predecessors with honour and respect.⁶

It was probably by aiding Bhīma against Jayantasimha that the Vāghelās rose to power. According to the chroniclers the Vāghelās succeeded in the natural course of things. According to the Sukritasankīrtana Kumārpalā appeared to his grandson Bhīma and directed him to appoint as his heir-apparent Viradhavala son of Lavanprasāda and grandson of Arnoraja the son of Dhavala king of Bhūmapalli. Next day in court, in the presence of his nobles, when Lavanprasāda and Viradhavala entered the king said to

¹ The inscription also gives S. 1235 as the beginning of his reign.

² Fergusson's History of India, II, 294. This event properly belongs to the reign of 'Alauddin' See also page 195 note 5.

³ Ibid. VI, 27.

⁴ Chapter II, Verse 61.

⁵ Fergusson's Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts.

⁶ Ibid. VI, 167.

Lavanaprasāda. Your father Arnorāja seated me on the throne. you should therefore uphold my power in return I will name your son Viradhavala my hen-apparent¹ The author of the Kīrtikaumudī notes that Arnorāja son of Dhavala, opposing the revolution against Bhīma, cleared the kingdom of enemies, but at the cost of his own life. The author then describes Lavanaprasāda and Viradhavala as kings. But as he gives no account of their rise to supremacy, it seems probable that they usurped the actual power from Bhīma though till A.D. 1242 (S. 1295) Bhīma continued to be nominal sovereign.

Bhīma's queen was Līlādevī the daughter of a Chohān chief named Samarasimha.²

Chapter II.

THE
CHAULUKYAS,
A.D. 961-1242.
Bhīma II
A.D. 1179-1242.

¹ The text is दत्तास्मै दोष्यते युवराज्यं राज्यं चिरं कुर्व.

² The text is चाहु राण that is चाहुमाण राणक. The term Rāṇaka would show him to be a Chohān chief.

CHAPTER III.

THE VÁGHELÁS

(A.D. 1210-1304).

Chapter III.
THE VÁGHELÁS,
A.D. 1210-1304
Anorāja,
A.D. 1170-1200

WHILE Bhīmadeva II. (A.D. 1178-1241) struggled to maintain his authority in the north, the country between the Sībarmatī and the Narbadā in the south as well as the districts of Dholkā and Dhandhukā in the south-west passed to the Vāghelās a branch of the Solankis sprung from Anāka or Anorāja, the son of the sister of Kumārāpāla's (A.D. 1113-1173) mother. In return for services to Kumārāpāla,¹ Anāka, with the rank of a noble or Sāmanta, had received the village of Vyūghrapalli or Vāghelā, the 'Tiger's Lair,' about ten miles south-west of Anahilavāda. It is from this village that the dynasty takes its name of Vāghela.

Lavanaprasāda,
A.D. 1200-1233

Anāka's son Lavanaprasāda, who is mentioned as a minister of Bhīmadeva II (A.D. 1179-1212)² held Vāghelā and probably Dhavalagadhā or Dholkā about thirty miles to the south-west. The Kīrti-kāumudī or Moonlight of Glory, the chief cotemporary chronicle,³ describes Lavanaprasāda as a brave warrior, the slayer of the chief of Nadulā the modern Nandol in Mārwar. "In his well-ordered realm, except himself the robber of the glory of hostile kings, robbers were unknown. The ruler of Mālava invading the kingdom turned back before the strength of Lavanaprasāda. The southern king also when opposed by him gave up the idea of war." The ruler of Mālava or Malwa referred to was Sohada or Subhatavarman.⁴ The southern king was the Devagiri Yādava Singhana II (A.D. 1200-1247).⁵

Lavanaprasāda married Madanarājñī and by her had a son named Vīradhavalā. As heir apparent Vīradhavalā, who was also called Vīra Vāghelā or the Vāghela hero,⁶ rose to such distinction as a warrior that in the end Lavanaprasāda abdicated in his favour. Probably to reconcile the people to his venturing to oppose his sovereign Bhīmadeva, Lavanaprasāda gave out that in a dream the Luck of Anahilavāda

¹ Anāka received Kumārāpāla and served also under Bhīmadeva II. Seeing the weakness of his weak son crown divided among his ministers and chiefs Anāka strove to establish the central authority of the Solanki dynasty. Kāthavate's *History of Gujarat*, 200.

² Kīrtikāumudī. Bombay Sanskrit Series Number XXV.

³ *I. Ind. Ant.* VI 188 footnote. According to Meratunga a cotemporary chronicler an enemy of Bhīma's minister turned back Subhatavarman.

⁴ *I. Ind. Ant.* VI 188.

⁵ According to one story Madanarājñī left her husband's house taking Vīradhavalā with her, and went to live with Deva Rāja Pattakila the husband of her deceased father. On growing up Vīradhavalā returned to his father's house. Rājā Mālā (New Edition), 261.

appeared bewailing her home with unlighted shrines, broken walls, and jackal-haunted streets, and called on him to come to her rescue.¹ Though he may have gone to the length of opposing Bhímadeva by force of arms, Lavanaprasáda was careful to rule in his sovereign's name. Even after Lavanaprasáda's abdication, though his famous minister Vastupála considered it advisable, Víradhavala refused to take the supreme title. It was not until the accession of Víradhavala's son Vísaladeva that the head of the Vághelás took any higher title than Ránaka or chieftain. Lavanaprasáda's religious adviser or Guru was the poet Someśvara the author of the Kírtikaumudí and of the Vastupálacharita or Life of Vastupála, both being biographical accounts of Vastupála. The leading supporters both of Lavanaprasáda and of Víradhavala were their ministers the two Jain brothers Vastupála and Tejapála the famous temple-builders on Ábu, Satruñjaya, and Gírnár. According to one account Tejapála remained at court, while Vastupála went as governor to Stambhatírttha or Cambay where he redressed wrongs and amassed wealth.²

One of the chief times of peril in Lavanaprasáda's reign was the joint attack of the Devagíri Yádava Singhana or Sinhana from the south and of four Márvár chiefs from the north. Lavanaprasáda and his son Víradhavala in joint command marched south to meet Singhana at Broach. While at Broach the Vághelás' position was made still more critical by the desertion of the Godhraba or Godhrá chief to Málwa and of the Látá or south Gujarát chief to Singhana. Still Lavanaprasáda pressed on, attacked Singhana, and gave him so crushing a defeat, that, though Lavanaprasáda had almost at once to turn north to meet the Málwa army, Singhana retired without causing further trouble.³ Someśvara gives no reason for Singhana's withdrawal beyond the remark 'Deer do not follow the lion's path even when the lion has left it'. The true reason is supplied by a Manuscript called Forms of Treaties.⁴ The details of a treaty between Sinhana and Lavanaprasáda under date Samvat 1288 (A.D. 1232) included among the Forms seem to show that the reason why Sinhana did not advance was that Lavanaprasáda and his son submitted and concluded an alliance.⁵ In this copy of the treaty Sinhana is called the great king of kings or paramount sovereign *Mahárajádhirāja*, while Lavanaprasáda, Sanskritised into Lavanaprasáda is called a Rána and a tributary chief *Mahámandales'vara*. The place where the treaty was concluded

Chapter III.

THE VÁGHELÁS,
A.D. 1219-1304
Lavanaprasáda,
A.D. 1200-1238.

¹ Dr Bühler in Ind. Ant. VI 189

² According to the Kírtikaumudí, Káthavate's Ed. XIV note 1, under Vastupála low people ceased to earn money by base means, the wicked turned pale, the righteous prospered. All honestly and securely plied their calling. Vastupála put down piracy, and, by building platforms, stopped the mingling of castes in milk shops. He repaired old buildings, planted trees, sank wells, laid out parks, and rebuilt the city. All castes and creeds he treated alike.

³ Káthavate's Kírtikaumudí, xv

⁴ The use of the date Monday the fullmoon of Vaiśākha, Samvat 1288 (A.D. 1232) in the second part of the Forms seems to shew that the work was written in A.D. 1232.

⁵ Though the object is to give the form of a treaty of alliance, the author could not have used the names Sinhana and Lavanaprasáda unless such a treaty had been actually concluded between them. Apparently Sinhana's invasion of Gujarát took place but a short time before the book of treaties was compiled. Bhandárkar's Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts (1892-93), 40-41.

Chapter III

THE VACHELAS,
A.D. 1219-1304LAVANAPRASÁDA,
A.D. 1200-1233

is styled "the victorious camp," and the date is Monday the fullmoon of Vaisákha in the year Samvat 1288 (A.D. 1232). The provisions are that, as before, each of the belligerents should confine himself to his own territory, neither of them should invade the possessions of the other, if a powerful enemy attacked either of them, they should jointly oppose him, if only a hostile general led the attack, troops should be sent against him; and if from the country of either any noble fled into the territory of the other taking with him anything of value he should not be allowed harbourage and all valuables in the refugee's possession should be restored¹. His good fortune went with Lavanaprasáda in his attack on the Mārwar chiefs whom he forced to retire. Meanwhile S'ankha² who is described as the son of the ruler of Sindh but who seems to have held territory in Broach, raised a claim to Cambay and promised Vastupála Lavanaprasáda's governor, that, if Vastupála declared in his favour³, he would be continued in his government. Vastupála rejected S'ankha's overtures, met him in battle outside of Cambay, and forced him to retire. In honour of Vastupála's victory the people of Cambay held a great festival when Vastupála passed in state through the city to the shrine of the goddess Ekalla Vira outside of the town⁴.

Another of the deeds preserved in the Forms is a royal copperplate grant by Lavanaprasáda or Lāvanyaprasáda of a village, not named, for the worship of Somanátha. Lavanaprasáda is described as the illustrious Rānaka,⁵ the great chief, the local lord or *Mandaleśvara*, the son of the illustrious Rānaka Ānalde born in the illustrious pedigree of the Chaulukya dynasty. The grant is noted as executed in the reign of Bhīmadeva II⁶ while one Bhābhuya was his great minister. Though Bhīmadeva was ruling in A.D. 1232 (Samvat 1288) Lavanaprasada apparently had sufficient influence to make grants of villages and otherwise to act as the real ruler of Gujarāt. It was apparently immediately after this grant (A.D. 1232?) that Lavanaprasada abdicated in favour of Virādhavala⁷.

Virādhavala,
A.D. 1233-1233

Soon after his accession Virādhavala, accompanied by his minister Tejupála, started on an expedition against his wife's brothers Sāngana and Chamunda the rulers of Vāmanasthali or Vanthali near Junāgadh. As in spite of their sister's advice Sāngana and Chamunda refused to pay tribute the siege was pressed. Early in the fight the cry arose 'Virādhavala is slain'. But on his favourite horse Uparavata, Virādhavala put himself at the head of his troops, slew both the brothers, and gained the

¹ Bhar Bickar's Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts (1892-93), 40.

² According to other accounts Sankha, a Broach chieftain, took up the cause of a certain Sival or Musalman merchant with whom Vastupála had quarrelled. In the fight Lavanaprasáda's one of Vastupála's chief supporters, was slain and in his honour Vastupála raised a shrine to the Lord Lunapála. *Mās Mālā* (New Edition), 201-202.

³ *Kāśīkavādeśī* (Sanskrit), xv. xvi.

⁴ *Kāśīkavādeśī* (Sanskrit), xv. xvi.

⁵ The modern Gujarati Rānā.

⁶ *Kāśīkavādeśī* is preceded by the names of his ten Chaulukya predecessors in the name of the grant. The attributions of each are given as in published Chaulukya copper plates. *Ind. Ant.* VI. 180-213.

⁷ Bhar Bickar's Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts (1892-93), 32.

Chapter III.

THE VAGHELAS,
A D. 1219 - 1304Víradhavalá,
A D. 1233 - 1238

hoarded treasure of Vanthalí¹ In an expedition against the chief of Bhadesvara, probably Bhadresar in Kacch, Víradhavalá was less successful and was forced to accept the Kacch chief's terms The chroniclers ascribe this reverse to three Rájput brothers who came to Víradhavalá's court and offered their services for 3,00,000 drammās (about £7500) "For 3,00,000 drammās I can raise a thousand men" said Víradhavalá, and the brothers withdrew They went to the court of the Bhadresar chief, stated their terms, and were engaged The night before the battle the brothers sent to Víradhavalá saying 'Keep ready 3000 men, for through a triple bodyguard we will force our way' The three brothers kept their word They forced their way to Víradhavalá, dismounted him, carried off his favourite steed Uparavata, but since they had been his guests they spared Víradhavalá's life²

Another of Víradhavalá's expeditions was to East Gujarát Ghughula, chief of Godraha or Godhrá, plundered the caravans that passed through his territory to the Gujarát ports When threatened with punishment by Víradhavalá, Ghughula in derision sent his overlord a woman's dress and a box of cosmetics The minister Tejahpála, who was ordered to avenge this affront, dispatched some skirmishers ahead to raid the Godhra cattle Ghughula attacked the raiders and drove them back in such panic that the main body of the army was thrown into disorder The day was saved by the prowess of Tejahpála who in single combat unhorsed Ghughula and made him prisoner Ghughula escaped the disgrace of the woman's dress and the cosmetic box with which he was decorated by biting his tongue so that he died The conquest of Ghughula is said to have spread Víradhavalá's power to the borders of Maháráshtra³ The chroniclers relate another success of Víradhavalá's against Muizz-ud-dín apparently the famous Muhammad Gori Sultan Muizz-ud-dín Bahramsháh, the Sultan of Delhi (A D. 1191 - 1205)⁴ who led an expedition against Gujarát The chief of Ábu was instructed to let the Musalmán force march south unmolested and when they were through to close the defiles against their return The Gujarát army met the Musalmáns and the Ábu troops hung on their rear The Musalmáns fled in confusion and cartloads of heads were brought to Víradhavalá in Dholká The chronicles give the credit of this success to Vastupála They also credit Vastupála with a stratagem which induced the Sultán to think well of Víradhavalá and prevented him taking steps to wipe out the disgrace of his defeat Hearing that the Sultán's mother, or, according to another story, the Sultán's religious adviser, was going from Cambay to Makka Vastupála ordered his men to attack and plunder the vessels in which the pilgrimage was to be made On the captain's complaint Vastupála had the pirates arrested and the property restored So grateful was the owner, whether mother or guide, that Vastupála was taken to Delhi and arranged a friendly treaty between his master and the Sultan⁵

¹ Káthavate's Kírtikaumudí, xxiii² Káthavate's Kírtikaumudí, xxiii.³ Káthavate's Kírtikaumudí, xxiii xxiv.⁴ Elliot and Dowson, II. 209⁵ Káthavate's Kírtikaumudí, xxiv xxi.

In A D 1238 six years after his father's withdrawal from power Viradhavala died. One hundred and eighty-two servants passed with their lord through the flames, and such was the devotion that Tejapála had to use force to prevent further sacrifices.¹

Of Viradhavala's two sons, Vírāma Vísala and Pratápamalla, Vastupála favoured the second and procured his succession according to one account by forcing the old king to drink poison and preventing by arms the return to Anahilavāda of the elder brother Vírāma who retired for help to Jábálpura (Jabalpur). Besides with his brother's supporters Vísala had to contend with Tribhuvanapála the representative of the Anahilavāda Solankis. Unlike his father and his grandfather, Vísala refused to acknowledge an overlord. By A D 1243 he was established as sovereign in Anahilavāda. A later grant A D 1261 (Samvat 1317) from Kadi in North Gujarát shows that Anahilavāda was his capital and his title *Mahārājādhirāja* King of Kings. According to his copperplates Vísaladeva was a great warrior, the crusher of the lord of Malwa, a hatchet at the root of the turbulence of Mewád, a volcanic fire to dry up Singhana of Devagiri's ocean of men.² Vísaladeva is further described as chosen as a husband by the daughter of Karnáta³ and as ruling with success and good fortune in Anahilavāda with the illustrious Nágada as his minister.⁴ The bards praise Vísaladeva for lessening the miseries of a three years famine,⁵ and state that he built or repaired the fortifications of Vísalanagara in East and of Darbhavati or Dábhoi in South Gujarát.

During Vísaladeva's reign Vāghela power was established throughout Gujarát. On Vísaladeva's death in A D 1261 the succession passed to Arjunadeva the son of Vísaladeva's younger brother Pratápamalla.⁶ Arjunadeva proved a worthy successor and for thirteen years (A.D 1262-1274, Samvat 1318-1331) maintained his supremacy. Two stone inscriptions one from Verával dated A D 1264 (Samvat 1320) the other from Kacch dated A D 1272 (Samvat 1328) show that his territory included both Kacch and Káthiavāda, and an inscription of his successor Sárangadeva shows that his power passed as far east as Mount Ábu.

The Verával inscription of A.D 1264 (Samvat 1320), which is in the temple of the goddess Hamsutá,⁷ describes Arjunadeva as the king

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THE VĀGHELAS,
A D 1219 - 1304

Vísaladeva,
A D 1243 - 1261.

Arjunadeva,
A D 1262 - 1274

¹ Rás Malá, 202

² Ind. Ant. VI 191. The word for Mewád is Medapáta the Med or Mher land.

³ The Karnáta king would probably be Someśvara (A D 1252) or his son Narasimha III (A D. 1254) of the Hoysala Ballálas of Dvārasamudra. Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 64, 69.

⁴ These details are mentioned in a grant of land in Mándal in Ahmadábád to Bráhmans to fill a drinking fountain, repair temples, and supply offerings. Ind. Ant. VI 210-213.

⁵ Rás Malá (New Ed.), 212. A Jaina Pattávali or succession list of High priests notices that the famine lasted for three years from Samvat 1315 (A D 1259). The text may be translated as follows: Vikrama Samvat 1315, three years' famine the king (being) Vísaladeva. Bhandarkar's Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1883 84, 15, 323.

⁶ See Ep. Ind. I.

⁷ The inscription was first noticed by Colonel Tod. Rajasthan, I. 705. Western India, 506.

1287 (Samvat 1343), originally from Somanátha, is now at Cintra in Portugal. It records the pilgrimages and religious benefactions of one Tripurántaka, a follower of the Nakulśā Pāsupata sect, in the reign of Śraṅgadeva, whose genealogy is given. A manuscript found in Ahmadābād is described as having been finished on Sunday the 3rd of the dark fortnight of Jyeshtha in the Samvat year 1350, in the triumphant reign of Śraṅgadeva the great king of kings, while his victorious army was encamped near Akāpalli (Ahmadābād).¹

Śraṅgadeva's successor Karnadeva ruled for eight years A.D. 1296 - 1304 (Samvat 1352 - 1360). Under this weak ruler, who was known as Ghelo or the Insane, Gujarāt passed into Muslim hands. In A.D. 1297 Alaf Khān the brother of the Emperor Ala-u-dīn Khilji (A.D. 1296 - 1317) with Nasrat Khān led an expedition against Gujarāt. They laid waste the country and occupied Anahlavāda. Leaving his wife, children, elephants, and baggage Karnadeva fled to Ramadeva the Yadava chief of Devagiri.² All his wealth fell to his conquerors. Among the wives of Karnadeva who were made captive was a famous beauty named Kauladevī, who was carried to the harem of the Sultān. In the plunder of Cambay Nasrat Khān took a merchant's slave Malik Kafur who shortly after became the Emperor's chief favourite. From Cambay the Muhammadans passed to Kāthiavāda and destroyed the temple of Somanátha. In 1304 Alaf Khān's term of office as governor of Gujarāt was renewed. According to the Mirāt-i-Ahmadī after the renewal of his appointment, from white marble pillars taken from many Jain temples, Alaf Khān constructed at Anahlavāda the Jāma Masjid or general mosque.

In A.D. 1306 the Cambay slave Kafur who had already risen to be Sultān Ala-u-dīn's chief favourite was invested with the title of Malik Naib and placed in command of an army sent to subdue the Dakhn. Alaf Khān, the governor of Gujarāt, was ordered to help Malik Kafur in his arrangements. At the same time Kauladevī persuaded the Emperor to issue orders that her daughter Devaladevī should be sent to her to Delhi. Devaladevī was then with her father the unfortunate Karnadeva in hiding in Bāglān in Nāsik. Malik Kafur sent a messenger desiring Karnadeva to give up his daughter. Karnadeva refused and Alaf Khān was ordered to lead his army to the Bāglān hills and capture the princess. While for two months he succeeded in keeping the Muhammadan army at bay, Karnadeva received and accepted an offer for the hand of Devaladevī from the Devagiri Yadava chief Sankaradeva. On her way to Devagiri near Elura Devaladevī's escort was attacked by a party of Alaf Khān's troops, and the lady seized and sent to Delhi where she was married to prince Khizar Khān.

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Karnadeva,
A.D. 1296 - 1304.

¹ Professor Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84, 17-18.

² The bardic story is that king Karna had two Nāgar Brāhman ministers Mādhyava and Keshava. He slew Keshava and took Mādhyava's wife from her husband. In revenge Mādhyava went to Delhi and brought the Muhammadans. After the Muhammadan conquest Mādhyava presented Ala-u-dīn with 360 horses. In return Mādhyava was appointed civil minister with Alaf Khān as military governor commanding a lakh of horsemen, 1500 elephants, 20,000 foot soldiers and having with him forty-five officers entitled to use kettledrums. Rās Malā, 211.

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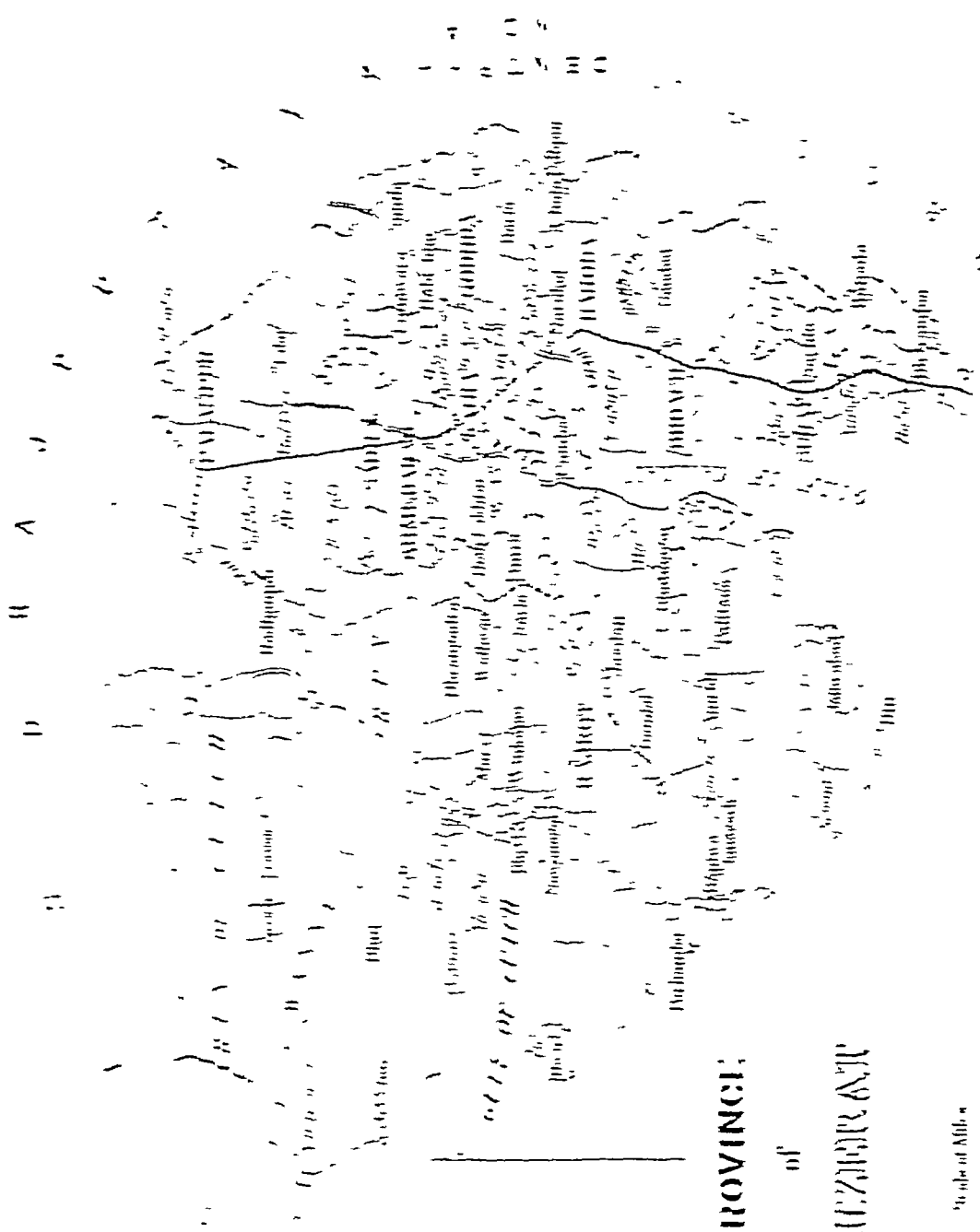
Nothing more is known of Karnadeva who appears to have died a fugitive.

Though the main cities and all central Gujarāt passed under Muslim rule a branch of the Vaghelās continued to hold much of the country to the west of the Śabarmatī, while other branches maintained their independence in the rugged land beyond Ambī Bhawani between Virpur on the Mahī and Posinī at the northmost verge of Gujarāt.¹

GENEALOGY OF THE VĀGHELĀS.

Dhavalā,
A.D. 1160
Married Kumātrapala's Aunt
|
Arno-tja,
A.D. 1170
Founder of Vāghelā
|
Lavanaprasāda,
A.D. 1200
Chief of Dholkā.
|
Virādhavalā,
A.D. 1233-1238
Chief of Dholkā
|
Vishaladeva,
A.D. 1243-1261
King of Anahilavāda
|
Arjunadeva,
A.D. 1262-1274
|
Śārangadeva,
A.D. 1274-1295
|
Karnadeva or Ghelo,
A.D. 1296-1301

¹ The Vaghelās, 1233-1238. The Dhavalā family fixed in the plains between the Lesser and Greater Rann of Cambay. The Koli branches of these clans with constant help of the Koli Rajas of Malabar descent, spread over the Chinnval near Anahilavāda, and held many remote and inaccessible tracts of hill or forest to the east and north of the plain of a line of Rājput princes, the banner of the Sultan of Gujarat, from the Hill of Pāyagul, where in the west the descendants of Karnadeva, the founder of the Vaghelās of Junagadh from within its walls controlling much of the plain, held the Vaghelās in undisputed sway. Chiefs of Junagadh controlled the rest of the peninsula among whom were the Gohils of the north-west, and the Solankis of the south-west, which from them derived its name of Solanki.



PROVINCE; of GALLITZIN.

Scale of Miles.

PART II.

MUSALMAN GUJARÁT.

A D. 1297 - 1760.

THIS history of Musalman Gujarát is based on translations of the *Mirát-i-Sikandari* (A D 1611) and of the *Mirát-i-Ahmedi* (A D 1756) by the late Colonel J W Watson. Since Colonel Watson's death in 1889 the translations have been revised and the account enriched by additions from the Persian texts of *Farishtah* and of the two *Muāts* by Mr. Fazl Lutfulláh Farídí of Surat. A careful comparison has also been made with other extracts in Elliot's *History of India* and in Bayley's *History of Gujarát*.

MUSALMÁN GUJARÁT.

A.D. 1297-1760

INTRODUCTION.

MUSALMÁN rule in Gujarát lasted from the conquest of the province by the Delhi emperor Ala-ud-din Khilji (A.D. 1295-1315), shortly before the close of the thirteenth century A.D., to the final defeat of the Mughal viceroy Momin Khan by the Maráthás and the loss of the city of Ahmedábád at the end of February 1758.

This whole term of Musalmán ascendancy, stretching over slightly more than four and a half centuries, may conveniently be divided into three parts. The first, the rule of the early sovereigns of Delhi, lasting a few years more than a century, or, more strictly from A.D. 1297 to A.D. 1403, the second, the rule of the Ahmedábád kings, a term of nearly a century and three quarters, from A.D. 1403 to A.D. 1573, the third, the rule of the Mughal Emperors, when, for little less than two hundred years, A.D. 1573-1760, Gujarat was administered by viceroys of the court of Delhi.

In the course of these 450 years the limits of Gujarát varied greatly. In the fourteenth century the territory nominally under the control of the Musalmán governors of Patan (Anahlaváda) extended southwards from Jhálor about fifty miles north of Mount Abu, to the neighbourhood of Bombay, and in breadth from the line of the Málwa and Khándesh hills to the western shores of peninsular Gujarát¹. The earlier kings of Ahmedábád (A.D. 1403-1450), content with establishing their power on a firm footing, did not greatly extend the limits of their kingdom. Afterwards, during the latter part of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries (A.D. 1450-1530), the dominions of the Ahmedábád kings gradually spread till they included large tracts to the east and north-east formerly in the possession of the rulers of Khándesh and Málwa. Still later, during the years of misrule between A.D. 1530 and A.D. 1573, the west of Khándesh and the north of the Konkan ceased to form part of the kingdom of Gujarát. Finally, under the arrangements introduced by the emperor Akbar in A.D. 1553, more lands were restored to Málwa and Khándesh. With the exception of Jhálor and Sirohi on the north, Dungarpur and Bansváda on the north-east, and Alirájpur on

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Territorial Limits

¹ The first notice of the exercise of sovereignty by the Musalmán rulers of Gujarát over lands further south than the neighbourhood of Surat is in A.D. 1428, when king Ahmed I (A.D. 1412-1413) contested with the Dakhan sovereign the possession of Máhim (north latitude 19° 40', east longitude 72° 47'). As no record remains of a Musalmán conquest of the coast as far south as Danda Rájapuri or Janjira, about fifty miles south of Bombay, it seems probable that the North Konkan fell to the Musalmáns in A.D. 1297 as part of the recognised territories of the lords of Anahlavapura (Patan). Rís Mála, I. 350. One earlier reference may be noted. In A.D. 1422 among the leading men slain in the battle of Sárangpur, about fifty miles north east of Ujjain in Central India, was Savant chief of Danda Rájapuri that is Janjira. Mirát-i-Sikandari (Persian Text), 40, and Farishtah (Persian Text), II. 468.

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MUSALMAN
GUJARAT,
A.D. 1297-1760.

Sorath.

the east, since handed to Rájputána and Central India, the limits of Gujarát remain almost as they were laid down by Akbar

Though, under the Musalmáns, peninsular Gujarát did not bear the name of Káthiáváda, it was then, as at present, considered part of the province of Gujarát. During the early years of Musalmán rule, the peninsula, together with a small portion of the adjoining mainland, was known as Sorath, a shortened form of Saurashtra, the name originally applied by the Hindus to a long stretch of sea-coast between the banks of the Indus and Daman.¹ Towards the close of the sixteenth century the official use of the word Sorath was confined to a portion, though by much the largest part, of the peninsula. At the same time, the name Sorath seems then, and for long after, to have been commonly applied to the whole peninsula. For the author of the *Mirát-i-Ahmedi*, writing as late as the middle of the eighteenth century (A.D. 1756 A.H. 1170), speaks of Sorath as divided into five districts or *zillás*, Hálár, Káthiáváda, Gohiáváda, Bábriáváda, and Jetvada, and notices that though Navánagar was considered a separate district, its tribute was included in the revenue derived from Sorath.² In another passage the same writer thus defines Saurashtra

Saurashtra or Sorath comprehends the Sarkár of Sorath the Sarkár of Islámnagar or Navánagar and the Sarkár of Kachh or Bhujnagar. It also includes several *zillás* or districts, Nayad which they call Jatwár, Hálár or Navánagar and its vicinity, Káthiáváda, Gohiáváda, Bábriáváda, Chorár, Panchál, Okhár in the neighbourhood of Jagat otherwise called Dwárka, Prabhás Khetr or Pátan Somnáth and its neighbourhood, Nughir also called Sálgogha, and the Nalkántha.³

¹ The details of Akbar's settlement in A.D. 1583 show Sorath with sixty three sub divisions and Navánagar (Islámnagar) with seventeen. Similarly in the *A'in-i-Albani* (A.D. 590) Sorath with its nine divisions includes the whole peninsula except Jhalávada in the north, which was then part of Ahmedábád. Gladwin, II. 64 and 65-71.

² Bird's History of Gujarat, 418

³ Nayad is the present Nayadkántha about ten miles south west of Rádhanpur containing Jatwar and Varahi in the west near the Ran and spreading east to Sami and Mungpur thirty to forty miles south west of Pátan. Hálár is in the north west of the peninsula, Káthiáváda in the centre, Gohiáváda in the south east, Bábriáváda south west of Gohiáváda, Chorár or Chorvár north west of Virával, Panchál in the north east centre, Okhár or Okhamandal in the extreme west. Nalkántha is the hollow between Káthiáváda and the mainland. Besides these names the author of the *Mirát-i-Ahmedi* gives one more district in Sorath and others in Gujarat. The name he gives in Sorath is Nagher or Nágír which he says is also called Sálgogah. Sálgogah is apparently Sindhet and its neighbourhood, as Kodinár, Mádhpúr, Chingana, and Pat in south Káthiáváda are still locally known as Nagher a tract famous for its fruitfulness. The *Mirát-i-Ahmedi* contains the following additional local names. For Kadi thirty five miles north west of Ahmedábád, and for Dholka twenty five miles south west of Ahmedábád, Práth Nagri, for Cambay, Tábánagri, for Viramgam forty miles north west of Ahmedábád, Jhalawár, for Mungpur twenty two miles south-east of Radhanpur and some of the country between it and Pátan, Parpi, for the tract ten miles south-east of Rádhanpur to the neighbourhood of Pátan, Katrez; for the town of Radhanpur in the Palanpur Political Superintendency and its neighbourhood, Vázáth, for the town of Palanpur and its neighbourhood up to Difa and Dinívada, Dhandar, for Bálásinor forty-two miles east of Ahmedábád with a part of Kapa-lang in the Kaira district, Masálwada, for Baroda, Parkher, for the subdivision of Jambúsar in the Broach district fifteen miles north west of Broach city, Kánam, for Ahmednagar that is Chota Udepur and the rough lands east of Godhra, Pálwars

The present Sorath stretches no further than the limits of Jūnāgadh, Bāntwa, and a few smaller holdings

The name Kāthiavāda is of recent origin. It was not until after the establishment of Musalmān power in Gujarāt that any portion of the peninsula came to bear the name of the tribe of Kāthīs. Even as late as the middle of the eighteenth century, the name Kāthiavāda was applied only to one of the sub-divisions of the peninsula. In the disorders which prevailed during the latter part of the eighteenth century, the Kāthīs made themselves conspicuous. As it was from the hardy horsemen of this tribe that the tribute-exacting Marāthās met with the fiercest resistance, they came to speak of the whole peninsula as the land of the Kāthīs. This use was adopted by the early British officers and has since continued.

Under the Ahmedābād kings, as it still is under British rule, Gujarāt was divided politically into two main parts, one, called the *khalsah* or crown domain administered directly by the central authority, the other, on payment of tribute in service or in money, left under the control of its former rulers. The amount of tribute paid by the different chiefs depended, not on the value of their territory, but on the terms granted to them when they agreed to become feudatories of the kings of Ahmedābād. Under the Gujarāt Sultans this tribute was occasionally collected by military expeditions headed by the king in person and called *mulkīrī* or country-seizing circuits.

The internal management of the feudatory states was unaffected by their payment of tribute. Justice was administered and the revenue collected in the same way as under the Ahalīpur kings. The revenue consisted as before, of a share of the crops received in kind, supplemented by the levy of special cesses, trade, and transit dues. The chief's share of the crops differed according to the locality, it rarely exceeded one-third of the produce, it rarely fell short of one sixth. From some parts the chief's share was realised directly from the cultivator by agents called *mantīs*, from other parts the collection was through superior landowners.¹

The Ahmedābād kings divided the portion of their territory which was under their direct authority into districts or *sarkārs*. These districts were administered in one of two ways. They were either assigned to nobles in support of a contingent of troops or they were set apart as crown domains and managed by paid officers. The officers placed in charge of districts set apart as crown domains were called *mukhtāṣ*.² Their chief duties were to preserve the peace and to collect the revenue. For the maintenance of order, a body of soldiers from the army head-quarters at Ahmedābād was detached for service in each of these divisions, and placed under the command of the district governor. At the same time, in addition to the presence of this detachment of regular troops, every district contained certain

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MUSALMĀN
GUJARAT
A.D. 1297-1760.

Kāthiavāda.

UNDER THE
KINGS,
1403-1673.

States.

Districts.

Crown Lands

¹ Rās Māla, I 241

² Makṭāṣ and *iktāṣ*, the district administered by a *mukhtāṣ*, come from the Arabic root *kataṣ*, he cut, in allusion to the public revenue or the lands cut and apportioned for the pay of the officers and their establishments.

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UNDER THE
KINGS,
A.D. 1403-1573.

fortified outposts called *thánás*, varying in number according to the character of the country and the temper of the people. These posts were in charge of officers called *thánadárs* subordinate to the district governor. They were garrisoned by bodies of local soldiery, for whose maintenance, in addition to money payments, a small assignment of land was set apart in the neighbourhood of the post. On the arrival of the tribute-collecting army the governors of the districts through which it passed were expected to join the main body with their local contingents. At other times the district governors had little control over the feudatory chiefs in the neighbourhood of their charge.

Fiscal.

For fiscal purposes each district or *sarhár* was distributed among a certain number of sub-divisions or *parganáhs*, each under a paid official styled *ámíl* or *taksildár*. These sub-divisional officers realised the state demand, nominally one-half of the produce, by the help of the headmen of the villages under their charge. In the sharehold and simple villages of North Gujarát these village headmen were styled *patels* or according to Musalmán writers *muhaddams* and in the simple villages of the south they were known as *desáís*. They arranged for the final distribution of the total demand in joint villages among the shareholders, and in simple villages from the individual cultivators.¹ The sub-divisional officer presented a statement of the accounts of the villages in his sub-division to the district officer, whose record of the revenue of his whole district was in turn forwarded to the head revenue officer at court. As a check on the internal management of his charge, and especially to help him in the work of collecting the revenue, with each district governor was associated an accountant. Further that each of these officers might be the greater check on the other, king Ahmed I (A.D. 1412-1443) enforced the rule that when the governor was chosen from among the royal slaves the accountant should be a free man, and that when the accountant was a slave the district governor should be chosen from some other class. This practise was maintained till the end of the reign of Muzaffar Sháh (A.D. 1511-1525), when, according to the *Mirát-i-Ahmedi*, the army became much increased, and the ministers, condensing the details of revenue, farmed it on contract, so that many parts formerly yielding one rupee now produced ten, and many others seven eight or nine, and in no place was there a less increase than from ten to twenty per cent. Many other changes occurred at the same time, and the spirit of innovation creeping into the administration the wholesome system of checking the accounts was given up and mutiny and confusion spread over Gujarát.²

Assigned Lands.

The second class of directly governed districts were the lands assigned to nobles for the maintenance of contingents of troops. As in other parts of India, it would seem that at first these assignments were for specified sums equal to the pay of the contingent. When such assignments were of long standing, and were large enough to swallow the whole revenue of a district, it was natural to simplify the

¹ Further particulars regarding these village headmen are given below.

² Bird's History of Gujarát, 192, *Mirát-i-Sikandari*, Persian Text, 44.

arrangement by transferring the collection of the revenue and the whole management of the district to the military leader of the contingent. So long as the central power was strong, precautions were doubtless taken to prevent the holder of the grant from unduly rackrenting his district and appropriating to himself more than the pay of the troops, or from exercising any powers not vested in the local governors of districts included within the crown domains. As in other parts of India, those stipulations were probably enforced by the appointment of certain civil officers directly from the government to inspect the whole of the noble's proceedings, as well in managing his troops as in administering his lands.¹ The decline of the king's power freed the nobles from all check or control in the management of their lands. And when, in A D 1536, the practice of farming was introduced into the crown domains, it would seem to have been adopted by the military leaders in their lands, and to have been continued till the annexation of Gujarât by the emperor Akbar in A D 1573.

It was the policy of Akbar rather to improve the existing system than to introduce a new form of government. After to some extent contracting the limits of Gujarât he constituted it a province or *sûbah* of the empire, appointing to its government an officer of the highest rank with the title of *sûbahdâr* or viceroy. As was the case under the Ahmedâbid kings, the province continued to be divided into territories managed by feudatory chiefs, and districts administered by officers appointed either by the court of Dehli or by the local viceroy. The head-quarters of the army remained at Ahmedâbâd, and detachments were told off and placed under the orders of the officers in charge of the directly administered divisions. These district governors, as before, belonged to two classes, paid officers responsible for the management of the crown domains and military leaders in possession of lands assigned to them in pay of their contingent of troops. The governors of the crown domains, who were now known as *faujdârs* or commanders, had, in addition to the command of the regular troops, the control of the outposts maintained within the limits of their charge. Like their predecessors they accompanied the viceroy in his yearly circuit for the collection of tribute.

As a check on the military governors and to help them in collecting the revenue, the distinct class of account officers formerly established by king Ahmed I (A D 1412-1443) was again introduced. The head of this branch of the administration was an officer, second in rank to the viceroy alone, appointed direct from the court of Dehli with the title of *diwan*. Besides acting as collector general of the revenues of the province, this officer was also the head of its civil administration. His title *divân* is generally translated minister. And though the word minister does not express the functions of the office, which corresponded more nearly with those of a chief secretary, it represents with sufficient accuracy the relation in which the holder of the office of *divân* generally stood to the viceroy.

Introduction

UNDER THE
KINGS,
A D 1403-1573

Assigned Lands

UNDER THE
MUGHALS,
A D 1573-1760
Administration

Crown Lands.

¹ Elphinstone's History, 76.

Introduction.

UNDER THE
MUGHALS,
A.D. 1573-1760.

Revenue
Officials.

For its revenue administration each district or group of districts had its revenue officials called *amīns* who corresponded to the collector of modern times. There were also *amīns* in the customs department separate from those whose function was to control and administer the land revenue. Beneath the *amīn* came the *āmil*¹ who carried on the actual collection of the land revenue or customs in each district or *parganāh*, and below the *āmil* were the *fāils*, *mushrifis*, or *kāhūns* that is the revenue clerks. The *āmil* corresponded to the modern *māmlatdar*, both terms meaning him who carries on the *amal* or revenue management. In the leading ports the *āmil* of the customs was called *mutasaddi* that is civil officer.

Village
Officers.

The *āmil* or *māmlatdar* dealt directly with the village officials, namely with the *mukaddam* or headman, the *patwārī* or lease manager, the *lanūngo* or accountant and the *havāldar* or grain-yard guard. The *havāldar* superintended the separation of the government share of the produce, apportioned to the classes subject to forced labour their respective turns of duty, and exercised a general police superintendence by means of subordinates called *pasāntas* or *vartanūs*. In ports under the *mutasaddi* was a harbour-master or *shāh-bandar*.

Desāis.

Crown sub-divisions had, in addition, the important class called *desāis*. The *desar's* duty appears at first to have been to collect the *salāmī* or tribute due by the smaller chiefs, landholders, and *rantadārs* or sharers. For this, in Akbar's time, the *desar* received a remuneration of 2½ per cent on the sum collected. Under the first viceroy Mirza Aziz Kokaltāsh (A.D. 1573-1575) this percentage was reduced to one-half of its former amount, and in later times this one-half was again reduced by one-half. Though the Muhammadan historians give no reason for so sweeping a reduction, the cause seems to have been the inability of the *desāis* to collect the tribute without the aid of a military force. Under the new system the *desar* seems merely to have kept the accounts of the tribute due, and the records both of the amount which should be levied as tribute and of other customary rights of the crown. In later times the *desar* were to a great extent superseded by the district accountants or *majmūdārs*, and many *desāis*, especially in south Gujarāt, seem to have sunk to *patels*.

Land Tax

Up to the vicereignty of Mirza Isā Taikhān (A.D. 1612-1644), the land tax appears to have been levied from the cultivator in a fixed sum, but he was also subject to numerous other imposts. Land grants in *wazīfah* carried with them an hereditary title and special exemption from all levies except the land tax. The levy in kind appears to have ceased before the close of Mughal rule. In place of a levy in kind each village paid a fixed sum or *jama* through the district accountant or *majmūdār* who had taken the place of the *desar*. As in many cases the *jama* really meant the lump sum at which the crown villages were assessed and farmed to the chiefs and *patels*, on the collapse of the empire many villages thus farmed to chiefs and landlords were

¹ In Mīrwār and in the north and north east this official was styled *tahsilḍār* and in the Dakhan *lamḍarḍār*.

retained by them with the connivance of the *muzmuddars desâis* and others

The administration of justice seems to have been very complete. In each *kashuk* or town *kazis*, endowed with glebe lands in addition to a permanent salary, adjudicated disputes among Muhammadans according to the laws of Islam. Disputes between Muhammadans and unbelievers, or amongst unbelievers, were decided by the department called the *sadârat*, the local judge being termed a *sadr*. The decisions of the local *kazis* and *sadrs* were subject to revision by the *kâzi* or *sadr* of the *subah* who resided at Ahmedabad. And as a last resort the Ahmedabad decisions were subject to appeal to the *Kâzi-ul-Kuzât* and the *Sadr-üs-Sudûn* at the capital.

The revenue appears to have been classed under four main heads. 1 The *Khazanah-i-A'mrah* or imperial treasury which comprehended the land tax received from the crown *paraganâhs* or districts, the tribute, the five per cent customs dues from infidels, the import dues on stuffs, and the *sâq* or land customs including transit dues, slave market dues, and miscellaneous taxes. 2 The treasury of arrears into which were paid government claims in arrear either from the *âmil*s or from the farmers of land revenue, *takâvî* advances due by the *rayats*, and tribute levied by the presence of a military force. 3 The treasury of charitable endowments. Into this treasury was paid the 2½ per cent levied as customs dues from Muhammadans.¹ The pay of the religious classes was defrayed from this treasury. 4 The treasury, into which the *jaziâh* or capitation tax levied from *zimmi*s or infidels who acknowledged Muhammadan rule, was paid. The proceeds were expended in charity and public works. After the death of the emperor Farrukhsiyar (A D 1713-1719), this source of revenue was abolished. The arrangements introduced by Akbar in the end of the sixteenth century remained in force till the death of Aurangzib in A D 1707. Then trouble and perplexity daily increased, till in A D 1724-25, Hamid Khân usurped the government lands, and, seeking to get rid of the servants and assignments, gradually obtained possession of the records of the registry office. The keepers of the records were scattered, and yearly revenue statements ceased to be received from the districts.²

Akbar continued the system of assigning lands to military leaders in payment of their contingents of troops. Immediately after the annexation in A D 1573, almost the whole country was divided among the great nobles.³ Except that the revenues of certain tracts were

Introduction.

UNDER THE
MUGHALS,
A D. 1673-1760.

Justice

Fiscal.

Assigned Lands.

¹ *Zakât*, literally purification or cleansing, is the name of a tax levied from Muslims for charitable purposes or religious uses. In the endowments treasury the customs dues from Muslims at 2½ per cent (the technical 1 in 40) as contrasted with the five per cent levied from infidels (the technical 2 in 40) were entered. Hence in these accounts *zakât* corresponds with customs dues, and is divisible into two kinds *khushkî zakât* or land customs and *tari zakât* or sea customs.

² Bird's History of Gujarat, 93. Though under the Mughal viceroys the state demand was at first realized in grain, at the last the custom was to assess each subdivision, and probably each village, at a fixed sum or *jama*. The total amount for the subdivision was collected by an officer called *muzmuddar*, literally keeper of collections, the village headmen, *patels* or *mukaddams*, being responsible each for his own village.

³ Bird's History of Gujarat, 325.

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 UNDER THE
 MUGHALS,
 1573-1700.
 Assigned Lands

set aside for the imperial exchequer the directly governed districts passed into the hands of military leaders who employed their own agents to collect the revenue. During the seventeenth century the practice of submitting a yearly record of their revenues, and the power of the viceroy to bring them to account for misgovernment, exercised a check on the management of the military leaders. And during this time a yearly surplus revenue of £800,000 (Rs 60,00,000) from the assigned and crown lands was on an average forwarded from Gujarāt to Dehli. In the eighteenth century the decay of the viceroy's authority was accompanied by the gradually increased power of the military leaders in possession of assigned districts, till finally, as in the case of the Nawabs of Broach and Surat, they openly claimed the position of independent rulers.¹

Minor Offices.

Of both leading and minor officials the *Miāt-i-Ahmedī* supplies the following additional details. The highest officer who was appointed under the seal of the minister of the empire was the provincial *divān* or minister. He had charge of the fiscal affairs of the province and of the revenues of the *khalsa* or crown lands, and was in some matters independent of the viceroy. Besides his personal salary he had 150 *sawārs* for two provincial *thānās* Arjanpur and Khambālia. Under the *divān* the chief officers were the *pīshkār divān* his first assistant, who was appointed under imperial orders by the patent of the *divān*, the *dāroghah* or head of the office, and the *sharīf* or *mushrif* and *tehwildār* of the *daftar khunāhs*, who presided over the accounts with *munshis* and *muharrirs* or secretaries and writers. The *kāzis*, both town and city, with the sanction of the emperor were appointed by the chief law officer of the empire through the chief law officer of the province. They were lodged by the state, paid partly in cash partly in land, and kept up a certain number of troopers. In the *kāzi's* courts *wakīls* or pleaders and *muftis* or law officers drew 8 as. to Re 1 a day. Newly converted Musalmāns also drew 8 as. a day. The city censor or *muhtasib* had the supervision of morals and of weights and measures. He was paid in cash and land, and was expected to keep up sixty troopers. The news-writer, who was sometimes also *bakhshī* or military paymaster had a large staff of news-writers called *wākīlāh-nigār* who worked in the district courts and offices as well as in the city courts. He received his news-reports every evening and embodied them in a letter which was sent to court by camel post. A second staff of news-writers called *sawānlāh-nigār* reported rumours. A third set were the *harkārās* on the viceroy's staff. Postal *chankis* or stations extended from Ahmedābād to the Ajmīr frontier, each with men and horse ready to carry the imperial post which reached Shah Jehānābād or Dehli in seven days. A line of posts also ran south through Broach to the Dakhan. The *faujdārs* or military police, who were sometimes commanders of a thousand and held estates, controlled both the city and the district police. The *kotwal* or head of the city night-watch was appointed by the viceroy. He had fifty troopers and a hundred foot. In the treasury department were the *amīn* or chief, the *dāroghah*, the

¹ Bird's History of Gujarāt, 341.

in *askari*, the treasurer and five messengers. In the medical department were a Yunani or Greek school and a Hindu physician, two under-physicians on eight and ten annas a day, and a surgeon. The yearly grant for food and medicine amounted to Rs. 2000.¹

As to the class of vernacular terms that belong to the administration of the province, certain technical words connected with the tenure of land are of frequent occurrence in the history. For each of these, in addition to the English equivalent which as far as possible has been given in the text, some explanation seems necessary. During the period to which the history refers, the superior holders of the land of the province belonged to two main classes, those whose claims dated from before the Musalman conquest and those whose interest in the land was based on a Musalman grant. By the Musalman historians, holders of the first class—who were all Hindus—are called *zamindars*, while holders of the second class, Musalman as a rule, are spoken of as *raja* or *raja*. Though the term *zamindar* was used to include the whole body of superior Hindu landholders, in practice a marked distinction was drawn between the almost independent chief, who still enjoyed the Hindu title of *raja* or *rajah*, or *raja*, and the petty chief, who, as a chief of a government village, who in a Hindu state would have been known as a *gavdar*.

The larger landholder, who had succeeded in avoiding complete subjection, was in a practical sense little more than for the payment of a certain fixed sum, the collection of which by the central power in later times usually required the presence of a military force. With regard to the collection of the claims of the smaller landholders of the superior class, whose claims fell within the limit of the directly administered districts, no step seems to have been taken till the reign of Ahmed Shah I (A.D. 1411-1440). About the year A.D. 1420 the peace of his kingdom was so broken by agrarian disturbances, that Ahmed Shah agreed, on condition of their paying tribute and performing military service, to regrant to the landholders of the *raja* or *raja* class a hereditary possession a one-fourth share of their revenue village land. The portion so set apart was called *ranta* or *chara*, and the remainder remained as state land, was called *talpat*. The agreement continued till in the year A.D. 1545, during the reign of Mahmud Shah II (A.D. 1536-1553), an attempt was made to annex the private shares to the crown. This measure caused much discontent and disorder. It was reversed by the emperor Akbar who, as part of the settlement of the province in A.D. 1583, restored their one-fourth share to the landholders, and, except that the Marathis

Introduction.

UNDER THE
MUGHALS,
A.D. 1573-1760.

Land Tenures.

Hereditary
Hindu
Landholders

¹ Mirat-i-Ahmedi Persian Text page 115.

The title *raja* is applicable to the head of a family only. The payment of tribute to the Mughals or Marathis does not affect the right to use this title. *Rajna* and *raja* seem to be of the same dignity as *raja*. *Rajal* is of lower rank. The sons of *raja*, *raja*, *raja*, and *raja* are called *rajuts* and their sons *thakurs*. The younger sons of *thakurs* became *thakurs* that is landowners or *gavdars*, that is owners of *gavdar* or *thakur*. *Jain* is the title of the chiefs of the *Jain* tribe both of the elder branch in Kachhad and of the younger branch in Navangur, or latter Kachhad in Kachhad.

Ras Mah, II. 275

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UNDER THE
MUSALMÁN
A.D. 1572-1760.

LEVIES.

afterwards levied an additional quit-rent from these lands, the arrangements then introduced have since continued in force.¹

During the decay of Musalmán rule in Gujarát in the first half of the eighteenth century, shareholders of the *garásia* class in government villages, who were always ready to increase their power by force, levied many irregular exactions from their more peaceful neighbours, the cultivators or inferior landholders. These levies are known as *col* that is a forced contribution or *pul* that is protection. All have this peculiar characteristic that they were paid by the cultivators of crown lands to petty marauders to purchase immunity from their attacks. They in no case partook of the nature of dues imposed by a settled government on its own subjects. *Tora qarás*, more correctly *toda qarás*, is another levy which had its origin in eighteenth century disorder. It was usually a readymoney payment taken from villages which, though at the time crown or *khalsa*, had formerly belonged to the *garasia* who exacted the levy. Besides a readymoney payment contributions in kind were sometimes exacted.

Service Lands.

The second class of superior landholders were those whose title was based on a Musalmán grant. Such grants were either assignments of large tracts of land to the viceroy, district-governors, and nobles, to support the dignity of their position and maintain a contingent of troops, or they were allotments on a smaller scale granted in reward for some special service. Land granted with these objects was called *jaqr*, and the holder of the land *jágirdár*. In theory, on the death of the original grantee, such possessions were strictly resumable; in practice they tended to become hereditary. No regular payments were required from holders of *jágírs*. Only under the name of *peshkash* occasional contributions were demanded. These occasional contributions generally consisted of such presents as a horse, an elephant, or some other article of value. They had more of the nature of a freewill offering than of an enforced tribute. Under the Musalmáns contributions of this kind were the only payments exacted from proprietors of the *jágirdár* class. But the Maráthas, in addition to contributions, imposed on *jágirdárs* a regular tribute, similar to that paid by the representatives of the original class of superior Hindu landholders.

Under Musalmán rule great part of Gujarat was always in the hands of *jágirdárs*. So powerful were they that on two occasions under the Ahmedabád kings, in A.D. 1551 and A.D. 1572, the leading

¹ Under the Maráthas the title *zamindár* was bestowed on the farmers of the land revenue and this phrase was adopted by the earlier English writers on Gujarat. In consequence of this change small landholders of the superior class, in directly administered districts, came again to be called by their original Hindu name of *garasia*. Mr. Elphinstone (History, 79 and note 13) includes under the term *zamindár* (1) half-subdued chieftains (2) independent governors of districts, and (3) farmers of revenue. He also notices that until Aurangzib's time such chiefs as enjoyed some degree of independence were also called *zamindárs*. But in Colonel Walker's time, A.D. 1765 at least in Gujarat (Bombay Government Selections XXXIX. 25) the term *zamindár* included *desais*, *rajmudars* (district accountants), *patels*, and *talukdars* (taluk-dar).

Introduction

COEDITION OF
GUJARAT,
A.D. 1297-1500

Under the
Early Viceroys,
1297-1407

riches distributed among themselves the entire area of the kingdom. Again during the fifteenth century, when Muslim rule was on the decline, the *zamindars* by degrees won for themselves positions of almost complete independence.

The changes in the extent of territory and in the form of administration illustrate the effect of the government on the condition of the people during the different period of Muslim rule. The following summary of the leading characteristics of each of the main divisions of the four and a half centuries of Muslim ascendancy may serve as an introduction to the detailed narrative of events.

On conquering Gujarat in A.D. 1297 the Muslims found the country rich and fertile. The rich lands of Andulapur or Patan suffering under the shadow of a more complete title held even their crown lands without interruption of payment had allowed the outlying territory to slip almost entirely from their control. Several of the larger and more distant rulers had resumed their independence. The Phils and Kohls of the hills, forest and rough river-banks were in revolt. Andstranger chief, a Hindu chief, the Muslim conquests in Upper India, had reduced the central power to much territory. The records of the early Muslim viceroys, A.D. 1297-1407, show suspicion on the side of the Deccan and delinquency on the part of more than one viceroy, much confusion there, heat the province, and little in the way of government beyond the exercise of military force. At the same time, on the coast of wars and rebellions, the country, in parts at least, seems to

1. Details of the 272 pavans the Muslim soldiers show that the chief nobles were to be paid for the service of pavans from 4000 to 20,000 horses, and held tribute in silver and gold of 21,00,000 to 21,00,000. Bank's Gujarat, 100-127.

According to the European travellers in India during the sixteenth century, the revenue of the province and probably to some extent all large holders of service lands, employed a system of double adding, to the profits which the assigned lands were meant to yield. Of these double taxes, it seems to have been especially common, the practice of adding a half of horse to either the number assessed for and the practice of paying a rate that is of levying, supplies without payment. Sir Thomas Roe, from 1615 to 1619, in his audience before the court of the emperor Jahangir gave the following details of the irregular practices. 'The Patan (that is Patan in Bengal) viceroys receive a tax assessed at 5000 horses, the yearly pay of each trooper being £ 0 (the 00) of which he keeps only 100 being allowed the surplus as dead pay. On one occasion the governor wished to present him with 100 leaves of the finest sugar, as white as snow, each leaf weighing fifty pounds. On my declining, he said, 'You refuse these leaves, thinking I am poor, but being made in my government the emperor is no richer, as it comes to me gratis.' Sir Thomas Roe in Kerr's Voyages, IX, 282-284. The same writer, the best qualified of the English travellers of that time to form a correct opinion, thus describes the administration of the Muslim governors of the seventeenth century. 'They practise every kind of tyranny against the natives under their jurisdiction, oppressing them with continual exactions and are exceedinglyaverse from any way being opened by which the king may be informed of their infamous proceedings. They grind the people under their government to extract money from them, often hanging men up by the heels to make them confess that they are rich, or to ransom themselves from faults merely imputed with a view to fleece them.' Sir Thomas Roe in Kerr's Voyages, IX, 378.

2. Of these settlements the principal was that of the Rathol chief whom the thirteenth century established himself at Idar, now one of the states of the Mahr Kantha. In the thirteenth century also, Gohils from the north and Sodha Parmars and Kathis from Sindh entered Gujarat. Rias Mala, II 260.

Introduction.

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have been well cultivated, and trade and manufactures to have been flourishing.¹

The period of the rule of the Ahmedabad Kings (A.D. 1403-1573) contains two divisions, one lasting from A.D. 1403 to A.D. 1530, on the whole a time of strong government and of growing power and prosperity, the other the forty-three years from A.D. 1530 to the conquest of the province by the emperor Akbar in A.D. 1573, a time of disorder and misrule. In A.D. 1403 when Gujarat separated from Delhi the new King held but a narrow strip of plain. On the north were the independent chiefs of Sirohi and Jhalor, from whom he occasionally levied contributions. On the east the Raja of Idar, another Rájput prince, was in possession of the western skirts of the hills and forests and the rest of that tract was held by the mountain tribes of Bhils and Kolis. On the west the peninsula was in the hands of nine or ten Hindu tribes, probably tributary, but by no means obedient.² In the midst of so unsettled and variable a population, all the efforts of Muzaffar I., the founder of the dynasty, were spent in establishing his power. It was not until the reign of his successor Ahmed I. (A.D. 1412-1443) that steps were taken to settle the different classes of the people in positions of permanent order. About the year A.D. 1420 two important measures were introduced. Of these one assigned lands for the support of the troops, and the other recognised the rights of the superior class of Hindu landholders to a portion of the village lands they had formerly held. The effect of these changes was to establish order throughout the districts directly under the authority of the crown. And though, in the territories subject to feudatory chiefs, the presence of an armed force was still required to give effect to the King's claims for tribute his increasing power and wealth made efforts at independence more hopeless, and gradually secured the subjection of the greater number of his vassals. During the latter part of the fifteenth and the first quarter of the sixteenth century the power of the Ahmedabad Kings was at its height. At that time their dominions included twenty-five divisions or *parbors*. Among nine of these namely Patan, Ahmedabad, Sûnth, Godhra, Champâner, Baroda, Broach, Nanded or Rájpipla, and Surat the central plain was distributed. In addition in the north were four divisions, Sirohi, Jhalor, Todlipur, and Nâgor now in south-west and central Rájputâna, in the north-east those of Dungarpur and Bansvâda, now in the extreme

Under the
Kings,
1403-1573.

The towns of Almeida, and the ruins of Champaner and Mahomedabad, each worth a visit, were at the command of the river, and a horse boat, while a concourse of travellers, seem to show that the price to expend time of the rule was not greater than the labour was well able to bear. The Portuguese traveller Duarte Barbosa, who was in Gujarat between A.D. 1511 and A.D. 1514, found the capital Champaner, a city in a very fertile country of abundant produce, with many cow-sheds, and plenty of fruit, so that it was full of inhabitants. Almeida was still larger, very rich and well

5 The remains at Champamer in the British district of the Panch Mahals are well known. Of Mohumadabad, the town of that name in the district of Kaira, eighteen miles south of Ahmedabad, a few ruins only are left. In A.D. 1590 this city is said to have contained in its grand edifices surrounded with a wall eleven miles (7 kos) square with at every 1 mile (1 kos) a pleasure house, and an enclosure for deer and other game. (Ain-i-Akbari, Gladwin II. 61.) The Mirāt-i-Ahmedī makes no special reference to the revenue's share of the revenue. The greater part of the £5,620,000 derived from

14 C 1573

The thirty-eight years between the defeat of king Bahadur by the emperor Humayūn in A.D. 1555 and the annexation of Gujrat by Akbar in A.D. 1573 was a time of confusion. Abroad, the superiority of Gujrat over the neighbouring powers was lost, and the limits of the kingdom shrank; at home after the attempted confiscation A.D. 1545, of their shares in village lands the disaffection of the superior landowners became general, and the court, beyond the narrow limits of the crown domains, ceased to exercise substantial control over

[illegible]

either the chief noble, or the more turbulent classes. In spite of these forty years of disorder, the province retained so much of its former prosperity, that the report of the local historians that in A.D. 1573 Gujarat was in every respect allowed to be the finest country in Hindustan is supported by the details shortly afterwards (A.D. 1590) given by Abul Fazl in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. The high road from Patan to Baroda was throughout its length of 150 miles (100 *fers*) lined on both sides with mango trees, the fields were bounded with hedges, and such was the abundance of mango and other fruit trees that the whole country seemed a garden. The people were well housed in dwellings with walls of brick and nocturnal with tiled roofs, many of them rode in carriages drawn by oxen, the province was famous for its painters, carvers, masons, and other craftsmen.¹

Like the period of the rule of the Ahmednagar kings, the period of Mughal rule contains two distinct periods of good government lasting from A.D. 1573 to A.D. 1700, and a time of disorder from A.D. 1700 to A.D. 1760. Under the arrangements introduced by the emperor Akbar in A.D. 1580, the area of the province was considerably curtailed. Of its twenty-five districts nine were restored to the empire, from which the vision of the Ahmednagar kings had wrested Anand, Jodhpur and Jodhpur were transferred to Rajputana, Nagor to Ajmer, Mulher and Nandurbar to Khandesh, Bombay, Bassein, and Daman were allowed to remain under the Portuguese, and Dindar-Rajpur (Junagadh) was made over to the Nizamshahi (A.D. 1590-1595) rulers of the Deccan Ahmednagar. Of the remaining sixteen, Surath, Dahanpur, and Bassein (now in Rajputana) Kachhi, Surath in Rewa Kanthi, and Ramnagar (Dharanpur) in Surat were, on the payment of tribute, allowed to continue in the hands of their Hindu rulers. The ten remaining districts were administered directly by imperial officers. But as the revenue of the district of Surat had been separately assigned to the revenue officer or *mutasaddi*, only nine districts with 181 sub-divisions or *paraganahs* were entered in the collections from the viceroy of Gujarat. These nine districts were in continental Gujarat, Patan with seventeen sub-divisions, Ahmedabad with thirty-three, Godhra with eleven, Chimpener with thirteen, Baroda with four, Broach with fourteen and Rajpuri (Nandod) with twelve. In the peninsula were Sorath with sixty-two and Navanagar with seventeen sub-divisions. This lessening of area seems to have been accompanied by even more than a corresponding reduction in the state demand. Instead of £5,840,050 (Rs. 5,81,00,500), the revenue recovered in A.D. 1571, two years before the province was annexed, under the arrangement introduced by the emperor Akbar, the total amount, including the receipts from Surat and the tribute of the six feudatory

Introduction
 (EXISTENCE OF
 GUJARAT
 A.D. 1597-1760)

Under the
 Mughals,
 1573-1760

¹ Gladwin's *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, 62-63. Compare Terry (Voyage, 80, 131) in 1615 Gujarat a very goodly large and exceeding rich province with, besides its most spacious populous and rich capital Ahmednagar, four fair cities Cambay Baroda Broach and Surat with great trade to the Red Sea, Achin, and other places. At the same time (Ditto, 179-180) though the villages stood very thick, the houses were generally very poor and base, all set close together some with earthen walls and flat roofs, most of them cottages miserably poor little and base set up with sticks rather than timber.

COLLECTION OF
GRASS AT
A 1129-1700

Urdu - the
Muhammads,
1573-1760.

According to the Mirāt-i-Ahmedi this revenue of £1,999,113 (Rs 1,99,91,130) continued to be realised as late as the reign of Muhammad Shah (A.D 1719 - 1718). But within the next twelve years (A.D 1718 - 1732) the whole revenue had fallen to £1,235,000 (Rs 1,23,50,000). Of £1,999,113 (Rs 1,99,91,130), the total amount levied by Akbar on the annexation of the province £520,501 (Rs 52,05,010), or a little more than a quarter, were set apart for imperial use and royal expense, £55,000 (Rs 5,50,000) were assigned for the support of the viceroy and the personal estates of the nobles, and the remainder was settled for the pay of other officers of rank and court officials. Nearly £30,000 (Rs 3,00,000) were given away as rewards and pensions to religious orders and establishments.²

1 The decrease in the Mughal collections from Gujarat compared with the revenues of the Ahmedabad kings may have been due to Akbar's moderation. It may also have been due to a decline in prosperity. Compare Ro's (1617) account of Tola about fifty miles south-east of Ajmer. It is the best and most populous country Ro had seen in India. The district was level with fertile soil abounding in corn cotton and cattle and the villages were so numerous and near together as hardly to exceed a *fao* from each other. The towns were the best built Ro had seen in India tiled two storied houses good enough for decent shopkeepers. It had been the residence of a P'gyut Raja before the conquest of Akbar Shah and stood at the foot of a good and strong rock about which were many excellent works of heavy stone well cut, with many tanks arched over with well turned vaults and large middle piers to them. Near it was a beautiful grove two miles long and a quarter of a mile broad all planted with mangoes, tamarinds and other fruit trees shaded by shady walls and interspersed with little temples and idol shrines with many fine masonry wells and summer houses of carved stone curiously arched so that a person might have been content to dwell there. This observation may be universal for the whole country that ruin and devastation operate everywhere. For so much the property of all has become vested in the king no person takes care of anything but it in every place the spoil and devastations of war appear and no one repairs anything repaired. (Ro's Voyages, IX, 229-321)

[illegible]

Besides lightening the state demand the emperor Akbar introduced three improvements (1) The survey of the land, (2) The payment of the headmen or *mukaddams* of government villages, and (3) The restoration to small superior landholders of the share they formerly enjoyed in the lands of government villages. The survey which was entrusted to Rājā Todar Mal, the revenue minister of the empire, was completed in A D 1575. The operations were confined to a small portion of the whole area of the province. Besides the six tributary districts which were unaffected by the measure, Godhira in the east, the western peninsula, and a large portion of the central strip of directly governed lands were excluded, so that of the 184 sub-divisions only 64 were surveyed. In A D 1575, of 7,261,819 acres (12,360,591 *biḡhās*), the whole area measured, 4,920,818 acres (8,374,498 *biḡhās*) or about two-thirds were found to be fit for cultivation, and the remainder was waste. In those parts of the directly governed districts where the land was not measured the existing method of determining the government share of the produce either by selecting a portion of the field while the crop was still standing, or by dividing the grain heap at harvest time, was continued. In surveyed districts the amount paid was determined by the area and character of the land under cultivation. Payment was made either in grain or in money, according to the instructions issued to the revenue collectors, "that when it would not prove oppressive the value of the grain should be taken in ready money at the market price."¹ The chief change in the revenue management was that, instead of each year calculating the government share from the character of the crop, an uniform demand was fixed to run for a term of ten years.

Another important effect of this survey was to extend to cultivators in simple villages the proprietary interest in the soil formerly enjoyed only by the shareholders of joint villages. By this change the power of the military nobles to make undue exactions from the cultivators in their assigned lands was to some extent checked. It was, perhaps, also an indirect effect of this more definite settlement of the crown demand that the revenue agents of government and of the holders of assigned lands, finding that the revenues could be realised without their help, refused to allow to the heads of villages certain revenue dues which, in return for their services, they had hitherto enjoyed. Accordingly, in A D 1589-90, these heads of villages appealed to government and Akbar decided that in assigned districts as well as in the crown domains from the collections of government lands two-and-a-half per cent should be set apart as a perquisite for men of this class.²

Introduction

CONDITION OF
GUJARAT,
A D 1297 - 1760

Under the
Mughals,
1573 1760

¹ *Āin-i-Akbarī* (Gladwin), I 305. The *Āin-i-Akbarī* mentions four ways of calculating the state share in an unsurveyed field (1) to measure the land with the crops standing and make an estimate, (2) to reap the crops, collect the grain in barns, and divide it according to agreement, (3) to divide the field as soon as the seed is sown, and (4) to gather the grain into heaps on the field and divide it there.

² The men to whom this 2½ per cent was granted are referred to in the *Mirāt-i-Ahmedī* as *desais*. Whatever doubt may attach to the precise meaning of the term *desai* it seems clear that it was as village headmen that the *desais* petitioned for and received this grant. These *desais* were the heads of villages with whom, as noticed above, the government agent for collecting the revenue dealt, and who, agreeing for the

of the seventeenth century, though the country was from time to time disturbed by Koli and Rajput risings, and towards the end of the century suffered much from the raids of the Maráthás, the viceroys were, on the whole, able to maintain their authority, repressing the outbreaks of the disorderly classes, and enforcing the imperial claims for tribute on the more independent feudatory chiefs. Throughout the greater part of the seventeenth century the general state of the province seems to have been prosperous. Its cities were the wonder of European travellers. Surat, which only since the transfer of Gujarát to the Mughal empire had risen to hold a place among its chief centres of trade, was, in A.D. 1664, when taken by Shiváji, rich enough to supply him with plunder in treasure and precious stones worth a million sterling¹, and at that time Cambay is said to have been beyond comparison greater than Surat, and Ahmedábád much richer and more populous than either².

From the beginning of the eighteenth century disorder increased. Unable to rely for support on the imperial court, the viceroys failed to maintain order among the leading nobles, or to enforce their tribute from the more powerful feudatories. And while the small Koli and Rajput landholders, freed from the control of a strong central power, were destroying the military posts, taking possession of the state share of village lands, and levying dues from their more peaceful neighbours, the burden of the Maráthá tribute was year by year growing heavier. During the last ten years of Musalmán rule so entirely did the viceroy's authority forsake him, that, according to the author of the *Mirát-i-Ahmedí*, when the great landholders refused to pay their tribute, the viceroy had no power to enforce payment. And so faithless had the great landowners become that the viceroy could not pass the city gate without an escort.³

a wilderness where a way had to be cut and made even and the great space required for the Mughal's camp rid and made plain by grubbing up trees and bushes. And between Cambay and Ahmedábád De la Valle, A.D. 1623 (*Travels*, Hakluyt Ed. I. 92), resolved to go with the *Káfila* since the insecurity of the ways did not allow him to go alone. Still at that time Gujarát as a whole (see above page 220 note 2) was an exceeding rich province, a description which twenty years later (1638) is borne out by Mandelslo (*Travels*, French Edition, 56). No province in India is more fertile; none yields more fruit or victuals. With the boast of the author of the *Mirát-i-Ahmedí* (A.D. 1756) that Gujarát was the richest province in India compare Kháfí Khán's (A.D. 1719) remark (*Elliot*, VII. 530). This rich province which no other province in India can equal.

¹ Orme's *Historical Fragments*, 12.

² The following are some of the notices of Ahmedábád and Cambay by the European travellers of the seventeenth century. Cambay, 1598, trade so great that if he had not seen it he would not have believed it possible (Cmsar Frederick), 1623, indifferent large with sufficiently spacious suburbs and a great concourse of vessels (De la Valle, Hakluyt Edition, I. 66-67); 1638, beyond comparison larger than Surat (Mandelslo, 101-108); 1663-1671, twice as big as Surat (Baldwin in Churchill, III. 506). Ahmedábád, 1598, a very great city and populous (Cmsar Frederick), 1623, competently large with great suburbs, a goodly and great city, with large fair and straight but sadly dusty streets (De la Valle, Hakluyt Edition, I. 95); 1627, large and beautiful with many broad and comely streets, a rich and uniform bazar, and shops redundant with gums perfumes spices silks cottons and calicoes (Herbert's *Travels*, 3rd Edition, 66); 1638, great manufactures, satin and velvet, silk and cotton (Mandelslo, 80), 1695, the greatest city in India, nothing inferior to Venice for rich silks and gold stuffs (Gemelli Careri in Churchill, IV. 188).

³ Bird, 411.

Introduction

CONDITION OF
GUJARÁT,
A.D. 1207-1760

Under the
Mughals,
1573-1760

of the Mughal. The Rajpūta chief afforded them shelter and a passage through his country. The encouragement to anarchy given by some of the Rajput viceroys who were anxious to emancipate themselves from the central control further enabled many chieftains *airāṇas* and others to absorb large portions of the crown domains, and even to recover their ancient capitals. Finally disaffected Muhammadan *talpāḍars* succeeded in building up estates out of the possessions of the crown and founding the families which most of the present Muhammadan chieftains of Gujārat represent.

When the imperial power had been usurped by the Marāṭha leaders, the chiefs who had just shaken off the more powerful Mughal yoke were by no means disposed tamely to submit to Marāṭha domination. Every chief resisted the levy of tribute and Momin Khān reconquered Ahmedābād. In this struggle the Marāṭhas laboured under the disadvantage of dissensions between the Peshwa and the Gāikwār. They were also unaware of the actual extent of the old imperial domain and were ignorant of the amount of tribute formerly levied. They found that the *talpāḍars*, who, in return for Marāṭha aid in enabling them to absorb the crown *parḡanāhs*, had agreed to pay tribute, now joined the *zamindārs* in resisting Marāṭha demands, while with few exceptions the *desais* and *magmudars* either openly allied themselves with the *zamindars* or were by force or fraud deprived of their records. So serious were the obstacles to the collection of the Marāṭha tribute that, had it not been for the British alliance in A.D. 1802, there seems little doubt that the Gāikwār would have been unable to enforce his demands in his more distant possessions. The British alliance checked the disintegration of the Gāikwār's power, and the permanent settlement of the tribute early in this century enabled that chief to collect a large revenue at a comparatively trifling cost. Not only were rebels like Mulkārāo and Kanōji suppressed, but powerful servants like Vithalrāv Devji, who without doubt would have asserted their independence, were confirmed in their allegiance and the rich possessions they had acquired became part of the Gāikwār's dominions.

It must not be supposed that while the larger chiefs were busy absorbing whole *parḡanāhs* the lesser chiefs were more backward. They too annexed villages and even Mughal posts or *thānāhs*, while *vāntādārs* or sharers absorbed the *talpat* or state portion, and, under the name of *tora garāḍ*,¹ daring spirits imposed certain rights over crown villages once their ancient possessions, or, under the name of *pāl* or *rol*, enforced from neighbouring villages payments to secure immunity from pillage. Even in the Baroda district of the thirteen Mughal posts only ten now belong to the Gāikwār, two having been conquered by *gīrāsīās* and one having fallen under Bronch. In Saurāshtra except Rānpur and Gogha and those in the Amroli district, not a single Mughal post is in the possession either of the British Government or of the

Introduction

CONSTITUTION OF
GUJARAT,
A.D. 1297-1760

Marāṭha
Ascendancy,
1760-1802.

Gāikwār Saved
by British
Alliance,
1802.

Power of Chiefs

¹ The usual explanation of *toda garāḍ* is the word *toda* meaning the beam end above each house door. The sense being that it was a levy exacted from every house in the village. A more likely derivation is *toda* a heap or money bag with the sense of a ready money levy. *Toda* differed from *rol* in being exacted from the *garāḍ* or land once the property of the levier's ancestors.

CHAPTER I

EARLY MUSALMAN GOVERNORS.

A.D. 1207-1403

EXCEPT the great expedition of Mahmud Ghaznavi against Somnāth in A.D. 1024¹, the defeat of Muhammad Mu'izz ud-din or Shāhīb ud-din Ghori by Bhīm Dev II of Anhilwāda about A.D. 1178², and the avenging sack of Anhilwāda and defeat of Bhīm by Kutub ud-din Iltut in A.D. 1193 until the reign of Alauddin Khiljī in A.D. 1295-1315, Gujarāt remained free from Muhammadan interference. In A.D. 1207, Ulugh Khān, general of Alauddin and Nurāt Khān Wāṇar were sent against Anhilwāda. They took the city, expelling Karmā Waghela, usually called *Gāḍh*. The Māl, who took refuge at Dāvagadh with Rāmdēv the Yādav sovereign of the north Dāhān³. They next seized Khambhat (the modern Cambay) and, after appointing a local governor, returned to Delhi. From this time Gujarāt remained under Muhammadan power, and Ulugh Khān, avowed of great energy, by repeated expeditions consolidated the conquest and established Muhammadan rule. The Kamādēv Rāmdēv says that he plundered Somnāth and there is no doubt that he conquered Jhāḍor (the ancient Jhādindar) from the Sengarhā Chāḍams. After Ulugh Khān had governed Gujarāt for about twenty years, at the instigation of Malik Kafūr, he was recalled and put to death by the emperor Alauddin⁴.

Ulugh Khān's departure shook Muhammadan power in Gujarāt, and Kamāl ud-din, whom Mubarak Khiljī sent to quell the disturbances, was slain in battle. Sedition spread till Ain ul Mulk Multān arrived

Chapter I.

Early Musalmān Governors

Alauddin
Khiljī
Emperor,
1295-1315
Ulugh Khān,
1207-1317

AIN UL MULK
Governor,
1318

¹ Somnāth (north latitude 6° 55', east longitude 70° 3') the temple of Mahādev 'Lord of the Moon' near the southern extremity of the peninsula of Kathiawāda.

² Anhilwāda (north latitude 23° 48', east longitude 72° 29'), Schirwār or Patan on the south bank of the Sarasvatī river, sixty-five miles north-east of Ahmedabad, was from A.D. 746 to A.D. 1298 the capital of the Rājput dynasties of Gujarāt. As a result of Muhammad Ghori's defeat of the Turkhī Sorath (Burgess 112-113) states that the Turkish Afghān and Mughal prisoners, according to the rule of the Kurān (XXIV-25) were distributed, the wicked women to the wicked men and the good women to the good men. Of the male prisoners the better class after having their heads shaved were enrolled among the Chāḍwāl and Wāḍhīd tribes of Rājput. The lower class were allotted to the Kolis, Khātis, Bāḍis, and Mers. All were allowed to keep their wedding and funeral ceremonies and to remain aloof from other classes.

³ The Mirāt-i Ahmedi gives an account of an expedition by one Afshān a noble of Sultān Bājūr against Atahilwāda in A.D. 1257. He is said to have built the large stone mosque without the city. Afshān returned unsuccessful, but not without levying tribute.

⁴ Dāvagadh near Daulatabad in the Dāhān, about ten miles north-west of Aurangābād (north latitude 19° 57', east longitude 75° 18'). The Mirāt-i Ahmedi has Dāvagadh Chaudah, which is in the Central Provinces.

⁵ Jhāḍor (north latitude 25° 23', east longitude 72° 10') in the Rājput state of Jodhpur, seventy miles south-west by south from the city of Jodhpur.

⁶ Bayley (Gujarāt, 39 note) shows strong ground for holding that, though Gujarāt was conquered by Ulugh Khān a brother of Alauddin, its first governor was not Ulugh Khān but Alp Khān a brother-in-law of Alauddin. According to this account Ulugh Khān died in A.D. 1209 and Alp Khān at Malik Kafūr's instigation was killed in A.D. 1315. Zafar Barmī (I, 101, III, 162) supports this account.

Chapter I.

Early
Musalmán
Governors

Ala-ul-Mulk
Governor,
1318.

Order
Established,
1318.

Muhammad
Tughlak
Emperor,
1325-1351
Taj-ul-Mulk
Governor,
1320

The Emperor
Quells an
Insurrection,
1317.

with a powerful army, defeated the rebels and restored order. He was succeeded by Zafar Khán, who after completing the subjection of the country was recalled, and his place supplied by Hisám-ud-dín Parmár¹. This officer, showing treasonable intentions, was imprisoned and succeeded by Malik Wájid-ud-dín Kuraishi, who was afterwards ennobled by the title of Táj or Sadr-ul-Mulk. Khusráw Khán Parmár was then appointed governor, but it is not clear whether he ever joined his appointment. The next governor to whom reference is made is Táj-ul-Mulk, who about A.D. 1320, was, for the second time, chosen as governor by Sultán Ghás-ud-dín Tughlak. He was succeeded by Malik Mukbil, who held the titles of Khán Jahán and Náib-i-Mukhtár, and who was appointed by Sultán Muhammad Tughlak, A.D. 1325-1351. Subsequently the same emperor granted the government of Gujarát to Ahmad Ayáz, Malik Mukbil continuing to act as his deputy. Afterwards when Ahmad Ayáz, who received the title of Khwájah Jahán, proceeded as governor to Gujarát, Malik Mukbil acted as his minister. And about A.D. 1338, when Khwájah Jahán was sent against the emperor's nephew Karshásp and the Rája of Kampila² who had sheltered him, Malik Mukbil succeeded to the post of governor. On one occasion between Baroda and Dabhoi Malik Mukbil, who was escorting treasure and a caravan of merchants to Delhi, was plundered by some bands of the Amírání Sadah or Captains of Hundreds freelances and freebooters, most of them New Musalmáns or Mughal converts, and the rest Turk and Afghán adventurers. This success emboldened these banditti and for several years they caused loss and confusion in Gujarát. At last, about A.D. 1346, being joined by certain Muhammadan nobles and Hindu chieftains, they broke into open rebellion and defeated one Azíz, who was appointed by the emperor to march against them. In the following year, A.D. 1347, Muhammad Tughlak, advancing in person, defeated the rebels, and sacked the towns of Cambay and Surat. During the same campaign he drove the Gohil chief Mokheráji out of his stronghold on Piram Island near Gogha on the Gulf of Cambay, and then, landing his forces, after a stubborn conflict, defeated the Gohils, killing Mokheráji and capturing Gogha. Afterwards Muhammad Tughlak left for Daulátábád in the Dakhan, and in his absence the chiefs and nobles under Malik Tughán, a leader of the Amírání Sadah, again rebelled, and, obtaining possession of Pátan, imprisoned Muizz-ud-dín the viceroy. The insurgents then plundered Cambay, and afterwards laid siege to Broach. Muhammad Tughlak at once marched for Gujarát and relieved Broach, Malik Tughán retreating to Cambay, whither he was followed by Malik Yúsuf, whom the emperor sent in pursuit of him. In the battle that ensued near Cambay, Malik Yúsuf was defeated and slain, and

¹ According to Zís Barni (Elliot, III. 218) Hisám-ud-dín was the mother's brother, according to others he was the brother of Hasan afterwards Khusráw Khán Parmár the favourite of Mubárák Sháh. On coming to Gujarát Hisám-ud-dín collected his Parmár kindred and revolted, but the nobles joining against him seized him and sent him to Delhi. To their disgust Mubárák in his infatuation for Hisám-ud-dín's nephew or brother, after slapping Hisám-ud-dín on the face set him at liberty.

² In the Karnátak, probably on the Tungabhadra near Vijayanagar Briggs' Muhammadan Power in India, I. 418 and 428. Briggs speaks of two Kampilas one on the Ganges and the other on the Tungabhadra near Bijánagar.

all the prisoners both of this engagement and those who had been previously captured, were put to death by Malik Tughlān. Among the prisoners was Muhammad, the governor of Gujarat. Muhammad Tughlān now marched to Cambay in person, where Malik Tughlān refused to fight, persuaded by the emperor, who was forced by stress of weather to halt at Asīwāl.¹ Eventually the emperor came up with Malik Tughlān near Kachh and gained a complete victory, Malik Tughlān fleeing to Thatha in Sindh. To establish order throughout Gujarat Muhammad Tughlān marched against Girnar,² reduced the fort, and collected tribute from the chief named Khengār. He then went to Kachh, and after subduing that country returned to Sorath. At Girnar he contracted a fever, and before he was entirely recovered, he advanced through Kachh into Sindh with the view of subduing the Sumra chief of Thatha who had sheltered Malik Tughlān. Before reaching Thatha he succumbed to the fever, and died in the spring of c. 1351. Shortly before his death he appointed Nizam-ul-Mulk to the governorship of Gujarat.

In c. 1351, Firuz Tughlāk crossed the Muhammad Tughlān on the frontier of Deccan. Shortly after his accession the emperor marched to Sindh and sent a force against Malik Tughlān. About c. 1360 he again advanced to Sindh against Jam Bahāna. From Sindh he proceeded to Gujarat, where he stayed for some months. Next year, on leaving for Sindh for the third time, he bestowed the government of Gujarat on Zafar Khān in place of Nizam-ul-Mulk. On Zafar Khān's death in c. 1373 according to Firishtah and c. 1371 according to the *Majma' al-Ahmadī*, he was succeeded by his son Darya Khān who appears to have governed by a deputy named Shams-ul-din Anwar Khān. In c. 1379, besides presents of elephants, horses and other valuables, Shams-ul-din Dāmgahān offered a considerable body of rice on the usual collections from Gujarat. As Darya Khān would not agree to pay this sum he was displaced and Shams-ul-din Dāmgahān was appointed governor. Finding himself unable to pay the stipulated amount this officer rebelled and withheld the revenue. Firuz Tughlāk sent an army against him, and by the aid of the chieftains and people, whom he had greatly oppressed, Shams-ul-din was slain. The government of the province was then entrusted to Farhat-ul-Mulk Rāstī Khān. In about c. 1388, a noble named Skandir Khān was sent to supersede Farhat-ul-Mulk, but was defeated and slain by him. As the emperor Firuz Tughlāk died shortly after no notice is taken of Farhat-ul-Mulk's conduct and in the short reign of Firuz's successor Ghias-ud-din Tughlāk, no change was made in the government of Gujarat. During the brief rule of Abu Bakr, Farhat-ul-Mulk continued

Chapter I

Early
Muslim
Governors

Muhammad
Tughlān
Emperor
1325-1351

Taj al-Mulk
Governor,
1350

Subduer
Girnar and
Kachh,
1350

Firuz Tughlāk
Emperor
1351-1389

Zafar Khān
Governor,
1371

Farhat ul
Mulk
Governor,
1376-1389

¹ Asīwāl (north latitude 23° 0', east longitude 72° 36'), a town of some size, after wards, c. 1414, made the capital of the Muslim king of Gujarat and called Ahmedābād.

² Girnar (north latitude 21° 30', east longitude 70° 42'), in the Sorath subdivision of the peninsula of Kathiawar.

³ Both the *Majma' al-Ahmadī* and the *Tārkh-i-Firuz Shāhī* say that the fortress was taken. The *Charkot* or site of Jūngadh, in the plain about two miles west of Vohat, Girnar, is probably meant.

Chapter I.

Early
Musalmán
Governors

Muhammad
Tughlak II.
Emperor,
1391-1393

undisturbed. But in A.D. 1391, on the accession of Násir-ud-dín Muhammad Tughlak II, a noble of the name of Zafar Khán was appointed governor of Gujarát, and despatched with an army to recall or, if necessary, expel Farhat-ul-Mulk.

This Zafar Khán was the son of Wajih-ul-Mulk, of the Tánk tribe of Rájputs who claim to be of Suryavansi descent and together with the Gurjjaras appear from very early times to have inhabited the plains of the Panjáb. Of Wajih-ul-Mulk's rise to power at the Dehli court the following story is told. Before he sat on the throne of Dehli, Fírúz Tughlak, when hunting in the Panjáb, lost his way and came to a village near Thánesar, held by chieftains of the Tánk tribe. He was hospitably entertained by two brothers of the chief's family named Saháran and Sadhu, and became enamoured of their beautiful sister. When his hosts learned who the stranger was, they gave him their sister in marriage and followed his fortunes. Afterwards Fírúz persuading them to embrace Islám, conferred on Saháran the title of Wajih-ul-Mulk, and on Sadhu the title of Shamshír Khán. Finally, in A.D. 1351, when Fírúz Tughlak ascended the throne, he made Shamshír Khán and Zafar Khán, the son of Wajih-ul-Mulk, his cup-bearers, and raised them to the rank of nobles.

ZAFAR KHÁN
Governor,
1391-1403.

Battle of Jitpur;
Farhat ul Mulk
Slain,
1391.

In A.D. 1391, on being appointed viceroy, Zafar Khán marched without delay for Gujarát. In passing Nígor¹ he was met by a deputation from Cambay, complaining of the tyranny of Rásti Khán. Consoling them, he proceeded to Pátan, the seat of government and thence marched against Rásti Khán. The armies met near the village of Khambhori,² a dependency of Pátan, and Farhat-ul-Mulk Rásti Khán was slain and his army defeated. To commemorate the victory, Zafar Khán founded a village on the battle-field, which he named Jitpur (the city of victory), and then, starting for Cambay, redressed the grievances of the people.

Zafar Khán
Attacks Ídar,
1393.

Zafar Khán's first warlike expedition was against the Ráv of Ídar,³ who, in A.D. 1393, had refused to pay the customary tribute, and this chief he humbled. The contemporary histories seem to show that the previous governors had recovered tribute from all or most of the chiefs of Gujarát except from the Ráv of Júnágadh⁴ and the Rája of Rájpipla,⁵ who had retained their independence. Zafar Khán now planned an expedition against the celebrated Hindu shrine of Somnáth, but, hearing that Adil Khán of Asir-Búrhanpur had invaded Sultánpur and Nandúrbár,⁶ he moved his troops in that direction, and Adil Khán retired to Asir.⁷

¹ Nígor (north latitude 25° 10', east longitude 73° 50'), in the Ráthel state of Jodhpur (now called now-near of Jodhpur city).

² The Tānókāt or Akkaras Khampur or Kámpur. The place is Khambhori about twenty miles west of Pátan.

³ Ídar is the principal state of the Main Káthiās. The town of Ídar is in north latitude 23° 50' and east longitude 73° 3'.

⁴ Júnágadh is the S-māh sub-division of Kathiāwār. This is Bageri Rá of Jodhpur. Júnágadh was formerly called Jirāgad, both names meaning 'strong fortress'.

⁵ Rájpipla is in the Rava Káthiā division of Gujarát.

⁶ Sultánpur and Nandúrbár now form part of the British district of Khandesh.

⁷ Asir, now Asirvad (north latitude 21° 26', east longitude 76° 26'), beyond the north eastern frontier of Khandesh.

In A.D. 1391 he marched against the Rājā of Jūnāgarh and exacted tribute. Afterwards, proceeding to Somnāth, he destroyed the temple, built an Assembly Mosque, introduced Islam, left Muslim law officers, and established a *thana* or post in the city of Pātan Somnāth or Deva Pātan. He now heard that the Hindus of Mānda¹ were oppressing the Muslims, and accordingly marching thither, he beleaguered that fortress for a year, but failing to take it contented himself with accepting the excuses of the Rājā. From Mānda he performed a pilgrimage to Ajmir.² Here he proceeded against the chiefs of Sūmbhar and Dandwāra and then attacking the Rājputs of Delvāda and Bhālvāda,³ he defeated them, and returned to Pātan in A.D. 1396. About this time his son Tahir Khān leaving his baggage in the fort of Pampat,⁴ made an attempt on Delhi. But Ikbal Khān took the fort of Pampat, captured Tahir Khān's baggage, and forced him to withdraw to Gujarāt. In A.D. 1397, with the view of reducing Idār, Zafar Khān besieged the fort, having waste the neighbouring country. Before he had taken the fort Zafar Khān received news of Timur's conquests, and concluding a peace with the Idār Rājā, returned to Pātan. In A.D. 1398, hearing that the Somnāth people claimed independence, Zafar Khān led an army against them, defeated them, and established Islam on a firm footing.

Chapter I.
Early
Muslim
Governors.

Zafar Khān
Governor,
1391-1407

1 Exact Tribute
from Jūnāgarh,
1391.

Lays Siege to
Idār Fort,
1397.

Establishes
Islam at
Somnāth,
1398

¹ Mānda (north latitude 22° 20', east longitude 70° 27'), one of the most famous forts in India, the capital of the Fakhān dynasty of Malwa, A.D. 1501-1561, stands on the east of the Narmada about twenty-five miles south of Dhār. During a considerable part of the fifteenth century Mānda was either directly or indirectly under Gujarat. An account of Mānda is given in the Appendix.

² Ajmir (north latitude 26° 29', east longitude 74° 47') the chief town of the district of the same name to which Sūmbhar and Dandwāra belong.

³ Delvāda and Bhālvāda are somewhat difficult. The context suggests either Jhalor in Mārwār or Bhālvāda in the extreme south-east of Rajputāna south of Kotah. The combination Delvāda and Bhālvāda seems to favour Bhālvāda since there is a Delvāda in the south of the peninsula near Dū and a Bhālvāda in the north-east. But the Delvāda of the text can hardly be near Dū. It apparently is Delvāda near Lkhingji about twenty miles north of Jodhpur. The account of Ahmed Shah's expedition to the same place in A.D. 1431 (below page 239) confirms this identification.

⁴ Pampat (north latitude 29° 23', east longitude 77° 2'), seventy-eight miles north of Delhi.

⁵ Farishtah (II, 365) calls the Idār chief Raulal.

CHAPTER II.

AHMEDAHAD KINGS.

ك. ۱۴۳-۱۴۴

Center II

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The role of the Himalayan Kings extends over 170 years and includes the names of 1188 strategists. The period may conveniently be divided into two parts. The first, lasting for a little more than a century and a quarter, when under strong rulers, Gajapati rose to prominence among the kingdoms of Western India; the second, from 1538 to 1573, an era when the strategists were minor and the wealth and supremacy of Gajapati were wasted by the rivalry of its allies.

The date on which Zafar Ali's speech about his allegiance to Durrani Muslims, Pashtuns, says he had the Valley paper circulated appeared in his name after his successful campaign against Chitral and Peshawar in A.D. 1893. According to the Mahsud-Sherani he maintained a nominal allegiance till A.D. 1915 when he formally broke off his ties with the British and the sovereignty of Gajdar, under the title of Amir-ul-Mahsuds.

~~SECRET~~
~~TOP SECRET~~

On ascending the throne in 1913, Mahmud Vahid Shah took Abdul Haq as his chief minister and after founding the office of Ministry of Education, he appointed Abdul Haq as its first Minister. On the way to Peshawar during the same year, the body was brought back to Peshawar and the expedition against Peshawar was ending. It seems probable that this was a costly matter of the time; the first time that in 1913, Peshawar was captured. The Sultan of Peshawar and his army assumed the title of Muhammad Shah and the Peshawar Sultan's dominion was considered by some as independent in the frontier, but in the passage time of the Peshawar Sultan.

Life Skills

77-111-
107-112.

After the death of Muhammad Saif, Zahir Durrani asked his son-in-law, Mirza Shams Durrani to carry on the government, but he refused. Zahir Durrani accordingly sent Shams Durrani to Nagpur to meet with Raja Yashwantrao in 1878 at Pimpri. The Raja, who was the ally of the British, immediately agreed to support the claims and offered the title of Maharaja Saif. He also agreed to pay an annual sum of Rs. 10,000 to Mirza Durrani, and to have

On hearing this, the Minister said nothing more.

1

[illegible]

Hushang died bequeathed him in Dhār.¹ On reducing Dhār, Muzaffar handed Hushang to the charge of his brother Shamsh Khān, on whom he conferred the title of Nāsur Khān. Hushang remained a year in confinement, and Muzaffar Khān, one of his relations, usurped his authority. On hearing this Hushang begged to be released, and Muzaffar Shāh not only agreed to his prayer but sent his grandson Ahmed Khān with an army to restore him. The expedition was successful, the fortress of Māndu was taken and the usurper Muzā Khān was put to flight. Ahmed Khān returned to Gujarat in A.D. 1409-10. Meanwhile Muzaffar advancing towards Delhi to aid Sultan Mahmud (A.D. 1403-1413), prevented an intended attack on that city by Sultan Ibrahim of Jaunpur. On his return to Gujarat Muzaffar led, or more probably despatched, an unsuccessful expedition against Kumbhkot.² In the following year (A.D. 1410-11), to quell a rising among the Kols near Aravā, Muzaffar placed his grandson Ahmed Khān in command of an army. Ahmed Khān camped outside of Patan. He convened an assembly of learned men and asked them whether a son was not bound to exact retribution from his father's murderer. The assembly stated in writing that a son was bound to exact retribution. Armed with this decision, Ahmed suddenly entered the city, overpowered his grandfather, and forced him to drink poison. The old Khān said 'Why so hasty my boy? A little patience and power would have come to you of itself.' He advised Ahmed to kill the evil councillors of murder and to drink no wine. Remorse embittered Ahmed's after life that he was never known to laugh.

On his grandfather's death, Ahmed succeeded with the title of Nāsur-ud-dunya Wad-din Abul fateh Ahmed Shāh. Shortly after Ahmed Shāh's accession, his cousin Moid-ud-din Firuz Khān, governor of Paroda, allying himself with Husām or Nizām-ul-Mulk Bhandāri and other nobles, collected an army at Nadrūd in Kara, and, laying claim to the crown, defeated the king's followers. Jivandās, one of the insurgents, proposed to march upon Patan, but as the others refused a dispute arose in which Jivandās was slain, and the rest sought and obtained Ahmed Shāh's forgiveness. Moid-ud-din Firuz Khān went to Cambay and was there joined by Masti Khān, son of Muzaffar Shāh, who was governor of Surat. On the king's advance they fled from Cambay to Broach, to which fort Ahmed Shāh laid siege. As soon as the king arrived, Moid-ud-din's army went over to the king, and Masti Khān also submitted. After a few days Ahmed Shāh sent for and forgave Moid-ud-din, and returned to Aśwāl victorious and triumphant.

In the following year (A.D. 1413-14)³ Ahmed Shāh defeated Asa Bhui, chief of Aśwāl, and, finding the site of that town suitable for his capital, he changed its name to Ahmedābād, and busied himself

Chapter II.

Ahmedābād Kings.

A.D. 1407-1277.

Muzaffar.
1407-1410

Ahmed I.
1411-1441.

Builds
Ahmed Shāh,
1413.

¹ Dhār (north latitude 22° 35', east longitude 75° 20'), the capital of the state of Dhār thirty three miles west of Alhwa in Central India.

² The Tabakāt-i Akbari has Kankhot a dependency of Kachh. This is probably correct.

³ The date is doubtful. Farishtah (II, 630) gives A.D. 1412, the Ain-i Akbari (Blochman's Edition, I, 607) A.D. 1411.

This example was followed by the greater number of the Sorath chiefs, who, for the time, resigned their independence. Sayad Abûl Khair and Sayad Kâsim were left to collect the tribute, and Ahmed Shâh returned to Ahmedâbâd. Next year he marched against Sidhpur,¹ and in A D 1415 advanced from Sidhpur to Dhâr in Mâlwa. At this time the most powerful feudatories were the Râv of Junâgadh, the Râval of Châmpâner,² the Râja of Nândod, the Râv of Idar, and the Râja of Jhâlâvâda. Trimbakdâs of Châmpâner, Pûnja of Idar, Sirî of Nândod, and Mandlik of Jhâlâvâda, alarmed at the activity of Ahmed Shâh and his zeal for Islâm, instigated Sultân Hushang of Mâlwa to invade Gujarât. Ahmed Shâh promptly marched to Modâsa,³ forced Sultân Hushang of Mâlwa to retire, and broke up the conspiracy, reproving and pardoning the chiefs concerned. About the same time the Sorath chiefs withheld their tribute, but the patience and unwearied activity of the king overcame all opposition. When at Modâsa Ahmed heard that, by the treachery of the son of the governor, Nâsir of Asîr and Gheirât or Ghazni Khân of Mâlwa, had seized the fort of Thâlnér in Sirpur in Khândesh, and, with the aid of the chief of Nândod, were marching against Sultânpur and Nandurbâr. Ahmed sent an expedition against Nâsir of Asîr under Malik Mahmûd Barkî or Turkî. When the Malik reached Nândod he found that Gheirât Khân had fled to Mâlwa and that Nâsir had retired to Thâlnér. The Malik advanced, besieged and took Thâlnér, capturing Nâsir whom Ahmed forgave and dignified with the title of Khân.⁴

After quelling these rebellions Ahmed Shah despatched Nizâm-ul-Mulk to punish the Râja of Mandal near Viramgâm, and himself marched to Mâlwa against Sultân Hushang, whom he defeated, capturing his treasure and elephants. In A D 1418, in accordance with his policy of separately engaging his enemies, Ahmed Shâh marched to chastise Trimbakdas of Châmpâner, and though unable to take the fortress he laid waste the surrounding country. In A D 1419 he ravaged the lands round Sankheda⁵ and built a fort there and a mosque within the fort, he also built a wall round the town of Mângni,⁶ and then marched upon Mându. On the way ambassadors from Sultân Hushang met him suing for peace, and Ahmed Shâh, returning towards Châmpâner, again laid waste the surrounding country. During the following year (A D. 1420) he remained in Ahmedâbâd bringing his own dominions into thorough subjection by establishing fortified posts and by humbling the chiefs and destroying their strongholds. Among other works he built the forts of Dohad⁷ on the

Chapter II.

Ahmedâbâd

Kings,

A D 1403-1573

Ahmed I.
1411-1441Ahmed I.
Quells a Second
Revolt,
1416.Expedition
against Mâlwa,
1417.Attacks
Châmpâner,
1418.

¹ Sidhpur (north latitude 23° 50'; east longitude 72° 20'), on the Sarasvatî, fifty eight miles north of Ahmedâbâd.

² Châmpâner (north latitude 22° 30', east longitude 73° 30'), in the British district of the Panch Mahâls, from A D 1483 to A D 1560 the chief city of Gujarât, now in ruins.

³ Modâsa (north latitude 23° 27'; east longitude 73° 21'), fifty miles north east of Ahmedâbâd.

⁴ Mirât-i Sikandari Persian Text, 34, 35, Farishtah, II 363, 364

⁵ Sankheda is on the left bank of the Or river about twenty miles south-east of Baroda.

⁶ Mângni Mâhâni or Mânki, famous for its witches, eight miles east of Sankheda Mr J. Pollen, I.C.S., LL.D. Compare Bom Gov. Rec. N S. XXIII 98

⁷ Dohad (north latitude 22° 50', east longitude 74° 15'), seventy seven miles north-east of Baroda, now the chief town of the sub division of the same name in the British district of the Panch Mahâls. Mr. J. Pollen, I.C.S., LL.D.

Chapter II

Ahmedābād
Kings,

A.D. 1403-1573

Ahmed I.
1411-1441War with Málwa,
1422.

Málwa frontier and of Jítpur in Lúnávada¹. In A.D. 1421 he repaired the fort in the town of Kahreth, otherwise called Memún in Lúnávada, which had been built by Ulugh Khán Sanjar in the reign of Sultán Alá-ud-dín (A.D. 1295-1315) and changed the name to Sultánpur. He next advanced against Málwa and took the fort of Mesar. After an unsuccessful siege of Mándu he went to Ujjain². From Ujjain he returned to Mándu, and failing to capture Mándu, he marched against Sárangpur³. Sultán Hushang sent ambassadors and concluded a peace. In spite of the agreement, while Ahmed Sháh was returning to Gujarát, Sultán Hushang made a night attack on his army and caused much havoc. Ahmed Sháh, collecting what men he could, waited till dawn and then fell on and defeated the Málwa troops, who were busy plundering. Sultán Hushang took shelter in the fort of Sárangpur to which Ahmed Sháh again laid siege. Failing to take the fort Ahmed retreated towards Gujarát, closely followed by Sultán Hushang, who was eager to wipe out his former defeat. On Hushang's approach, Ahmed Sháh, halting his troops, joined battle and repulsing Hushang returned to Ahmedābād.

Defeats the
Ídar Chief,
1425.

In A.D. 1425 Ahmed Sháh led an army against Ídar, defeating the force brought to meet him and driving their leader to the hills. Ídar was always a troublesome neighbour to the Ahmedābād kings and one difficult to subdue, for when his country was threatened, the chief could retire to his hills, where he could not easily be followed. As a permanent check on his movements, Ahmed Sháh, in A.D. 1427, built the fort of Ahmednagar,⁴ on the banks of the Hátmatí, eighteen miles south-west of Ídar. In the following year the Ídar chief, Ráv Púnja, attacked a foraging party and carried off one of the royal elephants. He was pursued into the hills and brought to bay in a narrow pathway at the edge of a steep ravine. Púnja was driving back his pursuers when the keeper of the Sultán's elephant urged his animal against the Ráv's horse. The horse swerving lost his foothold and rolling down the ravine destroyed himself and his rider⁵.

During the two following years Ahmed Sháh abstained from foreign conquests, devoting himself to improving his dominions and to working out a system of paying his troops. The method he finally adopted was payment half in money and half in land. This arrangement attached the men to the country, and, while keeping them dependent on the state, enabled them to be free from debt. Further to keep his officials in check he arranged that the treasurer should be one of the king's slaves while the actual paymaster was a native of the particular locality. He also appointed *ámils* that is sub-divisional revenue officers. After Ráv Púnja's death Ahmed Sháh marched upon Ídar, and did not return until Ráv Púnja's son agreed to pay an annual tribute of £300 (Rs. 3000). In the following year, according to Farishtah (II 369) in spite of the young chief's promise

¹ Jítpur about twelve miles north-east of Biláisor.

² Ujjain (north latitude 23° 10', east longitude 75° 47'), at different times the capital of Málwa.

³ Sárangpur about fifty miles north-east of Ujjain.

⁴ Ahmednagar (north latitude 23° 34', east longitude 73° 1') in the native state of Ídar.

⁵ Mirát-i Sikandari Persian Text, 43.

to pay tribute, Ahmed Sháh attacked Idar, took the fort, and built an assembly mosque. Fearing that their turn would come next the chief of Jhalwáda and Kánha apparently chief of Dungarpur fled to Nasir Khán of Asir. Nasir Khan gave Kánha a letter to Ahmed Sháh Bahmani, to whose son Ali-ud-din Nasir's daughter was married, and having detached part of his own troops to help Kánha they plundered and laid waste some villages of Nandurbár and Sultánpur. Sultán Ahmed sent his eldest son Muhammad Khán with Mukarrabul Mulk and others to meet the Dakhánis who were repulsed with considerable loss. On this Sultán Ahmed Bahmani, under Kadr Khán Dakhání, sent his eldest son Ali-ud-din and his second son Khán Jehán against the Gujarátis. Kadr Khán marched to Daulatábád and joining Nasir Khán and the Gujarát rebels fought a great battle near the pass of Mank Puj, six miles south of Nandgaon in Násik. The confederates were defeated with great slaughter. The Dakhan princes fled to Daulatábád and Kánha and Nasir Khán to Kalanda near Chálsagaum in south Khándesh.

In the same year (A.D. 1427), on the death of Kutub Khán the Gujarát governor of the island of Mahum, now the north part of the island of Bombay,¹ Ahmed Shah Bahmani smarting under his defeats, ordered Husan Izzat, otherwise called Malik-ut-Tujjar, to the Konkan and by the Malik's activity the North Konkan passed to the Dakhánis. On the news of this disaster Ahmed Sháh sent his youngest son Zafir Khán, with an army under Malik Istikhár Khán, to retake Mahum. A fleet, collected from Diu Gogha and Cambay sailed to the Konkan, attacked Thánar² by sea and land, captured it, and regained possession of Mahum. In A.D. 1431 Ahmed Sháh advanced upon Champáner, and Ahmed Sháh Bahmani, anxious to retrieve his defeat at Mahum, marched an army into Báglán³ and laid it waste. This news brought Ahmed Sháh back to Nandurbár. Destroying Nándod he passed to Tambol, a fort in Báglán which Ahmed Shah Bahmani was besieging, defeated the besiegers and relieved the fort. He then went to Thana, repaired the fort, and returned to Gujarát by way of Sultánpur and Nandurbái. In A.D. 1432, after contracting his son Fateh Khán in marriage with the daughter of the Rái of Mahum to the north of Bassem Ahmed Sháh marched towards Nagor, and exacted tribute and presents from the Rával of Dúngarpur.⁴ From Dúngarpur he went to Mewái, enforcing his

Chapter II
Ahmedábád
Kings,
A.D. 1403-1573
Ahmed I
1411 1441

Recovers
Mahim,
1429,

and Báglán,
1431

¹ There are two Máhums on the North Konkan coast, one about twenty two miles north of Bassem (north latitude 19° 40', east longitude 72° 17'), and the other in the northern extremity of the island of Bombay (north latitude 19° 2'; east longitude 72° 54'). The southern Máhum, to which Farnishatá (II. 370-371) is careful to apply the term *jazirah* or island, is the town referred to in the text. The northern Máhum, now known as Kalya Máhum, was, as is noted in the text, the head quarters of a Hindu chief.

² Thana (north latitude 19° 11'; east longitude 73° 6'), the head quarters of the British district of that name, about twenty-four miles north by east of Bombay, was from the tenth to the sixteenth century A.D. the chief city in the Northern Konkan.

³ Báglán, now called Satána, is the northern sub division of the British district of Násik. In A.D. 1590 the chief commanded 8000 cavalry and 5000 infantry. The country was famous for fruit. Ain i Akbari (Gladwin), II. 73. The chief, a Ráthod, was converted to Islám by Aurangzib (A.D. 1656-1707).

⁴ Dúngarpur (north latitude 23° 50', east longitude 73° 50') in Rájputána, 150 miles north west of Mhow.

Chapter II

Ahmedábád

Kings,

A.D. 1403-1573

Ahmed I.

1411-1441

claims on Búndi and Kota, two Hára Rájput states in south-east Rájputána. He then entered the Delvada country, levelling temples and destroying the palace of Rána Mokalsingh, the chief of Chitor. Thence he invaded Nágor in the country of the Ráthods, who submitted to him. After this he returned to Gujarát, and during the next few years was warring principally in Málwa, where, according to Farishtah, his army suffered greatly from pestilence and famine. Ahmed died in A.D. 1441 in the fifty-third year of his life and the thirty-third of his reign and was buried in the mausoleum in the Mánek Chauk in Ahmedábád. His after-death title is Khúdaigán-i-Maghfúr the Forgiven Lord in token that, according to his merciful promise, Allah the pitiful, moved by the prayer of forty believers, had spread his forgiveness over the crime of Ahmed's youth, a crime bewailed by a lifelong remorse.

Sultán Ahmed is still a name of power among Gujarát Musalmáns. He is not more honoured for his bravery, skill, and success as a war leader than for his piety and his justice. His piety showed itself in his respect for three great religious teachers: Sheikh Rukn-ud-dín the representative of Sheikh Moín-ud-dín the great Khwájah of Ajmir, Sheikh Ahmed Khattu who is buried at Sarkhej five miles west of Ahmedábád, and the Bukhárán Sheikh Burhán-ud-dín known as Kutbi Alam the father of the more famous Shah Alam. Of Ahmed's justice two instances are recorded. Sitting in the window of his palace watching the Sábarmatí in flood Ahmed saw a large earthen jar float by. The jar was opened and the body of a murdered man was found wrapped in a blanket. The potters were called and one said the jar was his and had been sold to the headman of a neighbouring village. On inquiry the headman was proved to have murdered a grain merchant and was hanged. The second case was the murder of a poor man by Ahmed's son-in-law. The Kazi found the relations of the deceased willing to accept a blood fine and when the fine was paid released the prince. Ahmed hearing of his son-in-law's release said in the case of the rich fine is no punishment and ordered his son-in-law to be hanged.¹

Muhammad II
1441-1452

Ahmed Sháh was succeeded by his generous pleasure-loving son Muhammad Sháh, Ghíás-ud-dunya Wad-dín, also styled Zarbakhsh the Gold Giver. In A.D. 1445 Muhammad marched against Bír Rai of Ídar, but on that chief agreeing to give him his daughter in marriage, he confirmed him in the possession of his state. His next expedition was against Kánha Rai of Dúngarpur, who took refuge in the hills, but afterwards returned, and paying tribute, was given charge of his country. Muhammad married Bibi Mughli, daughter of Jám Jína of Thatha in Sindh. She bore a son, Fateh Khán, who was afterwards Sultán Mahmúd Begada. In A.D. 1450, Muhammad marched upon Chámpaner, and took the lower fortress. Gangádás of Chámpaner had a strong ally in Sultán Mahmúd Khilji, the ruler of Malwa, and on his approach Muhammad Sháh retired to Godhra,² and Mahmúd

¹ Mirát-i-Silandarí Persian Text, 45, 46.

² Godhra (north latitude 22° 43', east longitude 73° 36'), the chief town of the subdivision of that name in the British district of the Panch Maháls. The Mirát-i-Silandarí (Persian Text, 49) gives, probably rightly, Godhra a village of Sándh or Sark about twenty miles north of Baroda.

Khilji continued his march upon Gujarát at the head of 80,000 horse. Muhammad Sháh was preparing to fly to Diu, when the nobles, disgusted at his cowardice, caused him to be poisoned. Muhammad Sháh's after-death title is Khudáágán-i-Karím the Gracious Lord.

In A.D. 1451 the nobles placed Muhammad's son Jalál Khán on the throne with the title of Kutb-ud-dín. Meanwhile Sultán Mahmúd of Málwa had laid siege to Sultánpur.¹ Malik Ali-ud-dín bin Sohráb Kutb-ud-dín's commander surrendered the fort, and was sent with honour to Málwa and appointed governor of Mándu. Sultán Mahmúd, marching to Sáisa-Palr, summoned Bioach, then commanded by Sidi Marján on behalf of Gujarát. The Sidi refused, and fearing delay, the Málwa Sultan after plundering Baioda proceeded to Nadiád, whose Bráhmans astonished him by their bravery in killing a mad elephant. Kutb-ud-dín Sháh now advancing met Sultán Mahmúd at Kapadvanj,² where, after a doubtful fight of some hours, he defeated Sultán Mahmúd, though during the battle that prince was able to penetrate to Kutb-ud-dín's camp and carry off his crown and jewelled girdle. The Mirát-i-Sikandari ascribes Kutb-ud-dín's victory in great measure to the gallantry of certain inhabitants of Dholka³ called Darwázayahs. Muzaffar Khán, who is said to have incited the Málwa Sultán to invade Gujarát, was captured and beheaded, and his head was hung up at the gate of Kapadvanj. On his return from Kapadvanj Kutb-ud-dín built the magnificent Hauzi Kutb or Kánkariya Tank about a mile to the south of Ahmedábád. According to the Mirát-i-Sikandari (Persian Text, 50 - 57) this war between Málwa and Gujarát was controlled by the spiritual power of certain holy teachers. The war was brought on by the prayers of Sheikh Kamál Málwi, whose shrine is in Ahmedábád behind Khudáwánd Khán's mosque near Sháh-i-Alam's tomb, who favoured Málwa. Kutb-ud-dín's cause was aided by the blessing of Kutbi Alam who sent his son the famous Sháh Alam time after time to persuade Kamál to be loyal to Gujarát. At last Kamál produced a writing said to be from heaven giving the victory to Málwa. The young Sháh Alam tore this charter to shreds, and, as no evil befel him, Kamál saw that his spiritual power paled before Sháh Alam and fell back dead. Sháh Alam against his will accompanied Kutb-ud-dín some marches on his advance to Kapadvanj. Before leaving the army Sháh Alam blessed a mean camp elephant and ordered him to destroy the famous Málwa champion elephant known as the Butcher. He also, against his wish for he knew the future, at the Sultán's request bound his own sword round Kutb-ud-dín's waist. In the battle the commissariat elephant ripped the Butcher and some years later Kutb-ud-dín by accident gashed his knee with the saint's sword and died.

Chapter II

Ahmedábád
Kings.

A.D. 1403 1573

Kutb ud-dín,
1451 1459War with Málwa,
1451.Battle of
Kapadvanj,
1454.

¹ Sultánpur (north latitude $21^{\circ} 43'$, east longitude $74^{\circ} 40'$), in the north of the Sháháda sub division of the British district of Khándesh, till A.D. 1804 a place of consequence and the head-quarters of a large district.

² Kapadvanj (north latitude $23^{\circ} 2'$, east longitude $73^{\circ} 9'$), the chief town of the sub-division of that name in the British district of Kaira.

³ Dholka (north latitude $22^{\circ} 42'$, east longitude $72^{\circ} 25'$), the chief town of the sub-division of that name in the British district of Ahmedábád.

Chapter II

Ahmedabad
Kings,

A.D. 1103-1573

Kutb-ud-din

1454-1459

War with Nāgor,
1451-1459War with Chitor,
1455-1459

In the same year Sultān Mahmūd Khiljī attempted to conquer Nāgor then held by Firūz Khān, a cousin of the Ahmedābād Sultan.¹ Kutb-ud-dīn Shāh despatched an army under the command of Sayad Atāullāh, and, as it drew near Sāmblhar,² the Mālwa Sultan retired and shortly after Firūz Khān died. Kumbhā Rāna of Chitor³ now began interfering in the Nāgor succession on behalf of Shams Khān, who had been dispossessed by his brother Mujāhid Khān, and expelled Mujāhid. But as Shams Khān refused to dismantle the fortifications of Nāgor, the Chitor chief collected an army to capture Nāgor, while Shams Khān repaired to Kutb-ud-dīn Shāh for aid and gave that sovereign his daughter in marriage. Upon this Kutb-ud-dīn sent Rāi Anupchand Mānek and Malik Gadāi with an army to Nāgor to repulse the Rāna of Chitor. In a battle near Nāgor the Gujarāt troops were defeated, and the Rāna after laying waste the neighbourhood of that city, returned to Chitor. In A.D. 1455-56, to avenge this raid, Kutb-ud-dīn Shāh marched against Chitor. On his way the Devra Rāja of Sirohi⁴ attended Kutb-ud-dīn Shāh's camp, praying him to restore the fortress of Abu,⁵ part of the ancestral domain of Sirohi, which the Rāna of Chitor had wrested from his house. The king ordered one of his generals, Malik Shābān, to take possession of Abu and restore it to the Devra chieftain, while he himself continued to advance against Kumbhāmer. Malik Shābān was entangled in the defiles near Abu, and defeated with great slaughter, and shortly after Kutb-ud-dīn Shāh, making a truce with Chitor, retired to his own country. On his return the Mālwa sovereign proposed that they should unite against Chitor, conquer the Rāna's territories, and divide them equally between them. Kutb-ud-dīn agreed and in A.D. 1456-57 marched against the Rāna by way of Abu, which fortress he captured and handed to the Devra Rāja.⁶ Next, advancing upon Kumbhāmer, he plundered the country round, and then turned towards Chitor. On his way to Chitor, he was met by the Rāna, and a battle was fought, after which the Rāna fell back on his capital, and was there besieged by the Gujarāt army. The siege was not pressed, and, on the Rāna agreeing to pay tribute and not to harass Nāgor, Kutb-ud-dīn withdrew to Gujarāt, where he gave himself up to licentious excess. Meanwhile, the Rāna by ceasing Mandisor⁷ to Mālwa, came to terms with the Sultan of Māndu, and within three months attacked Nāgor. Kutb-ud-dīn Shāh, though so overcome with drink as to be unable to sit his horse, mustered his troops and started in a palanquin. As soon as the Rāna heard that the Gujarāt army was in motion he retired, and the king returned to Ahmedābād. In A.D. 1458, he again led an army by way of Sirohi

¹ Sāmblhar (north latitude 26° 53', east longitude 75° 13'), a town in the province of Ajmir, about fifty-one miles north north east from the city of Ajmir.

² Chitor (north latitude 24° 52', east longitude 71° 4'), for several centuries before A.D. 1567 the capital of the principality of Udaipur.

³ Sirohi (north latitude 24° 59', east longitude 72° 56'), the capital of the principality of the same name in the province of Ajmir.

⁴ Abu (north latitude 24° 45', east longitude 72° 49') in the state of Sirohi.

⁵ The Rāja is called Krishna Kishan or Kānhi Devra. Abu is still held by the Sirohi Devrās.

⁶ Mandisor (north latitude 21° 4', east longitude 75° 9'), the chief town of a large district of the same name in the province of Mālwa.

and Kumbhalmer against Chitor, and laid waste the country. Soon after his return, according to one account by an accidental sword wound, according to another account poisoned by his wife, Kutb-ud-din died in May A D 1459 after a reign of seven years and seven days. He was brave with a sternness of nature, which, under the influence of wine, amounted to fierceness. His after-death title is Sultán-i-Ghází the Warrior King.

On the death of Kutb-ud-din Sháh, the nobles raised to the throne his uncle Dáúd, son of Ahmed Sháh. But as Dáúd appointed low-born men to high offices and committed other foolish acts, he was deposed, and in A D 1459 his half-brother Fateh Khán the son of Muhammad Sháh, son of Ahmed Sháh by Bibi Mughli a daughter of Jam Juna of Thatha in Sindh, was seated on the throne at the age of little more than thirteen with the title of Mahmúd Sháh.

The close connection of Fateh Khán with the saintly Sháh Alam is a favourite topic with Gujarát historians. According to the *Murát-i-Sikandarí* (Persian Text, 66-70) of his two daughters Jam Juna intended Bibi Mughli the more beautiful for the Saint and Bibi Mughli the less comely for the Sultán. By bribing the Jam's envoys the king secured the prettier sister. The enraged Saint was consoled by his father who said: My son, to you will come both the cow and the calf. After Muhammad II's death, fear of Kutb-ud-din's designs against the young Fateh Khan forced Bibi Mughli to seek safety with her sister, and on her sister's death she married the Saint. Kutb-ud-din made several attempts to seize Fateh Khán. But by the power of the Saint when Kutb-ud-din attempted to seize him, Fateh Khan in body as well as in dress became a girl. According to one account Kutb-ud-din met his death in an attempt to carry off Fateh Khán. As he rode into the Saint's quarter Death in the form of a mad camel met the king. The king struck at the phantom, and his sword cleaving the air gashed his knee. This was the Saint's sword, which against his will, for he knew it would be the death of the king, Kutb-ud-din forced Sháh Alam to bind round him before the battle of Kapadvanj.

The death of his uncle, the late Sultán Dáúd, who had become a religious devotee, relieved Fateh Khán of one source of danger. Shortly after certain of the nobles including Seiful Mulk, Kabúl-ud-din Sultán surnamed Akd ul-Mulk, Burhán-ul-Mulk and Hisám-ul-Mulk represented to the Sultán that the minister Shaibán Imád-ul-Mulk contemplated treason and wished to set his son on the throne. Having seized and imprisoned the minister in the Bhadra citadel and set five hundred of their trusted retainers as guards over him, the rebels retired to their homes. At nightfall Abdulláh, the chief of the elephant stables, going to the young Sultán represented to him that the nobles who had imprisoned Imád-ul-Mulk were the real traitors and had determined to place Habíb Khán, an uncle of the Sultán's, on the throne. The Sultán consulting his mother and some of his faithful friends ordered Abdulláh at daybreak to equip all his elephants in full armour and draw them up in the square before the Bhadra. He then seated himself on the throne and in a voice of feigned anger ordered one of the courtiers to bring out Shaibán Imád-ul-Mulk, that he might wreak his vengeance

Chapter II.
Ahmedábád
Kings,
A D. 1403 - 1573.

Mahmúd I
(Begada),
1459 1513

Defeats a
Conspiracy,
1459

Chapter II

Ahmedâtâd
Kings,

A D 1403-1573

Mahmûd I
(Begada),
1459-1513Improves the
Soldiery,
1459-1461.Helps the King
of the Dakhan,
1461.

upon him. As these orders were not obeyed the Sultân rose, and walking up the Bhadra called "Bring out Shaâbân!" The guards brought forth Imad-ul-Mulk, and the Sultân ordered his fetters to be broken. Some of the nobles' retainers made their submission to the Sultân, others fled and hid themselves. In the morning, hearing what had happened, the refractory nobles marched against the Sultân. Many advised the Sultan to cross the Sabarmati by the postern gate and retire from the city, and, after collecting an army, to march against the nobles. Giving no ear to these counsels the young Sultân ordered Abdullâh to charge the advancing nobles with his six hundred elephants. The charge dispersed the malcontents who fled and either hid themselves in the city or betook themselves to the country. Some were killed, some were trampled by the Sultân's orders under the elephants' feet, and one was pardoned.¹ His religious ardour, his love of justice, his bravery, and his wise measures entitle Mahmûd to the highest place among the Gujarât kings. One of the measures which the Mirât-i-Sikandari specially notices is his continuance of land grants to the son of the holder, and in cases where there was no male issue of half the grant to the daughter. His firm policy of never ousting the landholder except for proved oppression or exaction was productive of such prosperity that the revenue increased two three and in some cases tenfold. The roads were safe from freebooters and trade was secure. A rule forbidding soldiers to borrow money at interest is favourably noticed. A special officer was appointed to make advances to needy soldiers with the power to recover from their pay in fixed instalments.² Mahmûd also devoted much attention to the culture of fruit trees.³ In A D 1461, or A D 1462 according to Farishtah, Nizâm Shâh Bahmani (A D 1461-1463), king of the Dakhan, whose country had been invaded by Sultân Mahmûd Khilji of Mâlwa, applied for help to the Gujarât king. Mahmûd Shâh at once started to Nizâm Shâh's aid, and on his way receiving another equally pressing letter from the Dakhan sovereign, and being joined by the Bahmani general Khwâjâh Jehân Gâwân, he

¹ Persian Text, Mirât-i-Sikandari, 75-76

² The Portuguese merchant and traveller Barbosa (A D 1511-1574) gives the following details of Mahmûd Begada's cavalry. The Moors and Gentiles of this kingdom are bold riders, mounted on horses bred in the country, for it has a wonderful quantity. They ride on small saddles and use whips. Their arms are very thick round shields edged with silk, each man has two swords, a dagger, and a Turkish bow with very good arrows. Some of them carry maces, and many of them coats of mail, and others tunics quilted with cotton. The horses have housings and steel headpieces, and so they fight very well and are light in their movements. The Moorish horsemen are white and of many countries, Turks and Mamelukes, military slaves from Georgia Circassia and Mingreli, Arabs Persians Khorasani Turkomans, men from the great kingdom of Delhi, and others born in the country itself. Their pay is good, and they receive it regularly. They are well dressed with very rich stuffs of gold silk cotton and goat's wool, and all wear caps on their heads, and their clothes long, such as morisco shirts and drawers, and leggings to the knee of good thick leather worked with gold knots and embroidery, and their swords richly ornamented with gold and silver are borne in their girdles or in the hands of their pages. Their women are very white and pretty also very richly decked out. They live well and spend much money. Stanley's Barbosa, 55-56.

³ Mahmud's favourite trees were the mango *ambo* *Mangifera indica*, *rdan* *Mimusopa hexandra*, *jambu* *Eugenia jambolana*, *gular* *Ficus glomerata*, tamarind *amlu* *Tamarindus indica*, and the shrubby *phyllanthus aonla* *Embllica officinalis*.

pushed on with all speed by way of Burhānpur¹. When Sultān Mahmūd Khiljī heard of his approach, he retired to his own country by way of Gondwana,² from thirst and from the attacks of the Gonds, losing 5000 to 6000 men. The king of Gujrat, after receiving the thanks of the Dakhan sovereign returned to his own dominions. In A.D. 1162 Sultan Mahmūd Khiljī made another incursion into the Dakhan at the head of 90 000 horse, plundering and laying waste the country as far as Paulatibād. Again the Dakhan sovereign applied for help to Mahmūd Shāh, and on hearing of Mahmūd's advance the Malwa Sultān retired a second time to his own dominions. Mahmūd Shāh now wrote to the Malwa Sultan to desist from harassing the Dakhan, threatening, in case of refusal, to march at once upon Māndu. His next expedition was against the pirate zamīndars of the hill fort of Barūr and the landar of Dān or Dahnu, whose fort he took, and after imposing an annual tribute allowed the chief to continue to hold his hundred villages.³

Mahmūd Shāh next turned his thoughts to the conquest of the mountain citadel of Gīrnār in central Kāthiāwāda⁴. In A.D. 1167 he made an attack on the fort of Jūnāgadh, and receiving the submission of Rāv Mandlik, the local ruler, returned to his capital. In the following year, hearing that the Junagadh chief continued to visit his idol temple in state with a golden umbrella and other ensigns of royalty, Mahmūd despatched an army to Junagadh, and the chief sent the obnoxious umbrella to the king, accompanied by fitting presents. In A.D. 1169 Mahmūd once more sent an army to ravage Sorath, with the intention of finally conquering both Junagadh and Gīrnār. While Mahmūd was on the march the Rāv Mandlik suddenly joined him, and asking why the Sultān was so bent on his destruction when he had committed no fault, agreed to do whatever Mahmūd might command. The king replied there is no fault like infidelity, and ordered the Rāv to embrace Islām. The chief, now thoroughly alarmed, fled by night and made his way into Gīrnār. In A.D. 1172-73 after a siege of nearly two years, forced by the failure of his stores, he quitted the fort and handing the keys to the king, repeated after him the Muhammadan profession of faith. Though the Rāv's life was spared Sorath from this date became a crown possession, and was governed by an officer appointed by the king and stationed at Jūnāgadh. At the close of the war Mahmūd Shāh repaired the fort Jehānpurāh, the present outer or town wall of Junagadh, and, charmed with the beauty of the neighbourhood, settled sayads and learned men at Jūnāgadh and other towns.

Chapter II

Ahmedābād

Kings,

A.D. 1403-1573

Mahmūd I

(Begada),

1459-1513

Expedition

against
Junāgadh,
1467.Capture of
Gīrnār,
1472

¹ Burhānpur (north latitude 21° 18', east longitude 76° 20'), under the Musalmāns the capital of Khandesh, now within the limits of the Berārs.

² Gondwana, a large hilly tract lying between north latitude 19° 50' and 24° 30' and east longitude 77° 33' and 87° 20'.

³ The Mirāt-i Sikandarī (Persian Text, page 89) gives the hill fort of Bārudar. The Persian *r* may be a miswritten *g* and the *d* a mistake for *n* that is Baguwar or Baguwarah. The seaport Dān may be Dunga hill six miles from the coast. But Dān for Dāhnu a well known port in north Thāna is perhaps more likely. Farishtah (Briggs, IV 51) gives Barur for Baru and Dura for Dān. Compare Tabakāt-i Akbari in Bayley's Gujrat, page 178 note 2.

⁴ Gīrnār the diadem of Kāthiāwāda. See above page 231 note 2.

Chapter II

Ahmedábád
Kings,

A.D. 1405-1573

Mahmud I

(Begada)

1459-1513.

Disturbances
in Chámpáner,
1472.

in Sorath. He induced the nobles to build houses, himself raised a palace and made the new city his capital under the name of Mustafábad and enforced his claims as overlord on all the neighbouring chiefs. It is true that in the times of Ahmed Sháh these chieftains, including even the Júnágadh Ráy himself, had paid tribute. But Mahmúd established Ahmedábád rule so firmly that the duty of collecting the tribute was entrusted to an officer permanently settled in the country. The author of the *Mirát-i-Sikandari* dilates on the dense woods round Júnágadh, full of mango, *râen*, *jámbu*, *gúlar*, *ámli*, and *áonla*¹ trees, and notes that this forest tract was inhabited by a wild race of men called Khánts².

During Mahmúd Sháh's prolonged absence from his capital, Malík Jamál-ud-din was appointed governor of Ahmedábád, with the title of Muháfiẓ Khán that is Care-taker. At this time Jesingh, son of Gangadás the chief of Chámpáner, harassed the country round Pavágad. The king appointed Bahá-ul-Mulk, who had the title of Imád-ul-Mulk, to the command of Sankheda, Malík Súrang Kiwám-ul-Mulk to the command of Godhia, and Táẓ Khan bin Salái to the command of Norkha and Dakhna on the Mahi. In consequence of these precautions Jesingh abstained from rebellion. At this time the Ráy Mandlik received the title of Khán Jahán, and lands were bestowed on him, while the golden idols, which had been taken from the Júnágadh temples, were broken and distributed among the soldiers.

Conquest of
Kachh

Mahmúd Sháh's next expedition was against the turbulent inhabitants of the confines of Sindhi. These were Jádejás, though they are described as Rájputs of the Sumra and Sodna tribes³. They appear to have readily submitted, and to have voluntarily sent men to Júnágadh to be instructed in Islám and to settle in Gujarát. Shortly afterwards they again became troublesome, and the king advancing into Kachh completely defeated them. About this time⁴ a learned man, Mulla Mahmúd Samakandi, on his way from the Dakhn to Cential Asia, complained to the king that he had been robbed by the pirates of Jagat or Dwárka⁴. On hearing of this outrage Mahmúd Sháh marched to Jagat, took the fort, and destroyed the idol temples. The pirates, in the first instance, retired to the island of Shankhodúra or Bet, but from this, too, after a stout resistance they were driven with great slaughter. The king built a mosque at Jagat, entrusted the government to Farhat-ul-Mulk, and himself returned to Júnágadh. Before this Dwárka had never been conquered. Khím, the Rája of Dwárka, was sent to Muháfiẓ Khán, the governor of Ahmedábád, with orders that he was to be hewn in pieces and a piece fastened to every gate of the city. After settling the affairs of Sorath, the king turned

Jagat
Destroyed.

¹ *Mangifera indica*, *Mimusops hexandra*, *Eugenia jambolana*, *Ficus glomerata*, *Tamarindus indica*, and *Imbilica officinalis*.

² Khánts are still found chiefly in Sorath. See *Bombay Gazetteer*, VIII. 112.

³ The *Tabakát-i-Akbari* says they were Játs. Sir H. Elliot (*History of India*, I. 496) represents the Sumras to be Agnikula Rájputs of the Parmára stock. The Jádejás had been ruling in Kachh since A.D. 1350-1365.

⁴ Dwárka (north latitude 22° 15', east longitude 69°), on the north-western shore of Káthiáwár, famous for its temple of Krishna.

Chapter II.

Ahmedabad .

Kings.

A D 1403 - 1573

Mahmud

(Bagada).

1459-1513.

bourhood became stocked with mangoes, pomegranates, figs, grapes, sugarcane, plantains, oranges, custard apples, *khums* or *raens* (*Mimusops indica* or *hexandra*), jackfruit, and cocoapalms, as well as with roses, chrysanthemums, jasmium, *champās*, and sweet pandanus. A sandal grove near Chāmpāner is said to have had trees large enough to help the Musalman nobles to build their mansions. At the instance of the Sultān a Khurāsānī beautified one of the gardens with fountains and cascades. A Gujarātī named Hālur learning the principle improved on his master's design in a garden about four miles west of Chāmpāner, which in his honour still bears the name Hālul.¹

In Mahmūd's reign an instance is mentioned of the form of compensation known as *zaltur*. Some merchants bringing horses and other goods for sale from Irāk and Khurāsān were plundered in Sirohi limits. The king caused them to give in writing the price of their horses and stuffs, and paying them from his own treasury recovered the amount from the Rāja of Sirohi.

In A D 1494-95 Mahmūd went against Bahādur Khān Gīlānī, a vassal of the Bahmanīs, who from Goa and Dābhol² had so harassed the Gujarāt harbours that, from the failure of the supply of betelnut, coriander seed had to be eaten with betel leaves. The Bahmanī Sultān, fearing the consequences to himself, marched against Bahādur Khān, and, capturing him alive, struck off his head, and sent it to the Gujarāt monarch, who returned to his own country. In A D 1499-1500, hearing that Nāsir-ud-dīn of Mālwa had killed his father Ghīās-ud-dīn and seated himself on the throne, the Sultān prepared to advance against him, but was appeased by Nāsir-ud-dīn's humble attitude. The next seven years passed without any warlike expedition. In A D 1507, near Daman on his way to Cheul, Mahmūd heard of the victory gained at Cheul over the Portuguese by the Gujarāt squadron under Malik Ayāz Sultānī, in concert with the Turkish fleet.³ In A D 1508 Mahmūd succeeded in placing his nephew Miran Muhammad Adil Khān Fārūkī on the throne of Asir-Burhānpur. From 1508 Mahmūd remained at his capital till his death in December A D 1513 at the age of sixty-seven years and three months, after a reign of fifty-four years and one month. Mahmūd was buried at Sarkhej,⁴ and received

The Khāndesh
Succession,
1608.

¹ Mirāt-i Sikandari, 112 - 114

² Dābhol (north latitude 17° 31', east longitude 73° 16'), on the north bank of the river Vāchshiti (called Halewacko and Kalewacko by the early navigators. See Badger's Varthema, page 114 note b) in the British district of Ratnagiri. About this time, according to Athanasius Nikitin (A.D. 1468-1474), Dābhol was the great meeting place for all nations living along the coast of India and Ethiopia. In A D 1501 it was taken by the Portuguese. Between A D 1620 and 1630 an English factory was established here, but by the end of the century trade had left Dābhol and has never returned.

³ Cheul, now Revdanda (north latitude 15° 33', east longitude 72° 59'), from about A D. 1500 to 1650 a place of much trade.

⁴ Mahmud Bagada greatly impressed travellers, whose strange tales of him made the king well known in Europe. Varthema (1503 - 1508) thus describes his manner of living. "The king has constantly 20,000 horsemen. In the morning when he rises there come to his palace 60 elephants, on each of which a man sits astride, and the said elephants do reverence to the king, and, except this, they have nothing else to do. When the

Chapter II

Ahmedābād

Kings

A.D. 1405-1573

Mahmūd

Begada.

1459-1513

Mahmūd Begada's court was adorned by several pious and high-minded nobles. In life they vied with one another in generous acts; and after death according to the Persian poet Urfi, they left their traces in the characters and carvings of stone walls and marble piles. First among these nobles the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari* (Persian Text, 132, 142) mentions Dawar-ul-Mulk, whose god-fearing administration made his estates so prosperous that they were coveted by princes of the blood. As Thānadar of Amron in north Kāthiāvāda, he spread the light of Islām from Morvi to Bhūj, and after his death his fame as a spirit-ruling guardian drew hosts of sick and possessed to his shrine near Morvi. The second was Malik Ayaz governor of Diu, who built the strong fortress afterwards reconstructed by the Portuguese. He also built a tower on an under-water rock, and from the tower drew a massive iron chain across the mouth of the harbour. A substantial bridge over the creek, that runs through the island of Diu, was afterwards destroyed by the Portuguese. The third was Khudawand Khān Ālīm the founder of Ālīmpura a suburb to the south of Ahmedābād, adorned with a mosque of sandstone and marble. He introduced the cultivation of melons, figs and sugarcane into Gujarat from Bijapur. The fourth was Imād-ul-Mulk Āsas who founded Īsanpur, a suburb between Shah Ālam's suburb of Islāmpur and Batwa, and planted along the road groves of *khuras* and mangoes. The fifth was Tajkhān Sulār, so loved of his peers that after his death none of them would accept his title. The sixth was Malik Sarang Kiwam-ul-Mulk, a Rajput by birth the founder of the suburb of Sarangpur and its mosque to the east of Ahmedābād. The seventh and eighth were the Khurasani brothers Āzam and Mo'izzam, who built a cistern, a mosque, and a tomb between Ahmedābād and Sarkhej.

Besides Khalil Khan, who succeeded him, Mahmūd had three sons. Muhammad Kala Apa Khan and Akbar Khan. Kālī, son of Rāy Rāp Marjari died during his father's lifetime as did his mother, who was buried in Manek Chauk in Ahmedābād in the building known as the Rāni's Hazira. The second son Apā Khan was caught trespassing in a noble's *harīm*, and was ordered by the Sultan to be poisoned. The third son was the Ahmed Khān whom Khudawand Khān sought to raise to the throne during Sultan Mahmūd's lifetime.

1513-1526.

Muhammad was succeeded by Khalil Khan, the son of Rāni Hirabai the daughter of a Rajput chieftain named Naga Rāna who lived on the bank of the Man. On ascending the throne, at the age of twenty-seven, Khalil adopted the title of Muzaffar Shāh. For some time before his father's death, Prince Khalil Khān had been living at Baroda and shortly after his accession he visited that neighbourhood and founded a town which he named Daulatabad. In A.D. 1514 Rāy Bhīm, the son of Rāy Idar of Idar, defeated Āin-ul-Mulk, governor of Patan, who was coming to Ahmedābād to pay his respects to the king. This officer had turned aside to punish the Rāy for some disturbance he had created but failing in his purpose was himself defeated. On the approach of Muzaffar Shāh, Idar was abandoned by the Rāy, who made his peace with difficulty and only by agreeing to pay a heavy tribute. Meanwhile the king marched to Godhra, and so to Mālwa by way of Dehād, whose fort he caused to be repaired, and soon after went on to Dhar.

1514.

After a short stay in Málwa, thinking it mean to take advantage of the distracted condition of Mahmúd of Málwa, who was at war with his nobles, Muzaffar returned to Muhammadábád (Chámpáner). At this time Rámál, nephew of the late Ráy Bhím of Ídar, expelled the Ráy's son Bhírmál by the aid of his father-in-law Rána Súnga of Chitor, and succeeded to the chieftainship of Ídar. The king was displeased at the interference of the Rána, and directed Nízám Khán, the governor of Ahmednagar, to expel Rámál and restore Bhírmál. Nízám Khán took Ídar and gave it to Bhírmál. Rámál betook himself to the hills where Nízám Khán incautiously pursuing and engaging him lost many men. When the rains were over the Sultán visited Ídar. Shortly after, Nízám Khán, the governor of Ahmednagar, fell sick and was called to court. He left Ídar in charge of Zabír-ul-Mulk at the head of a hundred horse. Rámál made a sudden raid on Ídar and killed Zabír-ul-Mulk and twenty-seven of his men. On hearing of this reverse Sultán Muzaffar ordered Nízám Khán to destroy Bījapur. In A.D. 1517, the nobles of Málwa besought Muzaffar's interference, alleging that the Hindu minister Medám Rai was planning to depose the Málwa Sultán, Mahmud Khilji, and usurp the throne. Muzaffar Sháh promised to come to their help, and shortly after Sultán Mahmud Khilji, escaping from the surveillance of Medám Rai, himself sought the aid of the Gujarát monarch. In A.D. 1518 Muzaffar Sháh marched by Godhra into Málwa, and on his arrival at Dhái, that town was evacuated by Medám Rai. The Gujarát king next besieged Mándu and Medám Rai summoned the Chitor Rána to his aid. When the Rána had reached Sárangpur, Muzaffar Sháh detaching a force caused the Rána to retire, while the Gujarát soldiers exerted themselves so strenuously that they captured Mándu, recovering the girdle which Kutb-ud-din had lost at the battle of Kapadvanj. This conquest virtually placed Málwa in Muzaffar's power, but he honourably restored the kingdom to Sultán Mahmud Khilji, and, withdrawing to Gujarát, proceeded to Muhammadábád. In A.D. 1519, news was received of the desert and capture of Sultán Mahmud Khilji by the Rána of Chitor. Muzaffar Sháh sent a force to protect Mándu. But the Rána, who distinguished himself by releasing the Sultán of Málwa and keeping his son in his stead as a hostage, enjoyed continued good fortune. Some time before these events a *bhát* or bard in the presence of Nízám Khán, the governor of Ídar, boasted that the Rána of Chitor would never fail to help Rána Rámál of Ídar. The angry governor said 'Whose dog is Rána Súnga to help Rámál while we are here?' Nízám Khán called a dog Súnga, chained him in the fort, and dared the Rána to carry him away. His successes enabled Súnga to answer the challenge. In consequence of dissensions at head-quarters Nízám Khán withdrew to Ahmednagar leaving a small garrison in Ídar. When Rána Súnga appeared before Ídar the garrison resisted but were slain to a man. The Rána advanced to Ahmednagar and severely defeated Nízám Khán who withdrew to Ahmedábád, while the Rána plundered Vishálnagar.² In A.D. 1521, Malik Ayáz Sultán, the governor of

Chapter II

Ahmedábád

Kings,

A.D. 1403-1573.

Muzaffar II

1513-1526

Disturbances
in Málwa,
1517Capture of
Mándu,
1519War with Chitor,
1519¹ Farishtah, II, 408.² Mirāt-i Sikandari, 166-167; Farishtah, II, 411

Chapter II.

Ahmedabad
Kings

A.D. 1493-1573

Muzaffar II.
1513-1526The Rana of
Chitor Submits,
1521.Died,
1526

Sorath, was sent with a large and carefully equipped force to revenge this inroad. Dissensions between Malik Ayáz and the Gujarat nobles prevented this expedition doing more than burn and despoil both Dungarpur and Bānsvāda. Muzaffar Shāh, greatly displeased with the result, was preparing to march against Chitor, when he was dissuaded by a submissive embassy from that chief, who sent his son to Ahmedabad with valuable presents for the king. Shortly afterwards, on the death of Malik Ayáz, Muzaffar Shāh confirmed his elder son Malik Is-hāk in his father's rank and possessions. Malik Is-hāk remained in Sorath which was confirmed as his *jagir*. In the following year the Sultān went about his dominions strengthening his frontier posts, especially the fort of Modasa, which he rebuilt. About A.D. 1524 prince Bāhādur Khān, ostensibly dissatisfied with the smallness of his estates but really to remove himself from the jealousy of his brother Sikandar who being appointed heir-apparent was seeking his life, left Gujarat and withdrew to Hindustān. King Muzaffar, after formally appointing his son Sikandar Khān his heir, died at Ahmedabad in A.D. 1526, after a reign of fourteen years and nine months. Muzaffar was buried in the shrine of Sheikh Ahmed Khattu at Sarkhej near his father's grave. He was the most learned and one of the most pious of the Ahmedabad Sultāns. So extreme an abstainer was he that not only during his whole life did he eschew intoxicating drugs and liquor but he never again rode a favourite horse because the horse was cured by a draught of wine. He was an accomplished musician, a finished horseman, a practised swordsman, and withal so modest and humble in his dress and temper that observing once to a favourite page how simple and yet graceful his own turban was the boy laughed 'Ay, if the turbans of Mullahs and Bohoras are graceful, then is your Majesty's'. The Sultān said 'I should have been proud to have my turban likened to a Mullah's, why compare it with the head-dress of a schismatic Bohora'. Muzaffar was careful never to pain the feelings of those around him. He suspected Kivām-ul-Mulk who was in charge of his drinking water but contented himself with breathing over the water one of the verses of the Kurān which make poison harmless¹. During his reign cultivation increased so much in Jhālāvada that it became necessary to reserve certain waste land for pasture. In 1526 the rains held off so long that famine began to rage. The Sultān exclaimed, 'Oh Allah! If thou scourgest the country for the sins of its king take his life and spare thy creatures'. The prayer was heard and the soul of the guardian Sultān passed in a flood of gracious rain².

Sikandar
1526Muzaffar II.
1526.

After Sikandar Shāh had been in power a few months he was murdered by Imād-ul-Mulk Khush Kadam, who seated a younger brother of Sikandar's, named Nāsir Khān, on the throne with the title of Mahmud II. and governed on his behalf. The only event of Sikandar's reign was the destruction of an army sent against his brother

¹ The verse supposed to possess the highest virtue against poison is the last verse of Chapter 91 of the Kurān. See the Lord of this House who supplieth them with food and drink and maketh them free from fear.

² Nizām Sikandarī (Pūr Maru-camp), 174, 175, 181.

Latif Khán who was helped by Rájá Bhím of Munga! The nobles deserted Imád-ul-Mulk's cause, and prince Bahádur Khán, returning to Gujarát from Hindustan, was joined by many supporters prominent among whom was Táji Khan, proprietor of Dhandhuka. Bahádur marched at once on Chámpáner, captured and executed Imád-ul-Mulk and poisoning Nasir Khán ascended the throne in A.D. 1527 with the title of Bahadur Sháh. His brother Latif Khán, aided by Rájá Bhím of the Kohistan or hill land of Pál,¹ now asserted his claim to the throne. He was defeated, and fell wounded into the hands of the Gujarát army and died of his wounds and was buried at Halol. Rájá Bhím was slain. As Bhím's successor Raisingh plundered Dohad a large force was sent against him, commanded by Táji Khán, who had waste Raisingh's country and dismantled his forts. Soon after Bahadur Sháh visited Cambay, and found that Malik Is-hák the governor of Sorath had, in the interests of the Portuguese, attempted to seize Diu but had been repulsed by the Gujarát admiral Mahmúd Áka. The Sultan entrusted Diu to Kiwám-ul-Mulk and Júnághadh to Mujahid Khan Bhíkan and returned to Ahmedábád. In 1527 he enforced tribute from Idar and the neighbouring country. During one of his numerous expeditions he went to hunt in Nandod and received the homage of the Rájá. As the Portuguese were endeavouring to establish themselves on the coast of Sorath, and, if possible, to obtain Diu, the king was constantly at Cambay Diu and Godhra to frustrate their attempts, and he now directed the construction of the fortress of Broach. At this time Muhammad Khán, ruler of Asir and Burhanpur, requested Bahádur's aid on behalf of Imád-ul-Mulk, ruler of Berar. Bahadur Sháh started at once and at Nandurbár was joined by Muhammad Khan Asir, and thence proceeded to Burhanpur, where he was met by Imád Sháh from Gávalgadh. After certain successes he made peace between Burhán Nizam Sháh and Imád Sháh Gávali, and returned to Gujarát. Jám Firúz the ruler of Tatha in Sindh now sought refuge with Bahádur Sháh from the oppression either of the Ghoris or of the

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Ahmedábád

Kings,

A.D. 1403-1573.

Bahadur.*

1527 1536

Portuguese
Intrigues,
1526Khándesh
Affairs,
1528

¹ Both the *Mirát-i Sikandari* (287) and *Farishtah* (II 419) place Munga at Nandurbár Sultánpur. The further reference to Rájá Bhím of Pál seems to apply to the same man as the Rájá Bhím of Munga. Munga may then be Mohangad that is Chota Udepur.

² *Mirát-i Sikandari* Persian Text, 225-226. *Farishtah*, II 425-428. The Gujarát Musalmán historians give a somewhat vague application to the word Pál which means a bank or step downwards to the plain. In the *Mirát-i Ahmedi* (Pálitpur Edition, page 168) Pálvaráh, whose climate is proverbially bad, includes Godhra. Ali Mohan and Rájpipla that is the rough eastern fringe of the plain land of Gujarát from the Mahi to the Tapti. As the Rájá of Nándod or Rájpipla was the leading chief south of Idar Colonel Watson took references to the Rájá of Pál to apply to the Rájá of Rájpipla. An examination of the passages in which the name Pál occurs seems to show that the hill country to the east rather than to the south of Pávágad or Chámpáner is meant. In A.D. 1527 Latif Khán the rival of Bahádur Sháh after joining the Rájá Bhím in his *kohistan* or highlands of Pál when wounded is taken into Halol. The same passage contains a reference to the Rájá of Nándod as some one distinct from the Rájá of Pál. In A.D. 1531 Raisingh of Pál tried to rescue Mahmud Khilji on his way from Mándu in Malwa to Chámpáner. In A.D. 1551 Násir Khán fled to Chámpáner and died in the Pál hills. These references seem to agree in allotting Pál to the hills of Bária and of Mohan or Chhota Udepur. This identification is in accord with the local use of Pál. Mr. Pollen, I.C.S., LL.D., Political Agent, Rewa Kántha, writes (8th Jan. 1895) Bhils Kols and traders all apply the word Pál to the Bária Pál which besides Bária takes in Sanjeli and the Navánagar Saliát uplands in Godhra.

Chapter II.

Ahmedabad

Kings,

A.D. 103-1573.

Bahadur
1527-1536

Mughals and was hospitably received. In A.D. 1528 Bahadur made an expedition into the Dakhan which ended in a battle at Daulatabad. The issue of this battle seems to have been unfavourable as hardly any reference to the campaign remains. Next year (A.D. 1529) at the request of Jaafar or Khuzi Khan, son of Imad Shih Ghalib, who was sent to Gujarat to solicit Bahadur's help, he again marched for the Dakhan. As he passed through Muler Bihari the Raja of Baglan gave him his daughter in marriage and in return received the title of Bahi Khan. From Baglan Bahi Khan was told off to ravage Cheul which by this time had fallen into the hands of the Portuguese. Bahadur himself advanced to Ahmednagar, took the fort and destroyed many of the buildings. Purandhar also was sacked of its stores of gold.¹ From Ahmednagar Bahadur Shah passed to Burhanpur, and there his general Kaisar Khan gained a victory over the united forces of Nizam Shah, Malik Berid, and Am-ul-Mulk. After having the public sermon read in his name both in Ahmednagar and in Burhanpur Bahadur returned to Gujarat and for some time refrained from interfering in the affairs of the Dakhan.

Turks at Din,
1526-1530

Between A.D. 1526 and 1530 certain Turks under one Mustafa came to Gujarat, traders according to one account according to another part of a Turkish fleet expected to act against the Portuguese. Din was assigned them as a place of residence and the command of the island was granted to Malik Tughan, son of Malik Ayaz, the former governor. In A.D. 1530 the king marched to Nagoi, and gave an audience both to Prathiraj Raja of Durgurpur and to the ambassadors from Rana Ratnas of Chitor. The Rana's ambassadors complained of encroachments on Chitor by Mahmud of Malwa. Mahmud promised to appear before Bahadur to explain the alleged encroachments. Bahadur waited. At last as Mahmud failed to attend Bahadur said he would go and meet Mahmud. He invested Mandu and received with favour certain deserters from Mahmud's army. The fortress fell and Sultan Mahmud and his seven sons were captured. The success of the siege was due to Bahadur's personal prowess. He scaled an almost inaccessible height and sweeping down from it with a handful of men took the fort, a feat which for daring and dash is described as unsurpassed in the history of Musalman Gujarat.² After passing the rainy season at Mandu Bahadur Shah went to Burhanpur to visit his nephew Miran Muhammad Shah. At Burhanpur Bahadur under the influence of the great priest-statesman Shah Tahir, was reconciled with Burhan Nizam and gave him the royal canopy he had taken from Malwa. Bahadur offered Shah Tahir the post of minister. Shah Tahir declined saying he must make a pilgrimage to Makkah. He retired to Ahmednagar and there converted Burhan Nizam Shah to the Shiih faith.³ In the same year, hearing that Mansingji, Raja of

p. 100 of Mandu,
1530

¹ Purandhar about twenty miles south by east of Poona, one of the greatest of Dakhan hill forts.

² Mirat-i-Sikandari, 235, 239, Farshtah, II, 430. According to the Mirat-i-Sikandari (239) the Sultan enquired on which side was the loftiest height. They told him that in the direction of Sonagir Chitauri the hill was extremely high. These details show that the cliff scaled by Bahadur was in the extreme south west of Mandu where a high nearly isolated point stretches out from the main plateau. For details see Appendix II, Mandu.

³ Mirat-i-Sikandari, 241-242, Farshtah, II, 432.

Halvad,¹ had killed the commandant of Dasáda Bahádur despatched Khán Khánán against him. Vítangám and Mándal were reft from the Jhála chieftains, and ever after formed part of the crown dominions. When Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí and his sons were being conveyed to the fortress of Chámpáni, Ráisingh, Rája of Pál, endeavoured to rescue them. The attempt failed, and the prisoners were put to death by their guards. In A D 1531, on Bahádur's return from Burhánpur to Dhá, hearing that Silehdi the Rájput chief of Ráisin in east Málwa kept in captivity certain Muhammadan women who had belonged to the *harím* of Sultán Násir-ud-dín of Málwa, Bahádur marched against him and forced him to surrender and embrace Islám. The chief secretly sent to the Rána of Chitor for aid and delayed handing over Ráisin. On learning this Bahádur despatched a force to keep Chitor in check and pressed the siege. At his own request, Silehdi was sent to persuade the garrison to surrender. But then reproaches stung him so sharply, that, joining with them, and after burning their women and children, they sallied forth sword in hand and were all slain. Ráisin fell into Bahádur's hands, and this district together with those of Bhílsa and Chanderi were entrusted to the government of Sultán Alam Lodhí. The king now went to Gondvána to hunt elephants, and, after capturing many, employed his army in reducing Gágraun and other minor fortresses.² In A D 1532 he advanced against Chitor, but raised the siege on receiving an enormous ransom. Shortly afterwards his troops took the strong fort of Rantanbhur.³ About this time on receipt of news that the Portuguese were usurping authority the Sultán repaired to Diu. Before he arrived the Portuguese had taken to flight, leaving behind them an enormous gun which the Sultán ordered to be dragged to Chámpáni.

Before A D 1532 was over Bahádur Sháh quarrelled with Humáyún, emperor of Delhi. The original ground of quarrel was that Bahádur Shah had sheltered Sultán Muhammad Zamán Mírza the grandson of a daughter of the emperor Bábar (A D 1482-1530). Humáyún's anger was increased by an insolent answer from the Gujarát king. Without considering that he had provoked a powerful enemy, Bahádur Sháh again laid siege to Chitor, and though he heard that Humáyún had arrived at Gwáhor, he would not desist from the siege. In March 1535 Chitor fell into the hands of the Gujarát king but near Mandasú his army was shortly afterwards routed by Humáyún. According to one account, the failure of the Gujarát army was due to Bahádur and his nobles being spell-bound by looking at a heap of salt and some cloth soaked in indigo which were mysteriously left before Bahádur's tent by an unknown elephant. The usual and probably true explanation is that Rúmí Khán the Turk, head of the Gujarát artillery, betrayed Bahádur's interest.⁴ Still though Rúmí Khán's treachery may have had a share in Bahádur's defeat it seems probable that in valour, discipline, and tactics the Gujarát army was

Chapter II.

Ahmedábád

Kings,

A D 1403-1573

Bahá'dur,
1527 1536.Quarrel with
Humáyún,
1532Fall of Chitor,
1535.¹ Halvad is a former capital of the chief of Dhrángadhra in Káthiáwáda.² Gágraun in Central India about seventy miles north east of Ujjain.³ Rantanbhur about seventy five miles south by east of Jaipur.⁴ Mirát i Sikandari Persian Text, 266, 268, Farishtah, II. 439.

Chapter II

Ahmedabad

Kings,

A.D. 1493-1557

Bahadur

1527-1536

Mughal Conquest

of Gujarat,

1535

Are Driven Out,

1536

The Portuguese

at Diu,

1536

Death of

Bahadur,

1536

Muhammad II

(A.H. 11),

1536

inferior to the Mughals Bahádúr Sháh, unaccustomed to defeat, lost heart and fled to Mandu, which fortress was speedily taken by Humáy ún. From Mandu the king fled to Chámpínér, and finally took refuge in Diu. Chámpínér fell to Humáy ún, and the whole of Gujarát, except Sorath, came under his rule. At this time Sher Sháh Súi revolted, in Bihar and Jaunpur, and Humáy ún returned to Agra to oppose him leaving his brother Hindál Mírza in Ahmedabad, Kásam Beg in Broach, and Yúdgár Násir Mírza in Pátan. As soon as Humáy ún departed, the country rose against the Mughals, and his old nobles requested the king to join them. Bahádúr joined them, and, defeating the Mughals at Kanfj near Mahmúdábád, expelled them from Gujarát. During Humáy ún's time of success Bahádúr Sháh, being forced to court the Portuguese, had granted them leave to erect a factory in Diu. Instead of a factory the Portuguese built a fort. When he recovered his kingdom, Bahádúr, repenting of his alliance with the Portuguese, went to Sorath to persuade an army of Portuguese, whom he had asked to come to his assistance, to return to Goa. When the Portuguese arrived at Diu five or six thousand strong the Sultán hoping to get rid of them by stratagem, repaired to Diu and endeavoured to get the viceroy into his power. The viceroy excused himself, and in return invited the king to visit his ship. Bahádúr agreed, and on his way back was attacked and slain, in the thirty-first year of his life and the eleventh of his reign. According to the author of the *Mirát-i-Sikandari* the reason of Bahádúr's assassination was that a paper from him to the kings of the Dakhan, inviting them to join him in an alliance against the Portuguese, had fallen into the hands of the Portuguese viceroy. Whatever may have been the provocation or the intention, the result seems to show that while both sides had treacherous designs neither party was able to carry out his original plan, and the end was unpremeditated, hurried on by mutual suspicions.¹ Up to the defeat of Sultán Bahádúr by Humáy ún, the power of Gujarát was at its height. Cadets of noble Rájput houses, Prithuráj, the nephew of Rána Sanga of Chitor, and Narsingh Deva the cousin of the Rája of Gwálor, were proud to enrol themselves as the Sultán's vassals. The Rája of Baglana readily gave Bahádúr Sháh his daughter Jám Fírúz of Tatha in Sindh and the sons of Bahlúl Lodhi were supphants at his court. Málwa was a dependency of Gujarát and the Nizám Sháhs of Ahmednagar and Nasírkhan of Burhánpur acknowledged him as overlord, while the Fárúkis of Khándesh were dependent on Bahádúr's constant help.²

On the death of king Bahádúr in A.D. 1536, the nobles of Gujarát invited his sister's son Muhammad Sháh Ásíri to succeed him. Muhammad Sháh died shortly after his accession, and the nobles conferred the crown on Mahmud Khán, son of Latíf Khán, brother of Bahádúr Sháh, and he ascended the throne in A.D. 1536, when only eleven years of age. The government of the country was carried on by Darya Khan and Imád-ul-Mulk, who kept the king under

¹ A detailed account of the death of Sultán Bahádúr is given in the Appendix.

² *Mirát-i-Sikandari* Persian Text, 273. Compare *Laristab*, II, 427.

strict surveillance. Darva Khán resolved to overthrow Imád-ul-Mulk and acquire supreme power. With this object he obtained an order from the king, whom, on the pretence of a hunting expedition, he removed from Ahmedábád, directing Imád-ul-Mulk to retire to his estates in Jhálaváda. Six months later taking the Sultán with him, Darva Khan led an army into Jhálaváda, and defeating Imád-ul-Mulk in a battle at Patra fifty-two miles west of Ahmedábád, paraded him to Burhánpur, and there defeated Imád-ul-Mulk's ally the ruler of Khandesh and forced Imád-ul-Mulk to fly to Malwa.¹ After this success Darva Khán became absorbed in pleasure, and resigned the management of the kingdom to Alam Khán Lodhí. The king, dissimulating his dissatisfaction at the way he was treated, pretended to take no interest in affairs of state. Alam Khán Lodhí, seeing the carelessness of Darva Khán, began to entertain ambitious designs, and retiring to his estate of Dhandhuka invited the king to join him. Mahmud Shah, believing him to be in earnest, contrived to escape from surveillance and joined Alam Khán. On discovering the king's flight, Darva Khan raved to the throne a descendant of Ahmed Shah by the title of Muzáfir Shah, and striking coin in his name set out with an army towards Dhandhuka. Alam Khán and the king met him at Dhur in Dholka, and a battle was fought in which Mahmud and Alam Khán were defeated. The king fled to Rámpur, and thence to Palnad, while Alam Khán fled to Sadra. Darva Khan occupied Dhandhuka, but his men dissatisfied at being placed in opposition to the king, rapidly deserted, some joining Alam Khan and some Mahmud Shah. Soon after the king joined Alam Khan and marched on Ahmedabad, whither Darva Khan had preceded them. The citizens closed the gates against Darva Khan but he forced an entry by way of the Burhánpur wicket. Hearing of the king's approach Darva Khán fled to Mubarak Sháh at Burhánpur, leaving his family and treasure in the fortress of Champáner.

The king entered Ahmedábád, and soon after captured Champáner. Alam Khán now obtained the recall of Imád-ul-Mulk, who received a grant of Broach and the port of Surat. Shortly afterwards Mahmud Shah began to show favour to men of low degree, especially to one Charji, a birdcatcher, whom he ennobled by the title of Muháfiz Khan. Charji counselled Mahmúd to put to death Sultan Ala-ud-dín Lodhí and Shuját Khán, two of the principal nobles, and the king, without consulting his ministers, caused these men to be executed. The nobles joining together besieged Mahmúd Shah in his palace, and demanded that Muháfiz Khán should be surrendered to them, but the king refused to give him up. The nobles then demanded an audience, and this the king granted, Muháfiz Khán, though warned of his danger, being foolishly present. On entering the royal presence Alam Khán signalled to his followers to slay Muháfiz, and he was killed in spite of the king's remonstrances. Mahmúd then attempted to kill himself, but was prevented and placed under guard, and the chief nobles took it in turn to watch him. Strife soon arose between Alam Khán and Mujáhid

Chapter II
Ahmedábád
Kings,

A.D. 1403-1575

Mahmud II
1630-1654

Escapes from
Control

Chooses Evil
Favourites

¹ Mirát-i Sikandari, Persian Text, 202.

Ahmedabad
Kings

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Khan and his brother, and the two latter nobles contrived the king's escape and sacked the houses of Alam Khan and his followers. Alam Khan escaped to Pethapur in the Mahr Kántha. He then joined Darya Khan, whom he called from the Dakhan, and obtained help in money from Imad-ul-Mulk of Surat and from Alp Khan of Dholka. Imad-ul-Mulk wrote to the Sultan asking forgiveness for the rebels. But before the Sultan, who was mercifully disposed, could grant them pardon, Alam Khan and Darya Khan again committed themselves by acts of open revolt. The Sultan displeased with the part Imad-ul-Mulk had taken in the rising summoned him to Champner where, with the Sultan's connivance his camp was given over to pillage. The Sultan disclaimed all knowledge of this attack and at Imad-ul-Mulk's request allowed him to go on pilgrimage to Makkah. In A.D. 1545 as he was preparing to start for Makkah Imad-ul-Mulk was killed. He was succeeded in Surat by Khudward Khan Rumi who had held Surat under him, and who, in spite of Portuguese opposition and intrigue had five years before completed the building of Surat Castle. Meanwhile Alam Khan and Darya Khan were driven from Gujarat and forced to take shelter with the sovereign of Delhi. The king now appointed as his own minister Asif Khan, the minister of the late Bahadur Shah, and though Asif Khan lived in retirement his counsel was taken on measures of importance. Other great nobles were Sayid Mularik, Latch Khan Baloch, and Abdul Karim Khan, who received the title of Itimad Khan and was so entirely in the Sultan's confidence that he was admitted to the harem. Mahmud now consulted Asif Khan as to the propriety of conquering Malwa. Asif Khan advised him rather to deprive the Rajput chiefs and proprietors of their *zantars* or hereditary lands. The attempt to follow this advice stirred to resistance the chief men of Idar, Sirohi, Dungarpur, Banswadi, Lamsadi, Rappah, Dobad and the banks of the Mahi. The king strengthened his line of outposts establishing one at Sirohi and another at Idar, besides fresh posts in other places. At the same time he began to persecute the Hindus allowing them to be killed on the slightest pretence branding Rajputs and Kohis, forcing them to wear a red rag on the right sleeve forbidding them to ride in Ahmedabad and punishing the celebration of Holi and Diwali. In A.D. 1551 Burhan a servant of the king's, conceived the idea of killing him and reigning in his stead. He accordingly gave his master in intoxicating drink and when he was overcome with sleep stabbed him to the heart. The summoning the principal nobles in the king's name he put to death Asif Khan the prime minister and twelve others and endeavoured to have himself accepted as Sultan. No one aided him, even his

1. Attached to this Affidavit are Exhibits A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, Y, Z, AA, AB, AC, AD, AE, AF, AG, AH, AI, AJ, AK, AL, AM, AN, AO, AP, AQ, AR, AS, AT, AU, AV, AW, AX, AY, AZ, BA, BB, BC, BD, BE, BF, BG, BH, BI, BJ, BK, BL, BM, BN, BO, BP, BQ, BR, BS, BT, BU, BV, BW, BX, BY, BZ, CA, CB, CC, CD, CE, CF, CG, CH, CI, CJ, CK, CL, CM, CN, CO, CP, CQ, CR, CS, CT, CU, CV, CW, CX, CY, CZ, DA, DB, DC, DD, DE, DF, DG, DH, DI, DJ, DK, DL, DM, DN, DO, DP, DQ, DR, DS, DT, DU, DV, DW, DX, DY, DZ, EA, EB, EC, ED, EE, EF, EG, EH, EI, EJ, EK, EL, EM, EN, EO, EP, EQ, ER, ES, ET, EU, EV, EW, EX, EY, EZ, FA, FB, FC, FD, FE, FF, FG, FH, FI, FJ, FK, FL, FM, FN, FO, FP, FQ, FR, FS, FT, FU, FV, FW, FX, FY, FZ, GA, GB, GC, GD, GE, GF, GG, GH, GI, GJ, GK, GL, GM, GN, GO, GP, GQ, GR, GS, GT, GU, GV, GW, GX, GY, GZ, HA, HB, HC, HD, HE, HF, HG, HH, HI, HJ, HK, HL, HM, HN, HO, HP, HQ, HR, HS, HT, HU, HV, HW, HX, HY, HZ, IA, IB, IC, ID, IE, IF, IG, IH, II, IJ, IK, IL, IM, IN, IO, IP, IQ, IR, IS, IT, IU, IV, IW, IX, IY, IZ, JA, JB, JC, JD, JE, JF, JG, JH, JI, JJ, JK, JL, JM, JN, JO, JP, JQ, JR, JS, JT, JU, JV, JW, JX, JY, JZ, KA, KB, KC, KD, KE, KF, KG, KH, KI, KJ, KK, KL, KM, KN, KO, KP, KQ, KR, KS, KT, KU, KV, KW, KX, KY, KZ, LA, LB, LC, LD, LE, LF, LG, LH, LI, LJ, LK, LL, LM, LN, LO, LP, LQ, LR, LS, LT, LU, LV, LW, LX, LY, LZ, MA, MB, MC, MD, ME, MF, MG, MH, MI, MJ, MK, ML, MM, MN, MO, MP, MQ, MR, MS, MT, MU, MV, MW, MX, MY, MZ, NA, NB, NC, ND, NE, NF, NG, NH, NI, NJ, NK, NL, NM, NN, NO, NP, NQ, NR, NS, NT, NU, NV, NW, NX, NY, NZ, OA, OB, OC, OD, OE, OF, OG, OH, OI, OJ, OK, OL, OM, ON, OO, OP, OQ, OR, OS, OT, OU, OV, OW, OX, OY, OZ, PA, PB, PC, PD, PE, PF, PG, PH, PI, PJ, PK, PL, PM, PN, PO, PP, PQ, PR, PS, PT, PU, PV, PW, PX, PY, PZ, QA, QB, QC, QD, QE, QF, QG, QH, QI, QJ, QK, QL, QM, QN, QO, QP, QQ, QR, QS, QT, QU, QV, QW, QX, QY, QZ, RA, RB, RC, RD, RE, RF, RG, RH, RI, RJ, RK, RL, RM, RN, RO, RP, RQ, RR, RS, RT, RU, RV, RW, RX, RY, RZ, SA, SB, SC, SD, SE, SF, SG, SH, SI, SJ, SK, SL, SM, SN, SO, SP, SQ, SR, SS, ST, SU, SV, SW, SX, SY, SZ, TA, TB, TC, TD, TE, TF, TG, TH, TI, TJ, TK, TL, TM, TN, TO, TP, TQ, TR, TS, TT, TU, TV, TW, TX, TY, TZ, UA, UB, UC, UD, UE, UF, UG, UH, UI, UJ, UK, UL, UM, UN, UO, UP, UQ, UR, US, UT, UY, UV, UW, UX, UY, UZ, VA, VB, VC, VD, VE, VF, VG, VH, VI, VJ, VK, VL, VM, VN, VO, VP, VQ, VR, VS, VT, VU, VV, VW, VX, VY, VZ, WA, WB, WC, WD, WE, WF, WG, WH, WI, WJ, WK, WL, WM, WN, WO, WP, WQ, WR, WS, WT, WU, WV, WW, WX, WY, WZ, XA, XB, XC, XD, XE, XF, XG, XH, XI, XJ, XK, XL, XM, XN, XO, XP, XQ, XR, XS, XT, XU, XV, XW, XX, XY, XZ, YA, YB, YC, YD, YE, YF, YG, YH, YI, YJ, YK, YL, YM, YN, YO, YP, YQ, YR, YS, YT, YU, YV, YW, YX, YY, YZ, ZA, ZB, ZC, ZD, ZE, ZF, ZG, ZH, ZI, ZJ, ZK, ZL, ZM, ZN, ZO, ZP, ZQ, ZR, ZS, ZT, ZU, ZV, ZW, ZX, ZY, ZZ.

May this film prove like a pillar on the breast
and the life of the Frank

Feb 25 II 417 To 1000 values of μ from 0.1 to 1.0, $\sigma = 0.01$, $\mu = 0.1$, $\sigma = 0.01$, $\mu = 0.2$, $\sigma = 0.01$, $\mu = 0.3$, $\sigma = 0.01$, $\mu = 0.4$, $\sigma = 0.01$, $\mu = 0.5$, $\sigma = 0.01$, $\mu = 0.6$, $\sigma = 0.01$, $\mu = 0.7$, $\sigma = 0.01$, $\mu = 0.8$, $\sigma = 0.01$, $\mu = 0.9$, $\sigma = 0.01$, $\mu = 1.0$, $\sigma = 0.01$. Total 21"

accomplices deserted him. Imād-ul-Mulk Rūmī,¹ Ulugh Khan, and others joined to oppose him, and when marching against them he was cut down by Shirwān Khān. Mahmūd's persecutions had roused such bitter hate among the Hindus, that they regarded Burhān as a saviour, and after Burhān's death are said to have made a stone image of him and worshipped it.² Mahmūd moved his capital from Ahmedabad to Mchmūdābād, eighteen miles south of Ahmedābād where he built a palace and enclosed a deer park. At each corner of the park he raised a palace the stone walls and ceilings of which were ornamented with beautiful and precious gold traceries and arabesques.³ His strict regard for public morals led him to forbid Muhammadan women visiting sauntis toms as the practice gave rise to irregularities. He died at the age of twenty eight after a reign of eighteen years.

On the death of Burhān, the nobles elected as sovereign a descendant of the stock of Ahmed Shāh of the name of Ahmed Khān, and proclaimed him king by the title of Ahmed Shāh II. At the same time they agreed that, as the king was young, Itimād Khān should carry on the government and they further divided the country among themselves each one undertaking to protect the frontiers and preserve the public peace. Mubārak Shāh of Khāndesh, considering this a good opportunity, preferred a claim to the crown and marched to the frontier. An army led by the chief Gujarāt nobles and accompanied by the young king met the invaders at the village of Rampur Kotriā in Broach, the Gujarāt army encamping on the north bank and the Khāndesh army on the south bank of the Narbadā. Nāsir-ul-Mulk, one of the Gujarāt nobles, taking certain of his friends into his confidence, determined to remain neutral till the battle was over and then to fall on the exhausted troops and possess himself of both kingdoms. Sayad Mubārak, a descendant of the saint Shāh Alam, who led the van of the Gujarāt army, becoming aware of Nāsir-ul-Mulk's design opened communications with Mubārak Shāh of Khāndesh and induced him to withdraw.⁴ Nāsir-ul-Mulk, who still aspired to supreme power, gaining several nobles to his side near Barodā, surprised and defeated the forces of Itimād Khān and Sayad Mubārak. The Sayad withdrew to his estate of Kapulvānj and he was joined by Itimād Khān, while Nāsir-ul-Mulk, taking Sultān Ahmed with him to Ahmedābād, assumed the entire government of the country. After a short time he assembled an army and marched against Sayad Mubārak and Itimād Khān encamping at Kamād, the village now called Od Kamod, ten miles north-east of Ahmedābād at the head of 50,000 horse. Itimād feared to attack so

Chapter II.

Ahmedābād
Kings.

A.D. 1403 1573

Mahmūd II
1530 1554Ahmed II
1554 1561
Itimād Khān
Regent

¹ This Imād ul-Mulk is different from the Imād ul Mulk mentioned above (page 258) as receiving a grant of Broach and Surat. The latter had before this retired to Surat, and was killed there in A.D. 1515. (Ibid., 266.) Imād ul Mulk II who attacked Burhān, was originally called Malik Arshūn (Ibid., 272). He is also called the leader of the Turks and Rūmī. This Imād ul Mulk Rūmī, who was the father of Changiz Khān, was ultimately killed in A.D. 1560 at Surat by his own son-in-law Khudrāwand or Ikhtiyār Khān. ² Mirāt i Sikandari, Persian Text, 326-27.

³ This seems to be the palace referred to in the Tabakāt i Akbari (Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, V. 369). After his second settlement of Gujarāt (A.D. 1573, II. 981) Akbar left Ahmedābād for Mchmūdābād and rested in the lofty and fine palace of Sultān Mahmūd of Gujarāt.

⁴ Mirāt i Sikandari, Persian Text, 332.

Chapter II
Ahmedábád
Kings,
A.D. 1401-1573
Ahmed II
1554-1561

Partition of
the Province.

strong a force But Sayad Mubárák, who knew of the defection of Ulugh Khan and Imád-ul-Mulk, surprised Násir-ul-Mulk's army at night During the confusion Ulugh Khán and Imád-ul-Mulk, disgusted with the assumption of Nasir-ul-Mulk, deserted him and bringing the young Sultán with them joined Sayad Mubárák and Ítimád Khán Násir-ul-Mulk was forced to fly, and after a short time died in the mountains of Pál¹ Ikhtiyár-ul-Mulk, Fateh Khán Balúch, and Hasan Khán Dakhami now set up another king, a descendant of Ahmed, named Sháhu A battle was fought near Mehmúdábád in which Sháhu and his supporters were defeated and Hasan Khán Dakhami was slain Before the battle Fateh Khán Balúch had been induced to forsake Sháhu, and Ikhtiyár-ul-Mulk, taking Sháhu with him, fled The nobles now divided Gujarát into the following shares

Ahmed Sháh for Private Purse	{ Ahmedábád and the Daskrohi sub division
Ítimád Khán and Party	{ Kádi, Jháláváda, Pítlád, Nadiád, Bhil, Rádhanpur, Sami, Múnjpur, Godhra, and Sorath.
Sayad Mubárák and Party	{ Patan and Cambay, with its Chorási or 84 villages, Dholka, Gogha, and Dhandhúka
	{ Chámpáner, Samál, Bálásinor, and Kapadvanj
Imád ul Mulk Rúmi and Party .	{ Broach, Baroda, and Surat as far as the Sultánpur Nandurbár frontier
Nobles under Ítimád Khán	. Modása and surrounding districts

Of these shares Ítimád Khán bestowed the country of Sorath on Tútár Khan Ghori, the districts of Rádhanpur, Sami, and Múnjpur on Fateh Khán Baluch, Nadiád on Malik-ush-Shark, and some of the dependencies of Jháláváda on Alaf Khán Habshi Sayad Mubárák conferred the territory of Patan on Músa Khán and Sher Khán Fuládr, Imad-ul-Mulk Rúmi bestowed the district of Baroda on Alaf Khán Habshi and the port of Surat on his wife's brother Khudawand Khán Rúmi

DISSENTIONS.

About this time (A.D. 1552) Alam Khán returned, and, through the influence of Sayad Mubárák, was allowed to remain The Sayad gave him and Azam Humáyun Chámpáner, and Ítimád Khán gave Godhra to Alp Khán Khatri, a follower of Alam Khán Alam Khán and Ítimád Khán shortly after expelled Alaf Khán Habshi from Jháláváda, and he fled to Imád-ul-Mulk Rúmi at Broach, and at his intercession Alaf Khán received the Bhil district Alam Khán's success tempted him to try and get rid of Ítimád Khán and govern in his stead Ítimád Khan, discovering his intention, made him leave the city and live in his own house in the Asáwal suburb Alam Khán now made overtures to Imád-ul-Mulk Rúmi and became very friendly with him One day Alam Khán proposed to get rid of Ítimád Khán,

¹ For Pál compare note 2 page 253.

but seeing that Imád-ul Mulk Rúmí did not take to his proposal, he next endeavoured to ruin Sayad Mubárak. But when the Gujarát army marched against him the Sayad made peace, and Alam Khán's intrigues being apparent, he was attacked and compelled to fly. He now went to Beráí and sought aid of Mubárak Sháh, who marched an army towards the Gujarát frontier. The Gujarát nobles, taking Ahmed Shah with them, advanced to oppose him, and he retired. Alam Khán now repaired to Sher Khán Fauládí at Pátan, and they together seized Ítimád Khán's district of Kadí, but, through the exertions of Ikhtiyár-ul-Mulk, Alam Khán was slain and Sher Khán forced to retire to Pátan. Imád-ul-Mulk Rúmí and Ítimád Khán now carried on the government, but dissension springing up between them, Ítimád Khán fled to Mubárak Sháh in Khandesh, and induced him to lead an army against Gujarát. The nobles, fearing this combination, made peaceful overtures and it was eventually settled that the lands of Sultánpur and Nandubár should be given to Mubárak Sháh, and that Ítimád Khán should be restored to his former position. Since this date the districts of Sultánpur and Nandurbár have been permanently severed from Gujarát and have formed a part of Khándesh, to which province they now belong. Ahmed Sháh, finding himself more strictly guarded than ever, contrived to flee to Sayad Mubárak at Sayadpur, who, though vexed at his coming, would not refuse him shelter. At this time Háji Khán, a Dehli noble, on his way from Chitor to help Humáyún, passed through Gujarát with a well equipped force, and arrived at Pátan. The Gujarát nobles, especially Ítimád Khán and Imád-ul-Mulk Rúmí, conceiving that he came at the Sayad's invitation, and that the flight of the king was part of the plot, determined to crush the Sayad ere Háji Khán could join him, and on their march to Sayadpur meeting Sayad Mubárak near Mehmúdábád defeated him. The Sayad fell and was buried on the field of battle. His estates were resumed, though eventually Dholka was restored to his son Sayad Mírán.

The army and the two protectors returned to Ahmedábád. Dissensions again sprang up between them, and Imád-ul-Mulk Rúmí summoned to his aid his son Changíz Khán from Broach, while Ítimád Khán sent for Tátár Khán Ghorí from Sorath. Tátár Khán arrived first and Ítimád Khán further strengthened by contingents from the Fauládis of Pátan and Fateh Khan Balúch from Rádhampur ordered Imád-ul-Mulk Rúmí to return to his estate, and he, seeing it would be useless for him to contend against so overwhelming a force, retired to his possessions at Broach. Shortly after, having marched against Surat at the request of the inhabitants who were wearied of the tyranny of Khudawand Khán, he was decoyed by that chief to an entertainment and was there assassinated. His son Changíz Khán marched against Surat to take vengeance for his father's death, and, finding the fortress too strong for him, summoned to his aid the Portuguese, to whom, as the price of their assistance, he surrendered the districts of Daman and Sanján.¹ The Portuguese, bringing a strong

Chapter II.**Ahmedábád Kings,**

A.D. 1403 - 1578.

Ahmed II.
1554-1561.Sultánpur and
Nandurbár
handed to
Khándesh,
1560.Defeat and
Death of Sayad
Mubárak.Death of Imád-
ul-Mulk Rúmí.Daman District
ceded to the
Portuguese,
1550.

¹ The fort of Daman was taken by the Portuguese in A.D. 1530, and, according to Portuguese accounts (Faria y Souza in Kerr's Voyages, VI. 413) the country round was

Chapter II

Ahmedabad
King

A.D. 1492-1500

Ahmed II
1501-1561Assassinated,
1500Muzaffar III
1561-1572

A.M. 1572

sent up the Tápti, cut off the supplies, and Khudáwand Khán was forced to surrender, and was slain by Changíz Khán in revenge for his father's death. Shortly afterwards Changíz Khán quarrelled with Jhughír Khán Habsbí of Baroda because the Habsbí had installed his nephew, son of Ahf Khán Habsbí, without consulting Changíz. Jhughír and his nephew being defeated fled to Ítimád Khán, who allotted them a grant of land. At this time Fateh Khán Balúch, the proprietor of Radhanpur and Sami, was Ítimád Khán's chief supporter, and with his assistance Ítimád Khán marched to besiege Changíz Khán in Broach. Tatar Khán Ghori and other nobles, fearing lest Ítimád Khán should become too powerful, endeavoured to make peace. As their efforts failed, Tatar Khán wrote to the Fauladis to attack Fateh Khán Balúch. They did so, and Fateh Khán, after being defeated near Radhanpur, took refuge in the fort of Fatchkot or Dhúlkot, which is close to the town. Ítimád Khán raised the siege of Broach and came to Ahmedábád, where he busied himself in checking the intrigues of king Ahmed, who was doing all in his power to become independent. Finally, in A.D. 1500-51 at the instigation of Wajih-ul-Mulk and Razi-ul-Mulk Ítimád Khán caused Ahmed II to be assassinated. The murder took place in the house of Wajih-ul-Mulk. The Sultan's body was thrown on the sands of the Sabarmati and the story circulated that the Sultan had been killed by robbers. Ahmed's nominal reign had lasted about eight years.

Ítimád Khán then raised to the throne a youth, whom he styled Muzaffar Sháh III, and who, he asserted, was a posthumous son of Mahmúd Sháh¹ and then marched towards Pátan to take his revenge on the Fauladis for their attack on Fateh Khán Balúch. The nobles unwilling to crush the Fauladis, fearing lest their turn might come next, entered into secret correspondence with them, and withdrew when battle was joined. The nobles were now independent in their respective *jágers*, in which according to the *Tabakat-i-Albari* they allowed no interference though still owning nominal allegiance to the throne.² Ítimád Khán, forced to return unsuccessful to Ahmedábád, with a view of again attacking the Fauladis, summoned Tatar Khán Ghori from Junagadh. The nobles remained aloof, and even Tatar

Khán Ghori made excuses, which so exasperated Ítimád Khán that he sought to slay him. Tatar Khán escaped to Sorath, and there openly sided with the Fauládis. Sayad Mírán also left Ahmedábád for his estate at Dholka, and joining Tatar Khan at Ránpur they both went over to the Fauládis at Pátan. Meanwhile Ítimád Khán, again collecting an army, marched once more towards Pátan. He was met by the Fauládis near the village of Jhotand, about thirty miles south of Pátan, where he was defeated and compelled to return to Ahmedábád. Sayad Mírán now intervened and made peace. Ítimád Khan still thirsting for revenge on the Fauládis, invited Changíz Khán, son of Imíd-ul-Mulk Rúmí, to the capital, and by courteous treatment induced him to join in another expedition against the Fauládis. Like the other nobles Changíz Khan was lukewarm, and as Musá Khán Fauládi died while Ítimád Khán was marching on Pátan, Changíz Khán assigned this as a reason for not proceeding further, averring that it was not fit to war with people in misfortune. Ítimád Khán perforce returned to Ahmedábád.

Though Ítimád Khán had disgusted the nobles, both by causing the assassination of Ahmed Sháh and by his enmity with the Fauládis, as he had charge of Muzaffar Sháh and possession of the capital, the government of the country was in his hands. At this time the Mírás,¹ who were the sons of Sultan Hussain of Khurásán, quarrelling with Jalál ul din Muhammad Akbar, entered Gujarát, and joined Changíz Khán. Changíz Khán now proposed to Sher Khan Fauládi that they should expel Ítimád Khán and divide Gujarát between them, the capital and the country south of the Sábarmati falling to the share of Changíz Khan, and that to the north to Sher Khán Fauládi. Sher Khán agreed, and Changíz Khán joining him they marched on Ahmedábád. Sayad Mírán induced Sher Khan to stay in Kadi. But Changíz Khán refused to listen to him, and a battle was fought between him, Ítimád Khán, and the Sayad on the right bank of the Khári about eight miles south of Ahmedábád. Ítimád Khán was defeated, and fled with the king to Modása, while Changíz Khan took possession of the capital. Sher Khán Fauládi now advanced to the Sábarmati, and, after dividing the province as had been agreed, Sher Khan retired to Kadi. Ítimád Khán entreated Mírán Muhammad Sháh, king of Khándesh, to march to his aid, and Changíz Khán invited Ítimád Khán to return. He came to Mehmudábád, where hearing that Muhammad Shah had sustained a defeat and retired to his own country, he took Muzaffar Sháh with him and returned through Modása to Dungarpur. Changíz Khán remained in Ahmedábád, and Sher Khán withdrew to Kadi. After this success all the chief nobles of Gujarát, including the Habshis, joined Changíz Khán, who was now at the zenith of his power, and began to think of subduing Sher Khán Fauládi,

Chapter II.

Ahmedábád
Kings, .

A.D 1403 - 1673.

Muzaffar III
1561 1572Ítimád Khán and
the Fauládis.The Mírás,
1571.They Defeat
Ítimád Khán.

¹ These Mírás were the great grandsons of a Muhammad Sultan Mírza, the ruler of Khurásán, who, on being driven out of his dominions, sought refuge in India. This prince and his family on the ground of their common descent from Taimúr, were entertained first by Bábar (A.D. 1526 - 1531), and afterwards by Humáyun (A.D. 1531 - 1556). Before this quarrel Akbar had treated the Mírás with great honour. Elliot's History, VI 122.

Chapter II
Ahmedabad
Kings,
A.D. 1561-1572
Dah
of Chavli
Khan

who on his part was anxious and fearful. At this time Bigh Khán a Habshi eunuch who was offended with Changíz Khan, because he had resumed the grant of Cambay, persuaded Alif Khán and Jhujhar Khán Habshi that Changíz Khan had determined to kill them. The Habshi Kháns, resolving to be beforehand, invited Changíz Khán, with whom they were intimate, to play a game of *changan* or polo.¹ Changíz agreed and when near the Farhat-ul-Mulk mosque, between the Bhadar and the Three Gates, Alif Khán, after making Jhujhar Khán a signal, attracted Changíz Khán's notice to the horse on which he was riding saying it was the best of the last batch imported from the Persian Gulf. As Changíz Khán turned to look at the horse, Jhujhar Khán cut him down. The Habshis now plundered Changíz Khan's house, while the Mírzas, mounting, went south and took possession of Broach, Baroda, and Champáner. Sher Khan advanced from Kadi, and ordered the Habshis to hand him over Ahmedabad. While treating with him the Habshis secretly summoned Ítmád Khan, who, returning with Muzaffar Shah, entered the city. It was arranged that Ítmád Khán should take the place of Changíz Khán, and that the division of Gujarat between Changíz Khán and Sher Khán should be maintained. Ítmád Khan found the Habshis so domineering that he withdrew from public affairs. Afterwards Alif Khán and Jhujhar Khán, quarrelling over the division of Changíz Khán's property, Alif Khán left Ahmedábád and joined Sher Khan, who, advancing from Kadi, had siege to Ahmedabad. Ítmád Khán now sought aid from the Mírzas and Mirza Ibrahim Husam marched from Broach and harassed Sher Khán's army with his Mughal archers.

Ítmád Khán
and the
English, A.D. 1572

At the same time Ítmád Khán turned for help to the emperor Akbar, who, glad of any pretext for driving the Mírzas from their place of refuge in Gujarat, was not slow in availing himself of Ítmád Khán's proposal. Early in July 1572 he started for Ahmedabad, and with his arrival in the province, the history of Gujarát as a separate kingdom comes to an end.

¹ The modern game of polo. Lane in his translation of the *Thon and One Nale* (I. 76, 1887 Edition) calls it the golf-stick, but the nature of the game described there does not in any way differ from polo. *Changan* is the Persian and *As adhyatna* is the Arabic name for the game.

CHAPTER III.

MUGHAL VICEROYS

A D 1573 1758

To the nobles thus fighting among themselves, news was brought that the emperor Akbar was at Dîsa. Ibrahim Husain Mirza returned to Broach and the army of the Paulâdis dispersed. From Dîsa the imperial troops advanced to Pâtan and thence to Jhotîra thirty miles south of Pâtan. Sultân Muzaffar, who had separated from the Paulâdis, fell into the hands of the emperor, who granted him his life but placed him under charge of one of his nobles named Karim Ali¹. When the imperial army reached Kadî, Humâd Khan, Ikhtiyar Khân, Alaf Khân, and Jhughar Khan met Akbar and Sayad Hamid also was honoured with an audience at Haggpur². The emperor imprisoned Alaf Khân and Jhughar Khan Hibshi and encouraged the other Gujarât nobles. Ikhtiyar ul-Mulk now fled to Lunavada and the emperor, fearing that others of the Gujarât nobles might follow his example, sent Humâd Khan to Cambay and placed him under the charge of Shahbâz Khân Kamboj. From Ahmedabad Akbar advanced to Cambay. At this time Ibrahim Mirza held Bîroda, Muhammad Husain Mirza held Surat, and Shâh Mirza held Champiner. On leaving Cambay to expel the Mirzas, Akbar appointed Muza Aziz Kokaltash his first viceroy of Gujarât. At Bîroda Akbar heard that Ibrahim Mirza had treacherously killed Rustam Khan Rumi, who was Changîz Khan's governor of Broach. The emperor recalled the detachment he had sent against Surat, and overtaking the Mirza at Sarnîl or Thîsra on the right bank of the Mûhi about twenty-three miles north-east of Nadîd, after a bloody conflict routed him. The Mirza fled by Ahmednagar to Sirohi and Akbar rejoined his camp at Bîroda. The emperor now sent a force under Shâh Kuli Khan to invest the fort of Surat, and following in person pitched his camp at Gopi Tâla, a suburb of that city. After an obstinate defence of one month and seventeen days, the garrison under Hamzabân, a slave of Humâyûn's who had joined the Mirzas, surrendered. Hamzabân was in treaty with the Portuguese. Under his invitation a large party of Portuguese came to

Chapter III

Mughal
ViceroysAkbar
Emperor,
1573-1605

¹ The emperor Akbar took Muzaffar Shâh with him to Agra, and settled on him the districts of Sarangpur and Ujjain in Malwa with a revenue of Rs. 20,00,000 (50 *lakh*s of *tanîd*s) (Elliot, V. 353). When Mun'im Khân Khân Khân was going to Bengal, the emperor made Muzaffar over to him. Mun'im Khân gave his daughter Shâhîzâdah Khânâm in marriage to Muzaffar, but shortly afterwards having reason to suspect him imprisoned him, whence Muzaffar finding an opportunity fled to Gujarât in A D 1581 (H. 989) according to Farishtah (II. 160), 158; according to the Mirât-i Sikandari.

² Both the Tabakât-i Akbari (Elliot, V. 312) and Farishtah (I. 491) name four other nobles Mir Abu Turâh, Sayad Ahmed Bhukhârî, Malik Ashraf, and Wajih ul Mulk. The Sayad Ahmed of these two writers is a misprint for the Sayad Hamid of the text.

³ Mirât-i Sikandari, 115; Tabakât-i Akbari in Elliot, V. 313.

Chapter III

Mughal
Viceroys

Albar
1573-1605
Akbar captures
Surat and
advances to
Ahmedabad,
1573

Surat during the siege, but seeing the strength of the imperial army, represented themselves as ambassadors and besought the honour of an interview¹. While at Surat the emperor received from Bihār or Vihārj the Rāja of Baglari, Shārfuddīn Husain Mirza whom the Rāja had captured². After the capture of Surat, the emperor ordered the great Sulamāni cannon which had been brought by the Turks with the view of destroying the Portuguese forts and left by them in Surat, to be taken to Agra. Surat was placed in the charge of Kalij Khan. The emperor now advanced to Ahmedābād, where the mother of Changīz Khān came and demanded justice on Jhujhūr Khan for having wantonly slain her son. As her complaint was just the emperor ordered Jhujhūr Khān to be thrown under the feet of an elephant. Muhammad Khān, son of Sher Khān Faulādī, who had fled to the Idar hills, now returned and took the city of Pātān, besieging the imperial governor, Sayad Ahmed Khān Bārha, in the citadel. At this time Mirza Muhammad Husain was at Rānpūr near Dhundhuka. When Sher Khan Faulādī, who had taken refuge in Sorath, heard of Muhammad Khān's return to Pātān, he met Mirza Muhammad Husain, and uniting their forces they joined Muhammad Khān at Pātān. The viceroy Mirza Āziz Kokaltash with other nobles marched against them, and after a hard-fought battle, in which several of the imperial nobles were slain Mirza Āziz Kokaltash was victorious. Sher Khān again took refuge in Sorath, and his son fled for safety to the Idar hills, while the Mirza withdrew to the Khandesh frontier. As the conquest of Gujurāt was completed, Akbar returned to Agra.

From A.D. 1573, the date of its annexation as a province of the empire, to A.D. 1758, the year of the final capture of Ahmedabad by the Marāthās, Gujurāt remained under the government of officers appointed by the court of Dehli. Like the rule of the Ahmedābād Kings, this term of 184 years falls into two periods: the first of 134 years from A.D. 1573 to the death of Aurangzib in A.D. 1707, a time on the whole of public order and strong government, the second from A.D. 1707 to A.D. 1758, fifty-one years of declining power and growing disorder.

SECTION I.—A.D. 1573-1707.

Mirza Āziz
Kokaltash,
1573-1577

Before leaving Gujurāt Akbar placed the charge of the province in the hands of Mirza Āziz Kokaltash³. At the same time the emperor rewarded his supporters by grants of land, assigning Ahmedābād with Pīlūd and several other districts to the viceroy Mirza Āziz, Pātān to the Khān-i-Kalān Mir Muhammad Khan, and Baroda to Nawāb Anrang Khān. Broach was given to Kutb-ud-din Muhammad, and Dholka Khampir and Sami were confirmed to Sayad Hāmīd and Sayad Mahmūd Bukhārī. As soon as the emperor was gone Ikhtiyār-ul-

¹ The details of the Surat expedition are taken from the *Tabakat-i Akbari* in F. No. 43, 346 and *Mud Fatah-i Akbar* in F. No. VI, 12.

² The name of Bihār or Vihārj is in the *Diwan-i Fuzul-i Ichāmari*, Persian Text, Sur. 1591. Mirza Āziz in page 159 says that Bihārj or Vihārj was the hereditary title of the Rāja of Baglari. The personal name of the Baglari Bihārj of his time was Partap.

³ According to the *Asat-i Askhari* (Boehm, I, 325) the province of Gujurāt was placed under the charge of Mirza Āziz Kokaltash, who was placed in charge of the province of Gujurāt.

Mulk and Muhammad Khán, son of Sher Khán, who had taken shelter in the Ídar hills, issued forth, and the viceroy marched to Ahmednagar to hold them in check. Mírza Muhammad Husain advancing rapidly from the Nandurbár frontier, took the fort of Broach, and went thence to Cambay which he found abandoned by its governor Husain Khán Karkarsh, while he himself marched to Ahmednagar and Ídar against Ikhtiyár-ul-Mulk. The viceroy ordered Sayad Hámíd Bukhári, Nawáb Naurang Khán, and others to join Kutb-ud-dín Muhammad Khán. They went and laid siege to Cambay, but Mírza Muhammad managed to evacuate the town and join Ikhtiyár-ul-Mulk and Muhammad Khán. After several unsuccessful attempts to scatter the enemy the viceroy retired to Ahmedábád, and the rebels laid siege to the city. Kutb-ud-dín Khán, Sayad Mírán, and others of the imperial party succeeded in entering the city and joining the garrison. After the siege had lasted two months, Akbar, making his famous 600 mile (400 kos) march in nine days from Agra, arrived before Ahmedábád, and, at once engaging the enemy, totally defeated them with the loss of two of their leaders Mírza Muhammad Husain and Ikhtiyár-ul-Mulk.

On the day before the battle Akbar consulting a Hazára Afghán versed in drawing omens from sheeps' shoulder-blades, was told that victory was certain, but that it would be won at the cost of the life of one of his nobles. Seif Khan, brother of Zein Khán Koka, coming in prayed that he should be chosen to receive the crown of martyrdom. At the end of the day the only leading noble that was killed was Seif Khán.¹

After only eleven days' stay, Akbar again entrusting the government of Gujarát to Mírza Ázíz Koka, returned to Agra. Mírza Ázíz Koka did not long continue viceroy. In A D 1575, in consequence of some dispute with the emperor, he retired into private life. On his resignation Akbar conferred the post of viceroy on Mírza Khán, son of Behráw Khán, who afterwards rose to the high rank of Khán Khánán or chief of the nobles. As this was Mírza Khán's first service, and as he was still a youth, he was ordered to follow the advice of the deputy viceroy, Wazír Khán, in whose hands the administration of the province remained during the two following years. Soon after the insurrection of 1573 was suppressed the emperor sent Rája Todar Mal to make a survey settlement of the province. In A D 1575 after the survey was completed Wajih-ul-Mulk Gujaráti was appointed *díwán* or minister. Some historians say that in A D 1576 Wazír Khán relieved Mírza Ázíz Koka as viceroy, but according to the Mírát-i-

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Mughal
Viceroys.

Akbar
Emperor,
1573-1605
Mírza Ázíz
First Viceroy,
1573-1575.

Insurrection
Quelled by
Akbar,
1573.

Mírza Khán
Second Viceroy,
1575-1577.

Survey by Rája
Todar Mal.

¹ Tuzuk-i-Jehángíri or Jehangír's Memoirs, Pers Text, Sayad Ahmed Khán's Edition page 20. For Akbar's march compare Tabakát-i-Akbari in Elliot, V 365 and Blochman's Ain-i-Akbari, I 325 and note. The Mírát-i-Ahmedí (Pers Text, 131) records these further details. When starting from his last camp Akbar began to mount his horse on the day of the battle that took place near Ahmedábád. The royal steed unable to bear the weight of the hero laden with the spirit of victory sat down. Rája Bhagwándás Kachwáhah ran up to the rather embarrassed emperor and offered him his congratulations saying, 'Thus, your Majesty, is the surest sign of victory. There are also two further signs: the wind blows from our back and the kites and vultures accompany our host.'

Kohinūr¹ followed by Amīn Khān. Here a pitched battle was fought, and Mirzā Khān was defeated with the loss of his baggage. Many of his men were slain, and he himself being wounded, escaped with difficulty to Ahmedābād. Shihab-ud-din, who had meanwhile been giving his attention to revenue matters, and to the more correct measurement of the lands of the province, was rudely recalled from these peaceful occupations by his nephew's defeat. At the same time news was brought of the escape of the former king, Muzaffar Khān, who eluding the vigilance of the imperial servants, appeared in Gujarāt in A.D. 1583. Muzaffar remained for some time in the Rājpipla country, and thence came to one Lāmī or Lāmḍhā Khāthi, at the village of Khur in the district of Sardhar in Sorath.

Before he could march against Muzaffar, Shihab-ud-din was recalled, and in A.D. 1583 or 1584, Itimād Khān Gujarātī was appointed viceroy. At this time a party of 700 or 800 Mughals, called Wazīr Khāns, separating from Shihab-ud-din, remained behind in hope of being entertained by the new viceroy. As Itimād Khān declined that he was unable to take them into his service, they went off in a body and joined Muzaffar at Khur, and he with them and three or four thousand Khāthi horse marched at once on Ahmedābād. On hearing this Itimād Khān, leaving his son Sher Khān in Ahmedābād, followed Shihab-ud-din to Kuth and entreated him to return. Shihab-ud-din at first affected indifference telling Itimād that as he had given over charge he had no more interest in the province. After two days he consented to return if Itimād stated in writing that the country was on the verge of being lost and that Itimād being unable to hold it was obliged to relinquish charge to Shihab-ud-din. Itimād Khān made the required statement and Shihab-ud-din returned with him.² Meanwhile Muzaffar Shihā reached Ahmedābād, which was weakly defended, and in A.D. 1583 after a brief struggle, took possession of the city. While the siege of Ahmedābād was in progress Shihab-ud-din and Itimād Khān were returning, and were within a few miles of the city, when news of its capture reached them. They continued their advance, but had barely arrived at Ahmedābād when Muzaffar Shihā totally defeated them taking all their baggage. Seeing the issue of the fight, most of their army went over to Muzaffar Shihā, and the viceroy and Shihab-ud-din with a few men fled to Patan. Kutb-ud-din Muḥammad Khān Atkh, one of the imperial commanders, who was on the Khandesh frontier, now advanced by forced marches to Baroda. Muzaffar marched against him with a large army, recently strengthened by the union of the army of Sayad Daulat ruler of Cambay. Kutb-ud-din threw himself into Baroda, and, in spite of the treachery of his troops, defended the city for some time. At last, on Muzaffar's assurance that his life should be spared Kutb-ud-din repaired to the enemies' camp to treat for peace. On his arrival he was treated with respect, but next day was treacherously put to death. The fort of Broach was also at this

Chapter III

Mughal
Viceroys

Akbar
Imperator,
1573-1605
SHAHAB-UD-DIN
Third Viceroy,
1577-1583

ITIMAD KHAN
GUJARATI
Fourth Viceroy,
1583-4

Muzaffar captures
Ahmedābād,
1583

¹ Thus has been rendered by Bird, 353, 'the mountain of Dīnār,' as if Koh Dīnār

² H. 992 (1584 A.C.) according to the Tabakat-i Akbari (Elliot, V, 428)

³ Mirāt-i Sikandari, 122. Compare Blochman's Ain-i Akbari, I. 386.

Chapter III.

Mughal

Viceroys.

Akbar

Emperor,

1573-1605

Mirza Abdur-

Rahim Khan

(Khan Khanan)

Fifth Viceroy

1583-1587.

Defeat

of Muzaffar,

1584.

time traitorously surrendered to Muzaffar by the slaves of the mother of Naurang Khan, fief-holder of the district.

On learning of the Gujarati insurrection the emperor, at the close of A.D. 1583, conferred the government of the province on Mirza Abdur-Rahim Khan, son of Behram Khan, who had formerly (A.D. 1575) acted as viceroy. Muzaffar, who was still at Broach, hearing of the advance of the new viceroy with a large army, returned rapidly to Ahmedabad, and in A.D. 1584 fought a pitched battle with Mirza Abdur-Rahim Khan between Sirkhej and Shah Bhikan's tomb¹. In this engagement Muzaffar was entirely defeated, and fled to Cambay pursued by Mirza Abdur-Rahim Khan. Muzaffar now hearing that Mirza Abdur-Rahim Khan had been joined by Naurang Khan and other nobles with the imperial army from Malwa, quitted Cambay, and made for his old place of shelter in Rajpipla. Finding no rest in Rajpipla, after fighting and losing another battle in the Rajpipla hills, he fled first to Patan and then to Idar, and afterwards again repaired to Lumbha Kathi in Khiri. In reward for these two victories, the emperor bestowed on Mirza Abdur-Rahim Khan the title of Khan Khánán. Broach now submitted, and Muzaffar sought shelter with Amin Khan Ghorî at Junagadh, by whom he was allotted the waste town of Gondal as a residence. Muzaffar made one more attempt to establish his power. He advanced to Morvi, and thence made a raid on Radhanpur and plundered that town, but was soon compelled to return to Kathiavada and seek safety in flight. Amin Khan, seeing that his cause was hopeless, on pretence of aiding him, induced Muzaf-

¹ *Muzaffar Khan*, 456. *Farukh*, I. 309, *Ellis*, V. 494. In front of this tower the Shah Khánan built on the site of the battle a palace and garden enclosing all with a high wall. This was to be named Jangir or City of Victory, was one of the chief ornaments of Ahmedabad. In November 1610 the English merchant Warington writes (*Ellis's Voyages*, IX. 327): "A fort in Sirkhej is a pleasant house with a large garden all round on the banks of the river which Chota-Chota-Naw (Khan Khánan) built in honour of a great victory over the last king of Gujarat. No person inhabits the house. Two years later (1616) another English merchant Darnley (*Ellis*, IX. 493) describes the field of Victory as a square walled all round with brick about 1½ miles in circuit all planted with four trees and delightfully varied having a central house called by a name signifying Victory in which Shah Khánan for some time resided. In 1615 the emperor Jahangir (*Memours Persien Text*, 210-213) on his way to Sirkhej visited the *Rahim-Khanan's Begim Pacha* or Garden of Victory which he said built at a cost of two lakhs of rupees ornamenting the garden with buildings and surrounding it with a wall. The natives he writes call it *Fateh-Wada*. In 1625 the English traveller Herbert (*Travels*, 66) writes: "Two miles nearer Ahmedabad than Sirkhej are the curious gardens and palace of Khan Khánan where he defeated the last of the Cambay kings and in memory built a store of houses and spacious gardens the best where I saw any, surrounds the palace. Mander's writing in 1635 is still louder in praise of the beauty of the Garden of Victory. It is the largest and most beautiful garden in all India, one of the most splendid buildings and ornaments of fine fountains. Its site is one of the prettiest in the world on the border of a great tank lying on the west side many pavilions and a high wall on the side of Ahmedabad. The lodge and the curvilinear are a way of the guests who built them. The garden has many fruit trees oranges, citrons, pom-granates, dates, amonds, mulberries, tamarinds, mangoes, and others so close planted that all walking in the garden is under most pleasing shade (*Mander's Travels*, French Ed. III-115). When (A.D. 1757) the *Mirza-Mahmud* was driven several of the buildings and the remains of the summer house were still to be seen (*Ellis's History of Gujarat*, 779). A few traces of the buildings known as *Fateh Bad* or Victory Garden remain (1879) (*Ahmedabad Gazetteer*, 232.)

far to give him about £10,000¹. When he had obtained the money, on one pretext or another, Amín Khán withheld the promised aid. The Khán Khánán now marched an army into Sorath against Muzaffar. The Jám of Navánagar and Amín Khán sent their envoys to meet the viceroy, declaring that they had not sheltered Muzaffar, and that he was leading an outlaw's life, entirely unaided by them. The viceroy agreed not to molest them, on condition that they withheld aid and shelter from Muzaffar, and himself marched against him. When he reached Upleta, about fifteen miles north-west of the fortress of Júnágadh, the viceroy heard that Muzaffar had sought shelter in the Baida hills in the south-west corner of the peninsula. Advancing to the hills, he halted his main force outside of the rough country and sent skirmishing parties to examine the hills. Muzaffar had already passed through Navánagar and across Gujarát to Danta in the Mahi Kántha. Here he was once more defeated by the Parántej garrison, and a third time took refuge in Rájpípla. The viceroy now marched on Navánagar to punish the Jám. The Jám sent in his submission, and the viceroy taking from him, by way of fine, an elephant and some valuable horses, returned to Ahmedábad. He next sent a detachment against Ghazni Khán of Jhálor who had favoured Muzaffar. Ghazni Khán submitted, and no further steps were taken against him.

In A.D. 1587 the Khán Khánán was recalled and his place supplied by Ismail Kulí Khán. Ismáíl's government lasted only for a few months, when he was superseded by Mírza Áziz Kokaltásh, who was a second time appointed viceroy. In A.D. 1591, Muzaffar again returned to Sorath. The viceroy, hearing that he had been joined by the Jám, the Kachh chief, and Daulat Khán Ghori the son of Amín Khán, marched with a large army towards Sorath, and, halting at Víramgám, sent forward a detachment under Naurang Khán, Sayad Kásim, and other officers. Advancing as far as Morvi,² Naurang Khán entered into negotiations with the Jám, who, however, refused to accede to the demands of the imperial commander. On this the viceroy joined Naurang Khán with the bulk of his army, and after a short delay marched on Navánagar. On his way, at the village of Dhokar near Navánagar, Muzaffar and the Jám opposed him, and an obstinate battle in which the imperialists were nearly worsted, ended in Muzaffar's defeat. The son and minister of the Jám were slain, and Muzaffar, the Jám, and Daulat Khán who was wounded, fled to the fortress of Júnágadh. The viceroy now advanced and plundered Navánagar, and remaining there sent Naurang Khán, Sayad Kásim, and Gujar Khán against Júnágadh. The day the army arrived before the fortress Daulat Khán died of his wounds. Still the fortress held out, and though the viceroy joined them the siege made little progress as the imperial troops were in great straits for grain. The viceroy returned to Ahmedábad, and after seven or eight months again marched against Júnágadh. The Jám, who was still a fugitive, sent envoys

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys

Akbar
Emperor,
1583-1605
Mírza ABDUR
RAHÍM KHÁN
(KHÁN KHÁNA)
Fifth Viceroy,
1583-1587

ISMÁÍL KULÍ
KHÁN
Sixth Viceroy,
1587.

Mírza ÁZIZ
KOKALTÁSH
Seventh Viceroy,
1588-1592

Muzaffar seeks
Refuge in
Káthiáwáda.

Is attacked by
the Imperial
Army

¹ Two *lákhs* of *mahmūdís*. The *mahmūdī* varied in value from about one-third to one half of a rupee. See Introduction page 222 note 2.

² Morvi (north latitude 29° 48', east longitude 70° 50'), a town in Káthiáwáda, about twenty one miles south of Kachh.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys

Akbar
Emperor,
1583-1605
Mírza Ázíz
KOKALTASH
Seventh Viceroy,
1587
Muzaffar Flees
to Kachh

and promised to aid the viceroy if his country were restored to him. The viceroy assented on condition that, during the operations against Júnágadh, the Jám should furnish his army with grain. The Jám agreed to provide grain, and after a siege of three months the garrison surrendered.

News was next received that Muzaffar had taken refuge at Jagat.¹ The viceroy at once sent Naurang Khán and others with an army in pursuit. On reaching Jagat it was found that Muzaffar had already left for a village owned by a Rájput named Sewa Wádhel. Without halting Naurang Khán started in pursuit, nearly surprising Muzaffar, who escaping on horseback with a few followers, crossed to Kachh. Sewa Wádhel covering Muzaffar's retreat was surprised before he could put to sea and fought gallantly with the imperial forces till he was slain. Naurang Khán then came to Arámra, a village belonging to Singráam Wádhel, Rájá of Jagat, and after frustrating a scheme devised by that chief to entrap a body of the troops on board ship under pretence of pursuing Muzaffar's family, led his men back to Júnágadh. The viceroy, hearing in what direction Muzaffar had fled, marched to Morvi, where the Jám of Navánagar came and paid his respects. At the same time the Kachh chief who is called Khengár by Firishtah and in the *Mirát-i-Ahmadi* and Bhára in the *Muá't-i-Sikandri*, sent a message that if the viceroy would refrain from invading his country and would give him his ancestral district of Morvi and supply him with a detachment of troops, he would point out where Muzaffar was concealed. The Khan-i-Azam agreed to these terms and the chief captured Muzaffar and handed him to the force sent to secure him. The detachment, strictly guarding the prisoner, were marching rapidly towards Morvi, when, on reaching Dhrol, about thirty miles east of Jámnagar, under pretence of obeying a call of nature, Muzaffar withdrew and cut his throat with a razor, so that he died. This happened in A D 1591-92. The viceroy sent Muzaffar's head to court, and though he was now recalled by the emperor, he delayed on pretence of wishing to humble the Portuguese. His real object was to make a pilgrimage to Makkah, and in A D 1592, after obtaining the necessary permission from the Portuguese, he started from Verával.² During this viceroyalty an imperial *farmán* ordered that the state share of the produce should be one-half and the other half should be left to the cultivator and further that from each half five per cent should be deducted for the village headmen. All other taxes were declared illegal, and it was provided that when lands or houses were sold, half the government demand should be realized from the seller and half from the buyer.

The emperor, who was much vexed to hear of the departure of the viceroy, appointed prince Sultán Murád Bákhsh in his stead with as his minister Muhammad S'ádkhán one of the great nobles. In A D 1593-94 Mírza Ázíz Kokaltash returned from his pilgrimage and

Commits Suicide,
1591-92

SCITAR MEAD
BÁKHSH
Eighth Viceroy,
1592-1600

¹ Jagat (north latitude 22° 15', east longitude 69° 1'), the site of the temple of Drárla, at the western extremity of the peninsula of Káthiaváda.

² Verával (north latitude 20° 55', east longitude 70° 21'), on the south-west coast of Káthiaváda. On the south-east point of Verával bay stood the city of Dev or Mungá. It is said that the temple of 'Omara'ha

repaired to court, and next year on prince Murád Bakhsh going to the Dakhan, Surajsingh was appointed his deputy. In A D 1594-95 Bahádur, son of the late Muzaffar Sháh, excited a rebellion, but was defeated by Surajsingh. In A D 1600, owing to the death of Sultán Murád, Mírza Áziz Kokaltash was a third time appointed viceroy of Gujarát, and he sent Shams-ud-dín Husain as his deputy to Ahmedábád. Further changes were made in A D 1602 when Mírza Áziz sent his eldest son Shadmán as deputy, his second son Khurram as governor of Junágadh, and Syad Bayázid as minister. Khurram was afterwards relieved of the charge of Sorath and Júpágadh by his brother Abdulláh.

In A D 1605 Núr-ud-dín Muhammad Jehángir ascended the imperial throne. Shortly after his accession the emperor published a decree remitting certain taxes, and also in cases of robbery fixing the responsibility on the landowners of the place where the robbery was committed. The decree also renewed Akbar's decree forbidding soldiers billeting themselves forcibly in cultivators' houses. Finally it directed that dispensaries and hospital wards should be opened in all large towns. In the early days of Jehangir's reign disturbance was caused in the neighbourhood of Ahmedábád by Bahádur a son of Muzaffar Sháh. Jehangir despatched Pataldas Raja Vikramajit as viceroy of Gujarát to put down the rising. The Raja's arrival at Ahmedábád restored order. Some of the rebel officers submitting were reinstated in their commands, the rest fled to the hills.¹ On the Raja's return Jehangir appointed Kalij Khan to be viceroy of Gujarát, but Kalij Khan never joined his charge, allowing Mírza Áziz Kokaltash to act in his place. In A D 1606, on the transfer of Mírza Áziz to the Lahor viceroyalty, Sayad Murtaza Khan Bukhári, who had recently been ennobled in consequence of crushing the rebellion under Jehangir's son Khusráo, was entrusted with the charge of Gujarát, Sayad Bayázid being continued as minister. Sayad Murtaza, who is said to have further ingratiated himself with the emperor by the present of a magnificent ruby, appears to have been more of a scholar than a governor. His only notable acts were the repair of the fort of Kadi² and the populating of the Bukhára quarter of Ahmedábád. During his tenure of power disturbances broke out, and Ru Gopináth, son of Rája Todar Mal, with Raja Sursingh of Jodhpur, were sent to Gujarát by way of Málwa Surit and Baroda. They overcame and imprisoned Kalján, chief of Belpár,³ but were defeated by the Mándwa⁴ chieftain, and withdrew to Ahmedabad. Ru Gopináth, obtaining reinforcements, returned to Mandwa and succeeded in capturing the chief. He then marched against the rebellious Kohs of the Kánkrej, and took prisoner their

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys

Akbar
Emperor,
1583 1605
Mírza Áziz
KOKALTASH
Ninth Viceroy,
1600-1605

Jehangir
Emperor,
1605-1627

KALIJ KHÁN
Tenth Viceroy,
1606

SAYAD MURTAZA
Eleventh Viceroy,
1606-1609

¹ Jehangir's Memoirs, Persian Text, 23, Blochman's Ain i Akbari, I 470. Bahádur died about A D 1614. Jehangir's Memoirs, 134.

² Now belonging to His Highness the Gaikwár about twenty seven miles north west of Ahmedábád.

³ Belpár, belonging to the Thákór of Umata in the Rewa Kántha.

⁴ This Mándwa is probably the Mándwa under His Highness the Gaikwár in his district of Atarsumba, but it may be Mándwa on the Narbada in the Rewa Kántha. Atarsumba is about ten miles west of Kapadvanj in the British district of Kaira.

Chapter III

Mughal
ViceroysJehā'ngir
Emperor,
1605-1607MIRZA ĀZÍZ
KOKALTASH
Twelfth Viceroy,
1609-1611.Sack of Surat by
Malik Āmbar,
1609.

leader, whom, on promising not to stir up future rebellions, he afterwards restored to liberty

The first connection of the English with Gujarát dates from Sayad Muntaza's viceroyalty. In A.D. 1608 he allowed Captain Hawkins to sell goods in Surat.

In A.D. 1609 the Khán-i-Azam Mírza Āzíz Kokaltash was for the fourth time appointed viceroy of Gujarát. He was allowed to remain at court and send his son Jehā'ngir Kuli Khán as his deputy with Mohandás Díván and Mas'úd Beg Hamadání¹. This was the beginning of government by deputy, a custom which in later times was so injurious to imperial interests.

In 1609 Malik Āmbar, chief minister of Nizám Sháh's court and governor of Daulatábád, invaded Gujarát at the head of 50,000 horse, and after plundering both the Surat and Baroda districts retired as quickly as he came. To prevent such raids a body of 25,000 men was posted at Rámnagar² on the Dakhan frontier, and remained there for four years. The details of the contingents of this force are

The Viceroy of Ahmedábád	...	...	...	4000	Men
The Nobles of his Court	.	.	..	5000	"
The Chiefs of Sáler and Mulher (Báglán)	.	.	..	3000	"
The Son of the Kachh Chief	.	.	.	2500	"
The Chief of Navánagar	..	.	.	2500	"
The Chief of Idar	.	.	..	2000	"
The Chief of Dungarpúr	} Now under the Hill Tracts Agency, Rajputana				{
The Chief of Bānsvada					
The Chief of Rámnagar (Dharampur)					
The Chief of Rámpipla	.	.	.	1000	"
The Chief of Āli (Ālínápur under the Bhopáwar Agency)	.	..	.	300	"
The Chief of Mohan (a former capital of the state of Chhota Udepur in the Rewa Kántha)	.	..	.	350	"
Total				25,650	Men

ABDULLÁH KHÁN
FÍRÚZ JANG
Thirteenth
Viceroy,
1611-1616.

In A.D. 1611 Abdulláh Khán Bahádúr Fíruz Jang was appointed thirteenth viceroy of Gujarát, with Ghás-ud dín as his minister, under orders to proceed to the Dakhan to avenge the recent invasion³. The viceroy marched to the Dakhan but returned without effecting anything. In A.D. 1616, he was again, in company with prince Shah

¹ Jehā'ngir's Memoirs, Persian Text, 75.

² Now belonging to the Rája of Dharampur, east of the British district of Surat.

³ In this year (A.D. 1611) the English East India Company sent vessels to trade with Surat. The Portuguese made an armed resistance, but were defeated. The Mughal commander, who was not sorry to see the Portuguese beaten, gave the English a warm reception, and in A.D. 1612-13 a factory was opened in Surat by the English, and in A.D. 1614 a fleet was kept in the Tápti under Captain Downton to protect the factory. In A.D. 1615, Sir Thomas Roe came as ambassador to the emperor Jehā'ngir, and obtained permission to establish factories, not only at Surat but also at Broach Cambay and Gogha. The factory at Gogha seems to have been established in A.D. 1613. The emperor Jehā'ngir notes in his memoirs (Persian Text, 105) that Mukarrab Khán, viceroy from A.D. 1616-1618, regardless of cost had bought from the English at Gogha a turkey a leopard and other curiosities. On his return from Jehā'ngir's camp at Ahmedábád in January 1618 Roe obtained valuable concessions from the viceroy. The governor of Surat was to lend ships to the English, the resident English might carry arms, build a house, practise their religion, and settle their disputes. Kerr's Voyages, IX 263. The Dutch closely followed the English at Surat and were established there in A.D. 1618.

Jehán, directed to move against Ahmednagar. This second expedition was successful. The country was humbled, and, except Malik Ambar, most of the nobles submitted to the emperor. During this viceroy's term of office an imperial decree was issued forbidding nobles on the frontiers and in distant provinces to affix their seals to any communications addressed to imperial servants.

In A D 1616 on their return to Dehli, Mukarrab Khán, a surgeon who had risen to notice by curing the emperor Akbar and was ennobled by Jehángir, and who, since A D 1608, had been in charge of Surat or of Cambay, was appointed fourteenth viceroy of Gujarát, with Muhammad Sali as his minister. In the following year (A D 1617) the emperor Jehángir came to Gujarát to hunt wild elephants in the Dohad forests. But owing to the density of the forest only twelve were captured. Early in A D 1618 he visited Cambay which he notes only vessels of small draught could reach and where he ordered a gold and silver *tanja* twenty times heavier than the gold *mohar* to be minted. From Cambay after a stay of ten days he went to Ahmedábád and received the Rájá of Idar. As the climate of Ahmedábád disagreed with him Jehángir retired to the banks of the Mahi.¹ Here the Jam of Navmagir came to pay homage, and presented fifty Kachh horses, a hundred gold *mohars*, and a hundred rupees, and received a dress of honour. The emperor then returned to Ahmedábád, where he was visited by Rájá Bháira of Kachh, who presented 100 Kachh horses, 100 *ashrafis*² and 2000 rupees. The Rájá, who was ninety years of age,

Chapter III

Mughal
Viceroys

Jehángir
Emperor,
1605-1627

MUKARRAB
KHÁN
Fourteenth
Viceroy,
1616

Elephant-hunting
in the Panch
Mahals,
1616

¹ At first Jehángir, who reached Ahmedábád in the hot weather (March A D 1618), contented himself with abusing its sandy streets, calling the city the 'abode of dust' *qandabad*. After an attack of fever his dislike grew stronger, and he was uncertain whether the 'home of the shoon' *zamin tan*, the 'place of sickness' *bandarstan*, the 'thorn brake' *zalamdar*, or 'hell' *jahannamdid*, was its most fitting name. Even the last title did not satisfy his dislike. In decision he adds the verse, 'Oh essence of all goodness by what name shall I call thee.' Elliot's History of India, VI. 358, Jehángir's Memoirs, Persian Text, 231. Of the old buildings of Ahmedábád, the emperor (Memoirs, Persian Text, 205-210) speaks of the Kankariya tank and its island garden and of the royal palaces in the Bhadar as having nearly gone to ruin within the last fifty years. He notes that his Bakhshi had repaired the Kankariya tank and that the viceroy Mukarrab Khán had partly restored the Bhadar palaces against his arrival. The emperor was disappointed with the capital. After the accounts he had heard it seemed rather poor with its narrow streets its shops with ignoble fronts and its dust, though to greet the emperor as he came on elephant back scattering gold the city and its population had put on their holiday dress. The emperor speaks (Memoirs, Persian Text page 211) of having met some of the great men of Gujarát. Chief among these was Sayad Muhammad Bukhári the representative of Sháh Álam and the sons of Sháh Wajih ud din of Ahmedábád. They came as far as Cambay to meet the emperor. After his arrival in the capital Jehángir with great kindness informally visited the house and garden of Sikandar Gujarátí the author of the *Mirát-i-Sikandari*, to pick some of the author's famous fls off the trees. Jehángir speaks of the historian as a man of a refined literary style well versed in all matters of Gujarát history, who six or seven years since had entered his (the imperial) service (Memoirs, 207-211). On the occasion of celebrating Sháh Jehán's twenty seventh birthday at Ahmedábád Jehángir records having granted the territory from Mándu to Cambay as the estate of his son Sháh Jehán (Prince Khurram). Memoirs, Persian Text, 210-211. Before leaving Gujarát the emperor ordered the expulsion of the Sevadas or Jam priests, because of a prophecy unfavourable to him made by Man Sing Scwda (Memoirs, Persian Text, 217).

² This was probably the gold *ashraf* or scrip of which Hawkins (1609-1611) says, 'Scruffins Lkberi, which be ten rupees a piece.' Thomas Chron. Pat. Kings of Dehli, 425.

[illegible]

re-called, and Khán Jehán was appointed deputy viceroy with Yúsuf Khán as his minister. On his arrival at Ahmedábad, prince Sháh Jehán employed Khán Jehán in his own service, and sent him as his ambassador to the emperor. Saif Khán, who acted for him, may be called the seventeenth viceroy, as indeed he had been the governing spirit for the last eight or ten years. He held the post of viceroy of Gujarát until the death of the emperor in A D 1627.

On the death of the emperor Jehángir, his son Abul Muzaffar Sháh-ab-dín Sháh Jehán ascended the throne. Remembering Saif Khán's hostility he at once caused him to be imprisoned, and appointed Sher Khán Thar eighteenth viceroy with Khwájah Hayát as his minister. When the emperor was near Surat, he appointed Mir Shamsuddín to be governor of Surat castle. In A D 1627, Sháh Jehán on his way to Dehli visited Ahmedábad and encamped outside of the city near the Kínkariya lake. Sher Khán was advanced to the command of 5000 men and received an increase of salary and other gifts. At the same time Khán Jehán was appointed his minister, and Muza Ísa Tar-khán was made viceroy of Thatta in Sindh. In A D 1628 Khwájah Abul Hasan was sent to conquer the country of Násik and Sangamner which he ravaged, and returned after taking the fort of Chandod and leaving tribute from the chief of Biglan. In A D 1630, Jamal Khán Karáwal came to the Gujarát-Khindesh frontier and captured 130 elephants in the Sultánpur forests, seventy of which valued at a lakk of rupees were sent to Dehli. In A D 1631-32 Gujarát was wasted by the famine known as the *Satiya Kal* or '87 famine. So severe was the scarcity that according to the Badshah Náma, rank sold for a cake, life was offered for a loaf, the flesh of a son was preferred to his love. The emperor opened soup kitchens and alms-houses at Surat and Ahmedábad and ordered Rs. 5000 to be distributed¹.

Sher Khan was re-called in A D 1632, but died ere he could be relieved by Islám Khán, the nineteenth viceroy of Gujarát, along with whom Khwájah Jehán was chosen minister. Islám Khan's monthly salary was £100 (Rs. 1000), and his command was raised from 5000 to 6000. In A D 1632, Khwájah Jehán went on pilgrimage to Makkah, and was succeeded as minister by Agha Afzal with the title of Afzal Khán. Afzal Khan was soon appointed commander of Baroda, and Rúyat Khán succeeded him as minister. The post of viceroy of Gujarát appears to have been granted to whichever of the nobles of the court was in a position to make the most valuable presents to the emperor. Government became lax, the Kolis of the Kánkrej committed excesses, and the Jám of Navánagar withheld his tribute. At this time Bákar Khán presented the emperor with golden and jewelled ornaments to the value of Rs. 2,00,000 and was appointed viceroy, Rúyat Khán being continued as minister. In A D 1633 Sipáhdar Khán was appointed viceroy, and presented the emperor with costly embroidered velvet tents with golden posts worthy to hold the famous *Takht-i-Táús* or Peacock Throne which was just completed at a cost of one *kror* of rupees. Rúyat Khán was continued as minister.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys

SAIF KHÁN
Seventeenth
Viceroy,
1621-1627

Shah Jehan
Emperor,
1627-1658
SHER KHÁN THAR
Eighteenth
Viceroy,
1627-1632.

Famine,
1631-32

ISLÁM KHÁN
Nineteenth
Viceroy,
1632

Disorder,
1632

BÁKAR KHÁN
Twentieth
Viceroy,
1632

SIPÁHDAR
KHÁN
Twenty first
Viceroy,
1633

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.Shah Jehan
Emperor,
1627-1658.
SAIF KHÁN
Twenty-second
Viceroy,
1633-1635ÁZAM KHÁN
Twenty-third
Viceroy,
1635-1642Punishes the
Kolís,Subdues
the Káthís

In A D 1635 Saif Khán was appointed twenty-second viceroy, with Rúyat Khán as minister. During Saif Khán's tenure of power Mírza Ísa Tarkhán received a grant¹ of the province of Sorath, which had fallen waste through the laxity of its governors. Before he had been in power for more than a year Saif Khán was recalled. As he was preparing to start, he died at Ahmedábád and was buried in Sháhí Alám's shrine to which he had added the dome over the tomb and the mosque to the north of the enclosure.

At the end of A D 1635 Ázam Khán was appointed twenty-third viceroy, with Rúyat Khán in the first instance, and afterwards with Mír Muhammad Sábír, as minister. The men who had recently been allowed to act as viceroys had shown themselves unfit to keep in order the rebellious chiefs and predatory tribes of Gujarat. For this reason the emperor's choice fell upon Ázam Khán, a man of ability, who perceived the danger of the existing state of affairs, and saw that to restore the province to order, firm, even severe, measures were required. When Ázam Khán reached Sídhpur, the merchants complained bitterly of the outrages of one Kánji, a Chúnvalia Koli, who had been especially daring in plundering merchandise and committing highway robberies. Ázam Khán, anxious to start with a show of vigour, before proceeding to Ahmedábád, marched against Kánji, who fled to the village of Bhádar in the Kherálu district of Kadi, sixty miles north-east of Ahmedábád. Ázam Khán pursued him so hotly, that Kánji surrendered, handed over his plunder, and gave security not only that he would not again commit robberies, but that he would pay an annual tribute of £1000 (Rs 10,000). Ázam Khán then built two fortified posts in the Koli country, naming one Ázamábád after himself, and the other Khalílábád after his son. He next marched to Káthiáváda² and subdued the Káthís, who were continually ravaging the country near Dhandhúka, and to check them erected a fortified post called Sháhpúr, on the opposite side of the river to Chuda-Ranpur. Agha Fázil known as Fázil Khán, who had at one time held the post of minister, and had, in A D 1636, been appointed governor of Baroda, was now selected to command the special cavalry composing the bodyguard of prince Muhammad Aurangzib. At the same time Sayad Iahdád was appointed governor of Surat fort, Ísa Tarkhán remaining at Júnágadh. In A D. 1637, Mír Muhammad Sábír was chosen minister in place of Rúyat Khán, and in A D 1638 Muíz-zul-Mulk was re-appointed to the command of Surat fort. Shortly after Ázam Khán's daughter was sent to Dehli, and espoused to the emperor's son Muhammad Shujá Bahádur. In A D 1639, Ázam Khan, who for his love of building was known as Udhai or the Whiteant, devoted his attention to establishing fortified posts to check rebellion and robbery in the country of the Kolís and the Káthís. So complete were his arrangements that people could travel safely all over Jháláváda,

¹ The words used in the text is *tuyul*. In meaning it does not differ from *jadgir*.

² This is one of the first mentions in history of peninsular Gujarat as Káthiáváda, or as anything other than Sorath or Saurashtra. The district referred to was probably united to the eastern possessions of the Kháchar Káthís and Parchál.

Kāthiavāda, Navānagar, and Kachh. The Jām, who of late years had been accustomed to do much as he pleased, resented these arrangements, and in A D 1640 withheld his tribute, and set up a mint to coin *loris*.¹ When Azam Khān heard of this, he marched with an army against Navānagar, and on arriving about three miles from the city, he sent the Jām a peremptory order to pay the arrears of tribute and to close his mint, ordering him, if any disturbance occurred in that part of the country, at once to send his son to the viceroy to learn his will. He further ordered the Jām to dismiss to their own countries all refugees from other parts of Gujarāt. The Jām being unable to cope with Azam Khān, acceded to these terms, and Azam Khān, receiving the arrears of tribute, returned to Ahmedābād. As Azam Khān's stern and somewhat rough rule made him unpopular, Sayad Jalāl Bukhārī whose estates were being deserted from fear of him brought the matter to the emperor's notice.

In consequence in A D 1612 the emperor recalled Azam Khān and appointed in his place Mirza Isā Tarkhān, then governor of Sorath, twenty-fourth viceroy of Gujarāt. And as it was feared that in anger at being re-called Azam Khān might oppress some of those who had complained against him, this order was written by the emperor with his own hand. Thanks to Azam Khān's firm rule, the new viceroy found the province in good order, and was able to devote his attention to financial reforms, among them the introduction of the share, *bhāgātār*, system of levying land revenue in kind. When Mirza Isā Tarkhān was raised to be viceroy of Gujarāt, he appointed his son Ināyat-ullāh to be governor of Jūnāgadh, and Muiz-zul-Mulk to fill the post of minister. During the vicerealty of Mirza Isā Sayad Jalāl Bukhārī a descendant of Saunt Shāhi Alam was appointed to the high post of Sadr-us-Sudur or chief law officer for the whole of India. This was a time of prosperity especially in Surat, whose port dues which were settled on the Padshāh Begam had risen from two and a half to five lakhs. Mirza Isā Tarkhān's term of power was brief. In A D 1644 the emperor appointed prince Muhammad Aurangzib to the charge of Gujarāt, Muiz-zul-Mulk being ordered by the emperor to continue to act as his minister. An event of interest in the next year (A D 1645) is the capture of seventy-three elephants in the forests of Dohad and Chāmpāner.²

Chapter III Mughal Viceroys

Shah Jehan
Emperor,
1627-1658
Azam Khān
Twenty third
Viceroy,
1635-1642
Revolt of
the Jām of
Navānagar,
1640

Isā Tarkhān
Twenty fourth
Viceroy,
1642-1644

¹ The author of the *Mirāt-i Ahmedi* says that in his time, A D 1746-1762, these Navānagar *loris* were current even in Ahmedābād, two *loris* and two thirds being equal to one imperial rupee. They were also called *jāmis*. The *Mirāt-i Ahmedi* (Persian Text, 225) calls them *mahmudis*. The legend on the reverse was the name of the Gujarāt Sultan Muzaffar and on the obverse in Gujarati the name of the Jām. Usually two *mahmudis* and sometimes three went to the imperial rupee. The author says that in Ahmedābād up to his day (A D 1766) the account for *ghis* clarified butter was made in *mahmudis*. When the order for melting the *mahmudis* was passed a mint was established at Jūnāgadh but was afterwards closed to suit the merchants from Dān and other parts who transmitted their specie to Ahmedābād.

² The traveller Mandelslo, who was in Ahmedābād in 1638, says. No prince in Europe has so fine a court as the governor of Gujarāt. Of none are the public appearances so magnificent. He never goes out without a great number of gentlemen and guards on foot and horse. Before him march many elephants with housings of brocade and velvet, standards, drums, trumpets, and cymbals. In his palace he is served like a king and suffers no one to appear before him unless he has asked an audience. (Travels, French

HISTORY OF GUJARAT

Chapter III

Mughal
ViceroysShah Jehan
Emperor,
1627-1658PRINCE
MUHAMMAD -
AURANGZIB
Twenty fifth
Viceroy,
1644-1646SHAIISTAH
KHAN
Twenty-sixth
Viceroy,
1646-1648PRINCE
MUHAMMAD
DARA SHIKOH
Twenty seventh
Viceroy,
1648-1652

Prince Aurangzib's rule in Gujarát was marked by religious disputes. In 1644 a quarrel between Hindus and Musálmans ended in the prince ordering a newly built (1638) temple of Chintáman near Saraspur, a suburb of Ahmedábád, above a mile and a half east of the city, to be desecrated by slaughtering a cow in it. He then turned the building into a mosque, but the emperor ordered its restoration to the Hindus. In another case both of the contending parties were Musálmans, the orthodox believers, aided by the military under the prince's orders, who was enraged at Sayad Rájú one of his followers joining the heretics, attacking and slaughtering the representatives of the Mahdawiyeh sect in Ahmedábád. Sayad Rájú's spirit, under the name of Rájú Shahíd or Rájú the martyr, is still worshipped as a disease scaring guardian by the Pinjárs and Mansúris and Dúdhwálas of Ahmedábád.¹ In consequence of the part he had taken in promoting these disturbances, prince Aurangzib was relieved and Sháistah Khán appointed twenty-sixth viceroy of Gujarát. In the following year Muiz-zul-Mulk, who had till then acted as minister, was recalled, and his place supplied by Háfiz Muhammad Násir. At the same time the governorship of Surat and Cambay was given to Ali Akbar of Ispahán. This Ali Akbar was a Persian horse merchant who brought to Agra seven horses of pure Arabian breed. For six of these Sháh Jehán paid Rs 25,000. The seventh a bay so pleased the emperor that he paid Rs 15,000 for it, named it the Priceless Ruby, and considered it the gem of the imperial stud. In A D 1646 Ali Akbar was assassinated by a Hindu and Muiz-zul-Mulk succeeded him as governor of Surat and Cambay. As Sháistah Khán failed to control the Gujarát Kolis, in A D 1648 prince Muhammad Dára Shikoh was chosen viceroy, with Ghaurat Khán as his deputy and Háfiz Muhammad Násir as minister, while Sháistah Khán was sent to Málwa to relieve Shah Nawáz Khán. While Dára Shikoh was viceroy an ambassador landed at Surat from the court of the Turkish Sultán Muhammad IV (A D 1648-1687).² In A D 1651, Mír Yahyá was appointed minister in place of Háfiz Muhammad Násir, and in A D 1652 prince Dára was sent to Kandahár. On

Edition, 151) Of the general system of government he says The viceroy is absolute. It is true he summons leading lords of the country to deliberate on judgments and important matters. But they are called to ascertain their views not to adopt them. On the one hand the king often changes his governors that they may not grow over powerful. On the other hand the governors knowing they may be recalled at any time take immense sums from the rich merchants especially from the merchants of Ahmedábád against whom false charges are brought with the view of forcing them to pay. As the governor is both civil and criminal judge if the merchants did not temper his greed they would be ruined beyond remedy. (Ditto, 150) The frequent changes of viceroys in Gujarát is explained by Terry, 1615 17 (Voyage to East Indies, 364) To prevent them from becoming popular the king usually removes his viceroys after one year sending them to a new government remote from the old one. Terry adds a curious note. When the king sends any one to a place of government they never cut their hair till they return into his presence as if they feared not to appear beautiful except in the king's sight. As soon as he sees them the king bids them cut their hair. (Ditto, 365) It does not seem to have been cheating to keep up fewer horses than the number named. Terry (Voyage to East Indies, 391) says He who hath the pay of five or six thousand must always have one thousand or more in readiness according to the king's need of them, and so in proportion all the rest.

¹ Mirát-i Ahmedi Persian Text, II 46-47 Pinjárs are cotton traders, Mansúris are Pinjárs who worship Mansur a tenth century (3rd century Hyrah) saint

² Mirát-i Ahmedi Persian Text, 237

the transfer of the prince Shāstah Khān became viceroy for the second time with Mir Yahyā as minister and Sultan Yār governor of Baroda with the title of Hummat Khān. Mirza Isā Tarkhān was summoned to court from his charge of Sorath and his son Muhammad Sālīh was appointed his successor. In A.D. 1653 an ill-advised imperial order reducing the pay of the troopers, as well as of the better class of horsemen who brought with them a certain number of followers, created much discontent. During this year several changes of governors were made. Muhammad Nāsir was sent to Surat, Hummat Khān to Dholka, the governor of Dholka to Baroda, Kutb-ud-dīn to Jūnāgradh, Sayad Sheikhān son-in-law of Sayad Diler Khān to Tharad under Pātān, and Jagmūl, the holder of Sīrād, to Dholka. In the same year Shāstah Khān made an expedition against the Chunvālā Kolis, who, since Azam Khān's time (A.D. 1612), had been ravaging Vīrangām, Dholka, and Kadi and raiding even as far as the villages round Ahmedabād.

In spite of Shāstah Khān's success in restoring order the emperor in A.D. 1651 appointed in his place prince Muhammad Murād Bakhsh twenty-ninth viceroy of Gujarāt. Dīnāt Khān, and immediately after him Rehmat Khān, was appointed minister in place of Mir Yahyā. Mujaḥid Khān Jhalori relieved Mir Shams-ud-dīn as governor of Pātān and Godhra was entrusted to Sayyid Hasan, son of Sayyid Diler Khān and its revenues assigned to him. When prince Murād Bakhsh reached Jhābua¹ on his way to Ahmedābād, the chief presented him with £1500 (Rs. 15,000) as tribute, and when he reached Ahmedābād, Kanji, the notorious leader of the Chunvālā Kolis, surrendered through Sayad Sheikhān, and promised to remain quiet and pay a yearly tribute of £1000 (Rs. 10,000). Dildost, son of Sarfīraz Khān, was appointed to the charge of the post of Bijāpur under Pātān, while Sayad Sheikhān was made governor of Sīdra and Piplod, and Sayad Ali paymaster, with the title of Radaḡī Khān. Many other changes were made at the same time, the prince receiving a grant of the district of Jūnāgradh. One Pīrjī, a Bohora, said to have been one of the richest merchants of Surat, is noted as sending the emperor four Arab horses and prince Murād as presenting the emperor with eighteen of the famous Gujarāt bullocks. During the viceroyalty of Dārā Shikoh sums of Rs. 1,00,000 to Rs. 2,00,000 used to be spent on articles in demand in Arabia. The articles were sent under some trustworthy officer and the proceeds applied to charitable purposes in the sacred cities.

At the end of A.D. 1657, on the receipt of news that Shāh Jehān was dangerously ill prince Murād Bakhsh proclaimed himself emperor by the title of Murawwaj-ud-dīn and ordered the reading of the Friday sermon and the striking of coin in his own name.² His next step was to put to death the minister Ali Nakā, and direct his men to seize the fort of Surat then held by his sister the Begam Sāhibah and to take possession of the property of the Begam. He imprisoned Abdul-Latīf, son of Islām Khān, an old servant of the empire. Dārā Shikoh representing Murād's conduct to the emperor obtained an order to

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys

Shāh Jahan
Emperor,
1627-1658
SHĀSTAH
KHĀN
Twenty eighth
Viceroy,
1652-1654.

PRINCE MURĀD
BAKHSĖH
Twenty ninth
Viceroy,
1651-1657

Murād proclaims
himself Emperor,
1657.

¹ Jhābua, now under the Bhopāwar Agency.

² Murād i Ahmedī Persian Text, 249.

Chapter III.

Mughal Viceroy

Shah Jehan
Emperor,
1627-1658.
KASAM KHAN
Thirtieth
Viceroy,
1657-1659

Victory of
Murad and
Aurangzib.

Aurangzib
confines Murad,
1658

Aurangzib
Emperor,
1658-1707.
SHAH NAWAZ
KHAN SAFAWI
Thirty first
Viceroy,
1659

Prince Dara
Rebels,
1659.

Is Defeated,
1659

JASWANTSINGH
Thirty second
Viceroy,
1659-1662

transfer him to the governorship of the Berars Murad Bakhsh borrowing £55,000 (5½ lakhs of rupees) from the sons of Santidas Jauhari, £4000 (Rs. 40,000) from Ravidas partner of Santidas, and £8800 (Rs 88,000) from Sannal and others, raised an army and arranged to meet his brother prince Aurangzib, and with him march against the Maharaja Jasvatsingh of Jodhpur and Kasam Khan, whom Shah Jehan had appointed viceroys of Malwa and Gujarat, and had ordered to meet at Ujjain and march against the princes Murad Bakhsh and Aurangzib, uniting their forces early in A D 1658, fought an obstinate battle with Jasvatsingh, in which they were victorious, and entered Ujjain in triumph From Ujjain prince Murad Bakhsh wrote Muata-mid Khan his eunuch an order allotting to Mankchand £15,000 (Rs 1,50,000) from the revenues of Surat, £10,000 (Rs 1,00,000) from Cambay, £10,000 (Rs. 1,00,00) from Pitlad, £7500 (Rs 75,000) from Dholka, £5000 (Rs. 50,000) from Broach, £4500 (Rs 45,000) from Viramgam, and £3000 (Rs 30,000) from the salt works, in all £55,000 (5½ lakhs of rupees) Further sums of £4000 (Rs 40,000) are mentioned as due to Ravidas partner of Santidas, and £8800 (Rs 88,000) to Sannal and others From Ujjain the princes advanced on Agra At Dholpur they fought a still more obstinate battle with the imperial forces commanded by prince Dara Shikoh and after a long and doubtful contest were victorious Prince Dara Shikoh fled to Dehli, and the princes advanced and took possession of Agra After confining his father, Aurangzib marched for Mathura, and having no further use of Murad, he there seized and imprisoned him From Mathura, Aurangzib went to Dehli from which Dara Shikoh had meanwhile retired to Lahor.

In A D 1658, while his father was still alive, Aurangzib assumed the imperial titles and ascended the throne In A D 1659 he appointed Shah Nawaz Khan Safawi thirty-first viceroy of Gujarat, with Rahmat Khan as minister On this occasion Santidas received a decree directing that the provincial officials should settle his accounts and Kutb-ud din Khesgi was appointed to Sorath Shah Nawaz Khan was the father-in-law of both Aurangzib and Murad Bakhsh Shortly after his appointment, while Murad's wife was paying a visit to her father, prince Dara Shikoh leaving Kachh, where he had been hospitably received by the Ravi, made a sudden descent on Gujarat The viceroy, won over by the entreaties of his daughter who saw in the success of Dara a hope of release for her husband, joined the prince who entered Ahmedabad After raising funds from Surat and Ahmedabad he collected an army of 22,000 horse and appointing Sayad Ahmed deputy viceroy, marched towards Ajmir, more to try his chance of empire He was defeated and fled to Ahmedabad, where Sardar Khan, who had confined Sayad Ahmed, closed the gates of the city in his face The unhappy prince retired to Kachh, but finding no support fled to Sindh, where he was treacherously seized and handed to his brother by the chief of Jun The emperor Aurangzib, forgiving Jasvatsingh his opposition at Ujjain, conferred on him the government of Gujarat, and in the place of Rahmat Khan appointed Makramat Khan to act as minister Sardar

Chapter III

Mughal
ViceroysAurangzib
Emperor,
1658-1707MAHÁBAT
KHÁN
Thirty-third
Viceroy,
1662-1668.Shivaji Plunders
Surat,
1664.Copper Coinage
Introduced,
1668.KHÁN JEHÂN
Thirty-fourth
Viceroy,
1668-1671

during Musalmán holidays, The exclusive sale of rice by certain rich Baniyas, The exclusive purchase by Imperial officers of roses for the manufacture of rosewater, The mixed gatherings of men and women at Musalmán shrines, The setting up of *nezas* or holy hands and the sitting of harlots on roadsides or in markets, The charging by revenue officers of scarcity rates, The special tax in Parántij, Modasa, Vadnagar, Bísnapur, and Háisol on Musalmán owners of mango trees, The levy of duty both at Surat and Ahmedábád from English and Dutch merchants¹

In the same year (A.D. 1664) Shívájí made a rapid descent on Surat, then undefended by walls, and, by plundering the city, created great alarm over the whole province. The viceroy Mahábat Khán marched to Surat with the following chiefs and officers Jagmál, proprietor of Sánand, the governor of Dholka, Shádimal, chief of Ídal, Sayad Hasan Khán, governor of Ídar, Muhammad Abid with 200 superior landholders of the district of Kadí, the Rája of Dúngarpur, Sabalsingh Rája of Wadhván and other chiefs of Jhálávádh, Lal Kahan chief of Mándva in the Gáikwár's dominions near Atarsumba, the chief of Elol under Ahmednagar in the Mahi Kántha Agency, Prathiráj of Haldarvas, and the chief of Belpár. Before the viceroy's army arrived at Surat Shívájí had carried off his plunder to his head-quarters at Ráygad². After remaining three months at Surat levying tribute from the superior landholders, the viceroy returned to Ahmedábád, and Ináyat Khán, the revenue collector of Surat, built a wall round the town for its protection. About this time Kutb-ud-dín Khán, governor of Sorath, was sent with an army to aid the Mahárája Jsvantsingh in the Dakhan and Sardár Khan was appointed in his place. In A.D. 1666 the Maiáthás again attacked and plundered Surat, and in the same year the deposed emperor Shah Jehán died. Aurangzib attempted to induce the English to supply him with European artillerymen and engineers. The request was evaded. In this year the viceroy, Mahábat Khán, in place of the old iron coins, introduced a copper coinage into Gujarát. Sardár Khan, the governor of Júnágadh, was put in charge of Islámnagar (Navánagar) and 500 additional horsemen were placed under him. Special checks by branding and inspection were introduced to prevent nobles and others keeping less than their proper contingent of horse. In the same year the cultivator who paid the rent was acknowledged to be the owner of the land and a system of strengtheners or *taháns* after due security was introduced.

In A.D. 1668, Bahádur Khán Khán Jehán, who had formerly been viceroy of Alláhabád, was appointed viceroy of Gujarát, with Háji Shafi Khán, and afterwards Khwájah Muhammad Háshím, as his ministers. Khán Jehán joined his government in A.D. 1669, and in A.D. 1670 Shívájí again plundered Surat. In A.D. 1670 Shívájí made

¹ Mirát-i Ahmedi, Persian Text, 274, 279

² Ráygad (north latitude 18° 14', east longitude 73° 30'), the name given in A.D. 1662 to Rairi, a hill fortress in the Mahád sub division of the Kolába collectorate. Shívájí took the place and made it his capital in A.D. 1662.

an attempt on Janjira,¹ the residence and stronghold of the Sidi or Abyssinian admirals of Bījapur Sidi Yákút the commander of Janjira applied for aid to the governor of Surat On his offering to become a vassal of the emperor and place his fleet at the emperor's disposal, Sidi Yákút received the title of Yákút Khán, and a yearly subsidy of £15,000 (Rs 1,50,000) payable from the port of Surat About the same time Sayad Diler Khán, who had accompanied Mahārāja Jasvantsingh to the Dakhn, was recalled by the viceroy Khán Jehán and appointed governor of Sorath in place of Sardār Khán, who was sent to Idar Sayad Haidar, in charge of the military post of Haidarābād, about twenty-four miles south of Ahmedābād, reported that he had put down the rebellion but recommended that a small fort should be built In A D 1670 the emperor summoned Diler Khan to discuss Dakhan affairs, and sent him to the seat of war, replacing him in the government of Sorath by Sardār Khán

In A D 1671, Bahādur Khán Khán Jehán was sent as viceroy to the Dakhn. He was relieved by the Mahārāja Jasvantsingh, who, as viceroy, received an assignment of the districts of Dhandhūka and Pithād In A D 1673 through the intercession of the viceroy, Jám Tamāchi, the son of Rāisingh, on condition of serving the viceroy and of keeping order was restored to Navānagar, and twenty-five villages were granted to certain dependent Jādeja Rajputs So long as the emperor Aurangzib lived the city of Navanagar (Islāmānagar) remained in the hands of a Musalmán noble, the Jám residing at Khambhālia, a town about thirty miles south-west of the head-quarters of the state In A D 1707, on Aurangzib's death, the Jám was allowed to return to Navānagar where he built a strong fort Similarly so long as Aurangzib lived, the Jám forbore to work the pearl fisheries in the Gulf of Kachh, but afterwards again made use of this source of revenue Early in 1674 an order issued forbidding the levy from Musalmáns of *rahādari* or transit dues, of taxes on fish vegetables grass firewood and other forest produce, on Muhammadan artisans, and many other miscellaneous dues The officer in charge of Morví, which was then an imperial district, was ordered to strive to increase its population and revenue, and the chief of Porbandar, also an imperial district, on condition of service and of protecting the port was allowed a fourth share of its revenue Much discontent was caused by enforcing an imperial order confiscating all *vazīfah* land, that is all land held on religious tenure by Hindus

About the close of the year A D 1674, Mahārāja Jasvantsinghji was relieved and sent to Kábul, and Muhammad Amín Khán Umdat-ul-Mulk, who had just been defeated at Kábul, was appointed thirty-sixth viceroy of Gujarát, receiving an assignment of the districts of Pátan and Viramgám Among the military posts mentioned in the Mirāt-i-Ahmedī is that of Sádra or Shāhdarāh the present head-quarters of the Mahi Kántha Agency, also called Islāmābād,² which was under the

Chapter III Mughal Viceroys.

Aurangzib
Emperor,
1658-1707.
Khán Jehán
Thirty fourth
Viceroy,
1668-1671

Sidi Yákút the
Mughal Admiral,
1670

MAHARAJA
JASVANTSINGH
Thirty fifth
Viceroy,
1671-1674.

MUHAMMAD
AMIN KHAN
UMDAT-UL MULK
Thirty sixth
Viceroy,
1674-1683.

¹ Janjira (north latitude 17° 59' to 18° 32') that is *Jazirah* the Island, on the western coast, about forty four miles south of Bombay

² Another post of Islāmābād was at Punādra in the *parganah* of Āzamābād on the Wātrak about twenty one miles east south east of Ahmedābād Āzamābād was built

At last Mir Jang and Amir Khusrau returning in haste from the Eid prayers at Abu Bakr, the Ahmedabad Sher Khan, called the people to throw stones at the emperor. The viceroy and his deputies attacked the mob, but owing to the excessive numbers of the mob, they were unable to follow. On the range of the mountains beyond the city, the emperor ordered the city to be put under martial law. The viceroy, however, contented himself by inviting Sher Shah Abu Bakr to the city to settle the matter. After dinner he gave a piece of a poisoned water-bottle to Abu Bakr, who died and the riot with him. In A.D. 1684 Mir Jang and Amir Khusrau died. According to the Mirat-i-Ahmed, Mir Muhammad Azam was one of the best of Gujarat governors. The emperor Aurangzeb used to say, "No viceroy of mine has ever ordered the Amir Khan."

Amir Khan was considered by Mir Jang Khan as thirty-seventh viceroy. Mir Jang Khan appointed Mir Jang Khan as minister. Fresh orders were issued for the regulation of the price of merchandise, fruit, prices, and other matters. The emperor ordered Mir Jang Khan to be provided with rations and other necessities of the state. In 1681 the Sidi Mir Jang Khan was so busy that he was unable to go as far as the *Triplicane* or *Triple* Ghat, which is the west of Ahmedabad city. In consequence of this, the emperor ordered the viceroy to call on the minister to advance funds for an expedition. The minister refused to make advances without special orders from the emperor. On a reference to court the emperor was directed to make advances in emergency cases. In A.D. 1684, at the request of the inhabitant of that city Abul Rahman Khan, the governor of Deva Patan was removed and in his place Muhammad Saad Khan, Sardar Khan is governor of Sorath. In the following year on the death of Sardar Khan at Tarth in Sindh, where he held a governor's office, he was, in the first instance, succeeded in the government of Sorath by Sayid Muhammad Khan. Not long after Sorath is assigned as a personal estate to the emperor's second son prince Muhammad Azam Shah Bahadur, and during the prince's absence Shahrar Khan was sent to manage its affairs. In A.D. 1684 a famine in Gujarat raised the price of grain in Ahmedabad to such a degree that Sher Shah Muhy-ud-din, the son of the Kazi and regulator of prices, was mobbed.

On the death of the viceroy in 1684 prince Muhammad Azam Shah was nominated to succeed him with Kartalab Khan, governor of Sorath, as his deputy. Before the prince took charge Kartalab Khan was raised to the post of viceroy, and Muhammad Tahir appointed minister. In addition to his command as viceroy of Gujarat, Kartalab Khan was afterwards placed in charge of Jodhpur. In this rearrangement besides his previous personal estate, the district of Petlad was assigned to prince Muhammad Azam Shah, and Sher Afghan Khan, son of Shahrar Khan, was appointed governor of Sorath. In A.D.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys

Aurangzeb
Emperor
1658-1707.

Mir Jang
Khan
Thirty-seventh
Viceroy
1683-1684.

Famine,
1684

Sher Shah
(Kartalab
Khan)
Thirty-eighth
Viceroy,
1684-1703.

one who owns less than a minimum of five camels, thirty oxen, forty five sheep, five horses, two hundred *dirhams* or twenty *dinars*. The proportion to income is generally one fortieth; the amount may be paid either in kind or in money. Compare Stanley Lane Poole's *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, 14

of the plundering Káthís and after destroying the fort returned to Ahmedabad Shujáát Khán was one of the ablest of Gujarát viceroys He gave so much of his attention to the management of Jodhpur, that he used to spend about six months of every year in Márwár He beautified Ahmedábád by building the college and mosque still known by his name near the Lál Gate In A D 1642 two hundred cart-loads of marble were received from the ancient buildings at Pátan and the deputy governor Safdar Khan Bábi wrote that if a thousand cart-loads more were required they could be supplied from the same source At this time the emperor ordered that Sheikh Akíam-ud-dín, the local tax-collector, should levy the head tax from the Hindus of Palanpur and Jhálór The viceroy deputed Muhammad Majíhid, son of Kamál Khán Jhálórí, governor of Pálanpur to help in collecting As Durgadás Ráthod was again stirring tumults and sedition in Márwár, the viceroy went to Jodhpur, and by confirming their estates to the chief vassals and landholders and guaranteeing other public measures on condition of service, persuaded them to abandon their alliance with Durgadás against whom he sent his deputy Kazim Beg, who expelled him from Márwár After appointing Kunvár Mukhamsingh, governor of Mertha in Márwár, Shujáát Khán returned to Ahmedabad In A D 1693, at the request of Sher Afghan Khán, governor of Sorath, the walls of the fort of Jagat were restored In this year the viceroy went to Jhálaváda to exact tribute On his return to Ahmedábád Safdar Khán Bábi, governor of Pátan, wrote to the viceroy, and at his request the forts of Kambhoi and Sámprah were repaired The viceroy now went to Jodhpúr and from that returned to Ahmedábád A circumstance in connection with a sum of Rs 7000 spent on the repairs of forts illustrates the close imperial supervision of provincial accounts The item having come to imperial notice from the provincial disbursement sheets was disallowed as unfair and ordered to be refunded under the rule that such charges were to be met out of their incomes by the local governors and military deputy governors Imperial officers were also from time to time deputed to collect from the books of the *desár's* statements of provincial disbursements and receipts for periods of ten years that they might render an independent check In this year the emperor hearing that Ajítsingh and Durgadás were again contemplating rebellion ordered the viceroy to Jodhpur Muhammad Mubáriz Bábi was at the same time appointed deputy governor of Vadnagar, and an order was issued that the revenue of Pátan should be paid to Shujáát Khán instead of as formerly into the imperial treasury In this year also Safdar Khán Bábi, governor of Pátan, was succeeded by Mubáriz Khán Bábi Not long afterwards under imperial orders the viceroy directed Muhammad Mubáriz Bábi to destroy the Vadnagar temple of Hateshwar-Mahádev the Nágari Bráhmans' special guardian

In A D 1696, Muhammad Bahlol Shírwani, governor of Baroda, died, and his place was supplied by Muhammad Beg Khán During this year the viceroy again went to Jodhpúr and remained there for some months In A D 1697 Buláki Beg the mace-bearer arrived from the imperial court to settle disputes connected with the Navánagar succes-

Chapter III

Mughal
Viceroys

Aurangzib
Emperor,
1658-1707.
SHUJÁAT KHÁN
(KÁRTALAB
KHÁN)
Thirty eighth
Viceroy,
1634-1703.

Disturbances
in Márwár

Chapter III

Mughal
Viceroys

Aurangzib
Emperor,
1658-1707

SHUJĀĀT KHĀN
(KĀRTALAB
KHĀN)

Thirty-eighth
Viceroy,
1684-1703

Durgādās Rāthod
reconciled to
the Emperor,
1697

sion, and to inquire into complaints made by the inhabitants of Sorath. In 1696 an imperial circular was addressed to all officers in charge of districts ordering them to show no respect or consideration for royalty in their efforts to capture or kill the rebel prince Akbar. About the same time Durgādās Rāthod, in whose charge were the son and daughter of prince Akbar, made an application to Shujāāt Khān, proposing a truce, and saying that he wished personally to hand the children to their grandfather. Shujāāt Khān agreed and Durgādās restored Akbar's children to the emperor. Aurangzib finding the children able to repeat the whole Kurān was much pleased with Durgādās, and made peace with him, assigning him as a personal estate the lands of Mertha in Jodhpur, and afterwards adding to this the grant of Dhandhūka and other districts of Gujarāt. In consequence of a failure of crops the price of grain rose so high that the government share of the produce was brought to Ahmedābād and sold in public to the poor and needy. About this time Muhammad Mubārīz Bābī was killed by a Koli who shot him with an arrow while he was sacking the village of Sāmprah.¹ Safdar Khān Bābī was appointed deputy governor of Pātan in his stead.

In the same year it was reported to the emperor that the money-changers and capitalists of Ahmedābād in making payments passed money short of weight to poor men and in receiving charged an exchange of two to three *tankās* the rupee. The Sūbah and minister were ordered to stop the currency of rupees more than two *surkhs* short.²

Scarcity,
1698

In A.D. 1698, on the death of Ītmād Khān, his son Muhammad Muhsin was made minister, and he was ordered to hand the district of Mertha to Durgādās Rāthod. Among other changes Muhammad Munim was raised to the command of the fort of Jodhpur and Khwājāh Abdul Hamid was appointed minister. Owing to a second failure of rain 1698 was a year of much scarcity in Mālwā and north Gujarāt. The accounts of this year notice a petition addressed to the viceroy by a Sinor Brāhmin, praying that he might not be seized as a carrier or labourer.³ In connection with some revenue and civil affairs, a difference of opinion arose between Shujāāt Khān and Safdar Khān Bābī, deputy governor of Pātan. Safdar Khān resigned, and, until a successor was appointed, Muhammad Bahlol Shīrwānī was directed to administer the Pātan district. In the same year the emperor bestowed the government of Sorath on Muhammad Beg Khan. In A.D. 1699 Durgādās Rāthod obtained from the emperor not only a pardon for Ajitsingh, son of the late Maharāja Jasvantsingh, but procured him

¹ This Sāmprah according to the Mirāt-i-Ahmedī, Persian Text, II 127, was a small police post or *thana* in Parganah Bahyal twenty miles north east of Ahmedābād. It is now in the Gāekwār's territory. Bahyal was under Pātan, so in the text the place is described as under Pātan.

² The *surkh* or little black dotted red seed of the *Abrus precatorius* is called *ghūngohā* in Hindi and cock's eye, *chashm-i-khuras*, in Persian. As a weight the seed is known as a *ratī* 96 going to the *tola*. It is used in weighing precious stones. Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, I 16 note 1 and *Mirāt-i-Ahmedī* Persian Text, 366.

³ Sinor in Baroda territory on the right bank of the Narbada about thirty miles south of Baroda.

an assignment of lands in as well as the official charge of, the districts of Jhalor and Sachor in Marwar. Mujahid Khan Jhalori, who as representing a family of landholders dating as far back as the Gujarāt Sultāns, had held Jhalor and Sachor, now received in their stead the lands in Palampur and Dera which his descendants still hold. In this year also (c. n 1694) Amirat Khan governor of Surat died, and the Marāṭhās making a raid into the province, Shuj'at Khān sent Nazar Ali Khān to drive them out. About this time an imperial order arrived, addressed to the provincial *dar* directing him to purchase 1000 horses for the government at the average rate of £20 (Rs. 200).

In c. n 1700 on the death of Iruz Khān Mewāṭi, deputy governor of Jodhpur, the viceroy appointed in his place Muhammad Zaid from Varanasi. Rājā Ajit Singh of Marwar was now ordered to repair to court and as he delayed, a *chhat* or speed fine was imposed upon him in agreement with Shuj'at Khān's directions. About this time an order came to Kunal Khān Jhalori for the despatch to the emperor of some of the Palampur *chhat* or hunting leopards which are still in demand in other parts of India. In the same year the manager of Dhandhuka on behalf of Durgādās Rāthod, asked the viceroy for aid against the Kāṭhās, who were plundering that district. The viceroy ordered Muhammad Beg, governor of Sorath, to march against them. At this time Shuj'at Khān despatched Nazar Ali Khān with a large force to join the imperial camp which was then at Panhali in Kolhapur. Shuj'at Khān who had so long and ably filled the office of viceroy in a most critical time died in c. n 1703. In his place prince Muhammad Azam Shih, who was then at Dhar in Mālwa, was appointed thirty-ninth viceroy of Gujarāt, as well as governor of Ajmir and Jodhpur, and until his arrival the minister Khwajāh Abdul Hamīd Khān was ordered to administer the province. Owing to the recall of the late governor's troops from many of the posts disorders broke out in the Pātān districts and the Kolis plundered the country and made the roads impassable.

On his way from the Dakhn to Ahmedābād, the chief of Jhābua, a state now under the Bhopāwar Agency, paid his respects to the new viceroy and presented him with a tribute of £1600 (Rs. 16,000). Among other arrangements the prince sent to Jodhpur Jafar Kuli, son of Kuzim Beg, as deputy governor, and appointed Durgādās Rāthod governor of Pātān. Shortly after, on suspicion of his tampering with the Rathod Rajputs, an order came from the emperor to summon Durgādās to the prince's court at Ahmedābād, and there confine him or slay him.¹ Safdar Khān Bābi, who, in displeasure with Shuj'at Khān had retired to Mālwa, returned and offered to slay or capture Durgādās, who was accordingly invited to the prince's court at Ahmedābād. Durgādās came and pitched his camp at the village of Bareja on the Sābarmatī near Ahmedābād. On the day Durgādās was to present himself, the prince, on pretence of a hunt, had ordered the attendance of a strong detachment of the army

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Mughal
Viceroys

Aurangzib
Emperor,
1658-1707
Shuj'at Khān
Kāṭhān
Khān)
Thirty eighth
Viceroy,
1681-1703.

PRINCE
MUHAMMAD
AZAM
Thirty ninth
Viceroy,
1703-1705.

Intrigue against
Durgādās Rathod,
1703.

¹ Mirāt i Ahmedī, Persian Text, 372

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Mughal
Viceroys

Aurangzib
Emperor,
1658-1707.

PRINCE
MUHAMMAD
AAZAM

Thirty ninth
Viceroy,
1703-1705.

Durgadās
Rāthod
Escapes.

When all was ready and Safdar Khān Bābi and his sons appeared mailed and gauntleted the prince sent for Durgadās. As this day was an eleventh or *agūras* Durgadās had put off waiting on the prince until the fast was over. Growing suspicious of the number of messengers from the prince, he burned his tents and fled. Safdar Khān Bābi was sent in pursuit. He was overtaking Durgadās when Durgadās' grandson praying his grandfather to make good his escape, stayed behind with a band of followers, charged the pursuers, and after a gallant combat, he and his Rājputs were slain. The grandson of Durgadās was killed in a hand-to-hand fight with Salabat Khān, the son of Safdar Khān Bābi. Emerald rings are to this day worn by youths of the Bābi families of North Gujarāt in memory of the emerald earrings which adorned the young Rājput and were afterwards worn by Salabat as trophies of this fight. Meanwhile Durgadās had reached Unjāh-Unāwa, forty miles east of Pātan, and from Unjah made his way to Pātan. From Pātan, taking his family with him, he retired to Tharād, and from that to Mārwar, where he was afterwards joined by Ajítsingh of Mārwar, whom the emperor opposed on the ground of illegitimacy. The imperial troops followed and took possession of Pātan, putting to death the head of the city police.

In his old age the emperor Aurangzib became more and more strict in religious matters. In 1702 an imperial order forbade the making of almanacs as contrary to the Muhammadan law. Hindus were also forbidden to keep Muhammadan servants.

Surat,
1700-1703.

About this time (A D 1700) news arrived that the Marāthās with a force of 10,000 horse were threatening Surat from the foot of the Kāsāra pass and the confines of Sultānpur and Nandurbār. The viceroy despatched a body of troops to guard Surat against their incursions. Disputes between the government and the Portuguese were also injuring the trade of the province. In A D 1701 the viceroy received an order from Court directing him to destroy the temple of Somnāth beyond possibility of repair. The despatch adds that a similar order had been issued at the beginning of Aurangzib's reign. In A D 1703, at the request of the merchants of Gujarat, with the view of inducing the Portuguese to let ships from Surat pass unmolested and release some Musalmāns who had been imprisoned on their way back from Makkah, orders were issued that certain confiscated Portuguese merchandise should be restored to its owners. An imperial order was also received to encourage the art of brocade weaving in Ahmedābād. In A D 1704, Safdar Khān Bābi was raised to be governor of Bijāpur, about fifty miles north-east of Ahmedābād. Sarandāz Khān was at the same time appointed to Sorath instead of Muhammad Beg Khān, who was placed in charge of the lands round Ahmedābād. As the Marāthās once more threatened Surat, Mustafa Kuli, governor of Broach, was sent with 1000 horse to defend the city.

Certain passages in Aurangzib's letters to prince Aāzam when (A D. 1703-1705) viceroy of Gujarāt, show how keen and shrewd an interest the aged emperor maintained in the government of his viceroys. In Letter 19 he writes to prince Aāzam: To take the government of Sorath

from Fateh Jang Khán Bábi and give it to your chamberlain's brother is to break a sound glass vessel with your own hands. These Bahis have been time out of mind a respected race in Gujarát and are well versed in the arts of war. There is no sense in giving the management of Sorath to anyone but to a Bábi. Sorath is a place which commanders of five thousand like Hasan Alíkhán and Safshikan Khán have with difficulty administered. If your officers follow the principles laid down by the late Shuját Khán, it will be well. If they do not, the province of Gujarát is such that if order is broken in one or two places, it will not soon be restored. For the rest you are your own master. I say not, do this or do that, look that the end is good, and do that which is easiest. In another passage (Letter 37 to the same prince Aázam) Aurangzib writes: You who are a well intentioned man, why do you not retaliate on oppressors? Over Hájipur Aminpur and other posts where atrocities occur every day, and at Kapadvanj where the Kolis rob the highways up to the posts, you have made your chamberlain and artillery superintendent your commandant. He entrusted his powers to his carrion-eating and fraudulent relatives. Owing to his influence the oppressed cannot come to you. You ought to give the command to one of the Gujaratis like Safdar Khán Bábi or one of the sons of Bahlul Shirwani who have earned reputations during the administration of the late Shuját Khan and who are popular with the people. Else I tell you plainly that on the Day of Justice we shall be caught for neglecting to punish the oppressions of our servants.

In A.D. 1705, as the climate of Gujarát did not agree with prince Aázam, Ibráhim Khán, viceroy of Kashmir, was appointed fortieth viceroy of Gujarát, and his son Zabardast Khán, viceroy of Láhor, was appointed to the government of Ajmir and Jodhpur. Prince Aázam at once went to Buhánpur in Khándesh, handing charge of Gujarát to the minister Abdúl Hamíd Khán until the new viceroy should arrive. Durgádás Ráthod now asked for and received pardon. Abdúl Hamíd Khán was ordered to restore the lands formerly granted to Durgádás, and Durgádás was directed to act under Abdúl Hamíd's orders. In A.D. 1705 the emperor learned that Khánji, a successor of Kutb the high priest of the Ismá'íliá Bohorás, had sent out twelve missionaries to win people to his faith, and that his followers had subscribed Rs 1,14,000 to relieve those of their number who were imprisoned. The emperor ordered that the twelve missionaries should be secured and sent to him and appointed Sunni Mullás to preach in their villages and bring the Bohoras' children to the Sunni form of faith.

About this time (A.D. 1705) the Maráthás, who had long been hovering on the south-east frontiers of the province, bursting into south Gujarát with an army 15,000 strong, under the leadership of Dhanájí Jádhav, defeated the local forces and laid the country waste. Abdúl Hamíd Khán, who was then in charge of the province, ordered all governors of districts and officers in charge of posts to collect their men and advance to Surat. Between Nazar Ali Khán and Safdar Khán Bábi, the officers in command of this

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Viceroys.

Aurangzib
Emperor,
1658-1707.

PRINCE
MUHAMMAD
AÁZAM
Thirty-ninth
Viceroy,
1703-1705.

IBRÁHÍM KHÁN
Fortieth Viceroy,
1705

The Maráthás
enter Gujarát

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ViceroysAurangzib
Emperor,
1658-1707.PRINCE
MUHAMMAD
AĀZAMThirty ninth
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measures to check their plans. About this time the emperor, hearing of an attack had been made on the Muhammadan post at Dwárka, tried the temple to be levelled to the ground. It seems doubtful whether this order was carried out. Nazar Ali Khán, who had formerly received a grant of Ilakad in Jhálaváda, had been driven out by Chandrasingh, chief of Vankáner, but, on condition of his expelling Chandrasingh, these lands were again granted to him. Kamál Khan Jhádori, leaving under his son Firáz Khan at Pálaupur a body of men for the defence of his charge, advanced to Ahmedábád to guard the city from Maráthá attack. He petitioned that according to Gujarát custom his troops should receive rations so long as they were employed on imperial service. To this request the emperor agreed and issued orders to the provincial minister. Shortly after Durgádas Ráthod took advantage of the general confusion to rejoin Ajítsingh, and an army was sent to Tharúd against them. Ajítsingh was at first forced to retire. Finally he succeeded in defeating Kunvá Mukhamsingh, and marching on Jodhpur recovered it from Jáfár Kuli, son of Kázím Beg. Durgádas meanwhile had taken shelter with the Kolis. At the head of a band of robbers, meeting Shah Kuli the son of Kázím Beg on his way to join his appointment as deputy governor of Pátan, Durgádas attacked and killed him. And soon after at Chanuar in the Chunvál, laying in wait for Maísúm Kuli, the governor of Vírangám, he routed his escort, Maísúm Kuli escaping with difficulty. On condition of being appointed governor of Pátan Safdar Khán Bábi now offered to kill or capture Durgádas. His offer was accepted, and as from this time Durgádas is no more heard of, it seems probable that Safdar Khán succeeded in killing him. As the disturbed state of the province seemed to require a change of government Ibráhím Khán, who had been appointed viceroy in the previous year, was ordered to join his post. This order he reluctantly obeyed in A D 1706.

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Mughal
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Aurangzib
Emperor,
1658-1707

PRINCE
MUHAMMAD
BIDAR BAKHT
Forty first
Viceroy,
1705-1706

Durgádas
Ráthod again
in Rebellion

IBRÁHÍM KHÁN
Forty second
Viceroy,
1706

SECTION II.—Fifty Years of Disorder, 1707-1757.

With the death of the emperor Aurangzib, early in A D 1707, the period of strong government which had latterly from year to year been growing weaker came to an end. As soon as Aurangzib's death was known, the Maráthás under Bákrí Vishvanáth burst into east Gujarát, marching by Jhábua and Godhra, where they were ineffectually opposed by the governor Murád Baksh. From Godhra they went to and plundered the town of Mahuda in Kaira, and proposed marching on Ahmedábád by way of Nadiád. The viceroy prepared to resist them, and, enlisting special troops, camped outside of the city near the Kankariya lake. Of the warlike population on the north bank of the Sábarmatí opposite Ahmedabád nearly eight thousand Musalman horse and three thousand foot together with four thousand Rájput and Kolis in three days gathered at the Kankariya camp. The viceroy was also joined by Abdúl Hádi Pandemal the viceroy's minister, Abdúl Hamíd Khán provincial minister, Muhammad Beg Khán, Nazar Ali Khán, Safdar Khán Bábi, and several other deputy governors with their retinues and artillery. Though strong in numbers the practised eye of the viceroy failed to find in the host that

The Maráthás
advance to
Ahmedábád
and levy Tribute,
1707

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Mughal
Viceroys

Bahá'dur
Sháh I.
Emperor,
1707-1712
IBRÁHIM KHÁN
Forty-second
Viceroy,
1706

firmness and unity of purpose which could alone ensure victory over the Maráthas hordes. The Maráthas did much mischief, plundering as far as Batva, only four-and-a-half miles from the viceroy's camp. The author of the *Mirāt-i-Ahmedi*, whose father was an actor in these scenes, describes the panic in the capital of Gujarát which since its capture by Muzaffar in A.D. 1583 had been free from the horrors of war. Crowds of scared and terror-stricken men, women and children laden with as much of their property as they could carry were pressing from the suburbs into the city. In the city the streets were crowded with squatters. The cries of parents bereft of children, added to the din and turmoil of the soldiery, was like the horror of the Day of Resurrection. The dejected faces of the soldiers beaten in the late engagements added to the general gloom. The viceroy, thoroughly alarmed, concluded a treaty with Baláji, and on receiving a tribute of £21,000 (Rs 2,10,000) the Marathás withdrew. Meanwhile, in the contest between the princes for the throne of Dehli, prince Muhammad Ázam Shah was defeated and slain, and prince Muhammad Muázam Shah mounted the throne with the title of Bahá'dur Shah. Ibráhim Khán was confirmed in the post of viceroy of Gujarát, but, fearing that the emperor might be displeased at his concession of tribute to the Maráthás, he went to Dehli to explain his conduct, and there resigned office.

GHÁZÍ-UD-DÍN
Forty-third
Viceroy,
1708-1710

In A.D. 1708, in consequence of Ibráhim Khán's resignation, Gházi-ud-dín Khán Bahá'dur Fírúz Jang was appointed forty-third viceroy of Gujarát. The leaning of the new emperor towards Shiáh tenets and his order to insert in the Friday sermon the words the lawful successor of the Prophet after the name of 'Alí, the fourth Khalifah, besides giving general dissatisfaction, caused a small disturbance in Ahmedábad. On the first Friday on which the sermon was read the Túrání or Turk soldiers publicly called on the preacher to desist on pain of death. The preacher disregarding their threats on the next Friday was pulled down from the pulpit by the Túránís and brained with a mace. In the same year (A.D. 1708), hearing that the representative of Sháhi Álam had a copy of a Kurán written by the Imám 'Alí Takí son of Musa Razá (A.C. 810-823), the emperor expressed a wish to obtain a sight of it, and the viceroy sent it to him at Mándu in charge of Sayad Akíl and Salabat Khán Bábi. In A.D. 1709, Shariát Khán, brother of Abdúl Hamíd Khán, was appointed minister in place of his brother, who obtained the office of chief Kázi. Much treasure was sent to the imperial camp by order of the emperor. Ajítsingh of Márwár now rebelled and recovered Jodhpur. As the emperor wished to visit Ajmír the viceroy of Gujarát was directed to join him with his army. At this time the pay of a horseman is said to have been £3 8s (Rs 34) and of a footman 8s (Rs 4) a month. During his administration Fírúz Jang introduced the practice, which his successors continued, of levying taxes on grain, piece-goods and garden produce on his own account, the viceroy's men by degrees getting into their hands the whole power of collecting. In A.D. 1710, when on tour exacting tribute, the viceroy fell ill at Dánta and was brought to Ahmedábid where he died. As Fírúz Jang had not submitted

satisfactory accounts, his property was confiscated, and in A D 1711 Amínat Khán, governor of Surat, was appointed deputy viceroy with the title of Shahámát Khán. When Shahámát Khán was levying tribute from the Kadi and Bijápur districts, he heard that a Maráthá force had advanced to the Bába Píarah foid on the Naibada. He at once marched to oppose them, summoning Sayad Ahmed Gílání, governor of Sorath, to his assistance. When he reached Ankleshvar, the Maráthás met him, and a battle was fought in which the Maráthás were defeated. Shahámát Khán then proceeded to Surat, and, after providing for its safety returned to Ahmedábád. In spite of their reverse at Ankleshvar the Maráthás from this time began to make yearly raids into Gujarát.

In A D 1712, the emperor died, and was succeeded by his son Abúl Fateh Muízz-ud-dín Jehándár Sháh, and Asif-ud daulah Asad Khan Bahádúr was appointed forty-fourth viceroy of Gujarát. As Muhammad Beg Khán, who was then at Kharkol, was a favourite of the new viceroy and through his interest was appointed deputy, he went to Ahmedábád, and Shahámát Khán was transferred to Málwa as viceroy. In the meantime Muhammad Beg Khán was appointed governor of Surat, and Saibuland Khán Bahádúr was sent to Ahmedábád as deputy viceroy. On his way to Gujarát, Saibuland Khán was robbed in the Ságbára wilds to the east of Rájpipla. On his arrival he promptly marched against the rebellious Kolis of the Chunvái and subdued them. At the end of the year, as Farrukhsiyar son of Azím-us-Shan, second son of the late emperor, was marching with a large army on the capital, Saibuland Khan returned to Dehli.

This expedition of Farrukhsiyar was successful. He put Jehándár Sháh to death and mounted the throne in A D 1713. As he had been raised to the throne mainly by the aid of Sayads Husam Áli and Abdullah Khán, the new emperor fell under the power of these nobles. Husam Áli was sent against Ajítsingh of Máiwái, and concluded a treaty with that chief, whereby Ajítsingh engaged to send his son to court and to give his daughter to the emperor in marriage and the marriage was solemnised in A D 1715. In A D 1714, shortly after this treaty was concluded, Ajítsingh sent his son Abheysingh to court, and on him in place of one Sayad Ahmed Gílání was conferred the post of governor of Sorath. Abheysingh remained at court and sent his deputy Káyath Fatehsingh to Júnágadh. Abdúl Hamíd Khán was appointed revenue officer of Surat. After some time he resigned his Surat office and went to court, where on being made superintendent of the shrine of Sheikh Ahmed Khattú he returned to Ahmedábád. In A D 1713 Muhtarim Khan was appointed to succeed him in Surat. Early in A D 1714, Shahámát Khán, who had been appointed forty-fifth viceroy of Gujarát, was superseded by Dáud Khán Panni as forty-sixth viceroy. The reckless courage of Dáud Khán Panni was renowned throughout India. His memory survives in the tales and proverbs of the Dakhan. On giving battle he used to show his contempt for his enemies by wearing nothing stronger than a muslin jerkin. So stern was his discipline that none of his Afghán soldiers dared to touch a leaf of the standing crops where they were encamped. When at

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Mughal
Viceroys

Bahá'dur
Sháh I
Emperor,
1707 1712
GHÁZI UD DÍN
Forty-third
Viceroy,
1708 1710

Jehándár
Sháh
Emperor,
1712-1713
ASIF-UD DAULAH
Forty fourth
Viceroy,
1712-13,

Farrukhsiyar
Emperor,
1713 1719

SHAHÁMAT
KHÁN
Forty fifth
Viceroy,
1713

Chapter III

Mughal
ViceroysFarrukhsiyar
Emperor,
1713-1719

DAUD KHÁN

PANNI

Forty-sixth
Viceroy,
1714-15.Religious Riots
Ahmedabad,
1714

Ahmedabad he was either engaged in scattering the Kolis or in coursing with greyhounds. He preferred life under canvas on the Sábarmati sands to the viceregal surroundings of the Bhadar Palace. His civil work he used to trust to Dakhan Bráhmans and Pandits. He was much devoted to the use of bhang. Until Dáud Khán's arrival Abdúl Hamíd Khán was appointed viceroy and took charge of the province from Shahímat Khán. At this time, on the security of Rája Múhkamsingh of Nágor, a sum of £5000 (Rs 50,000) was granted to the brother of Durgadás Ráthod. In A.D. 1714 in Ahmedabad Harírám, the agent of Madan Gopal a successful North Indian banker, who came to Ahmedabad as treasurer with Fírúz Jang, while celebrating the Holi with his friends, seized a Musalmán gentleman and handled him with great roughness. Aggrieved with this treatment the Musalman complained to a preacher of much eloquence and influence, Mulla Muhammad Ali. The preacher took the Muslim to the Assembly Mosque and sent for Mulla Abdúl Ázíz the chief or leading member of the Sunni Bohora community. He answered the call with a strong party of his men, and on his way was joined by numbers of Musalmans both soldiers and citizens. With cries of 'Dín' 'Dín' they went to the mosque and carried off the insulted man and the priest and the Bohra leader to the house of the Kázi Khair-ul-lah. The Kázi closed his doors against the crowd who returned abusing him to the Jewellers' quarter pillaging and killing as they went. They next swarmed towards Madan Gopal's Haveli in the Jewellers' quarters. But the Nagarsheth Kapurchand Bhansali closed its strong gates and with his Musalmán soldiers met the swarm with firearms. The viceroy who was camped at the Shahi Bāgh sent soldiers and under the influence of the leading citizens of both classes the disturbance was quelled. When the particulars of the riots were known in the imperial camp the Hindus, clamouring against Mulla Muhammad Ali and Sheikh Abdúl Ázíz Gujaráti, struck business and closed their shops. The emperor ordered mace-bearers to proceed to Gujarát and bring the Musalmán ringleaders together with the Hindu Nagarsheth Kapurchand Bhansáli. Some Bohoras at the imperial camp, sending advance news to Ahmedabad, the Mullah and the Bohora Sheth and after him the Bhansali started for the imperial camp. On reaching the camp the Mulla, who was very impressive and eloquent, preached a sermon in the Assembly Mosque and his fame reaching the emperor he was called to court and asked to preach. He and the Sheth were now able to explain their case to the emperor and the Bhansáli was imprisoned. It is said that the Bhansáli made the Mulla the medium of his release and that he and the Bohora returned to Gujarát while the Mulla remained in honour at court till he died. About the same time a great flood in the Sábarmati did much damage.

Abdúl Hamíd Khán was now chosen governor of Sorath in place of Abheysingh, and Momin Khán was appointed from Dehli, governor of Surat, and was at the same time placed in charge of Baroda, Broach, Dholka, Petlad, and Nadiád. Dáud Khán the viceroy now went into Káthuváda and Navánagar to collect tribute, and on his return to Ahmedabad, married the daughter of the chief of Halvad in the

Jháláváda sub-division of Káthiáváda It is related that this lady, who was with child, on hearing of Dáud Khan's death cut open her womb and saved the child at the sacrifice of her own life¹ Dáud Khán, though an excellent soldier and strict disciplinarian failed to distinguish himself as a civil administrator He introduced Dakhami *pandits* into official posts, who levied a fee called *chithyáman* from landholders and took taxes from the holdings of Sayads and otherwise made themselves unpopular

About this time Momín Khán, governor of Surat, arrived in Gujarát, and placing his deputies in Petlád, Dholka, Baroda, and Nadiád, went himself to Surat in A D 1715 Here he was opposed by the commandant of the fort, Zira Khan, who was obliged to give way, his subordinate, Sayad Kásim, being defeated by Fida'ud-din Khán At this time much ill feeling was caused by the plunder by Muhammadan troops of the shops of some Hindu merchants in Ahmedábád On this account, and for other reasons, Dáud khán was recalled, and Ghazni Khán Jhálori was directed to act in his place until the arrival of a new viceroy In this year, A D 1715, the Maharája Ajítsingh was appointed forty-seventh viceroy of Gujarát, and his son Kunvai Abheysingh was appointed governor of Sorath Ajítsingh sent Vajenáj Bhandári to act as his deputy until his arrival, and Fatehsingh Kayath was chosen deputy governor of Sorath Perhaps one of the most remarkable appointments of this time was that of Haidar Kúli Khán to be minister as well as military commandant of Baroda, Nándod, Arhar-Mátar in the district² of Kaira, and of the ports of Surat and Cambay Haidar Kúli chose an officer to act for him as minister, and after appointing deputies in his different charges himself went to Surat

The Maharája Ajítsingh, on reaching Ahmedábád, appointed Ghazni Khán Jhálori governor of Pálanpur and Jawán Maid Khán Babi governor of Ráidhanpur³ During this year an imperial order conferred on Haidar Kúli Khán, Sorath and Gohilvád or south east Káthiáváda⁴ then in charge of Fatehsingh, the viceroy's deputy⁵ On receiving this order Haidar sent Sayad Ákil as his deputy, and that officer went to Jambúsar, and, collecting men, set out to join his appointment He

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Mughal
Viceroys

Farrukhsiyar
Emperor,
1713 A 1719.

DÁUD
KHAN PANNI
Forty sixth
Viceroy,
1714-15.

Further Riots
in Ahmedábád,
1715

MAHÁRÁJA
AJÍTSINGH
Forty seventh
Viceroy,
1715 16.

¹ Mirāt : Ahmedī, Persian Text, 427-434.
² Arhar Mátar is according to the Mirāt : Ahmedī (Persian Text, II 126) the present Kaira sub division of Mátar The Mirāt : Ahmedī places it twenty miles south-west of Ahmedábád It is four miles south west of Kaira
³ In the beginning of Ajítsingh's administration the Sacrifice Id of the Musalmáns very nearly ended in a riot An overzealous police officer belonging to the Kálpur section of Ahmedábád, hoping to please the Hindu viceroy, by force deprived some of the Sunni Bohorás of that quarter of a cow which they had purchased for the sacrifice The Bohorás in a mass appealed to the Kázi who not succeeding in his representation to the viceroy was obliged to allay the popular excitement by publicly sacrificing a cow after the Id prayers Mirāt : Ahmedī Royal Asiatic Society MS, I 567-568
⁴ This is the first known mention of Gohilváda, the Gohils country, as a separate district
⁵ During the governorship of Haidar Kúli at Surat the Mirāt : Ahmedī (Royal Asiatic Society MS, I 567-568) notices the death of Mulla Abdul Ghafúr the founder of the wealthy family of the Mullás of Surat Haidar Kúli confiscated Abdul Ghafúr's property representing to the emperor that the Mulla died issueless But the Mulla's son Abdál Hiyó proceeding to Delhi not only obtained from the emperor an order of restitution of property but the title of chief of merchants, Umda tuṭ Tujjār, and an elephant

Early in A.D. 1719, the emperor Farrākhsiyar was deposed and put to death by the Sayads, and a prince named Raffi-ud-Darajāt, a grand-on of the emperor, was raised to the throne. Raffi-ud-Darajāt was put to death by the Sayads after a reign of three months, and his brother Raffi-ud-daulah, who succeeded him, also died after a few days' reign. The Sayads then raised to the throne prince Raushan Akhtar with the title of Muhammad Shah. After the murder of Farrākhsiyar, the most powerful vassal in the neighbourhood of Delhi was Ajitsingh of Málwā. To win him to their side the Sayads granted him the viceroyalty of Gujarāt, and Míhr Alí Khán was appointed to act for him until his arrival, while Muhammad Bahádur Bábi, son of Salíbat Muhammad Khán Bábi, was placed in charge of the police of the district immediately round Ahmedábad. Shortly after, through the influence of the Mahārāja Ajitsingh, Nahir Khan superseded Míhr Alí Khan as deputy viceroy. Nahir Khan was also appointed to the charge of Dholka, Dohad and Petlad, and made superintendent of customs. About this time the head tax was repealed, and orders were issued that its levy in Gujarāt should cease.

In the same year, A.D. 1719, Piláji Gáikwár marched on Surat with a large army and defeated the imperial troops commanded by Sayad Ákil and Muhammad Panáh, the latter commander being taken prisoner and forced to pay a heavy ransom. Piláji, finding Gujarāt an easy prey, made frequent incursions, and taking Songad in the extreme south-east established himself there. Míhr Alí Khán, who had been acting for Nahir Khán, marched against and subdued the Kolis, who were committing piracy in the Mahi estuary. From this year Mughal rule in Gujarāt was doomed. Piláji Gáikwár was established at Songad, and in the anarchy that ensued, the great Gujarāt houses of the Bábis and Jháloris, as well as the newly arrived Momín Khan, turned their thoughts to independence. Ajitsingh so hated Muhammadan rule that he secretly favoured the Maráthás, and strove to establish his own authority over such portions of Gujarāt as bordered on Marwar. In after years, Sarbuland Khán made a vigorous attempt to reassert imperial dominion, but the seeds of dissolution were sown and efforts at recovery were vain.

In A.D. 1720, Ajitsingh the viceroy sent Anopsingh Bhandári to Gujarāt as his deputy. In this year Nizám-ul-Mulk, viceroy of Ujjain, was superseded by Sayad Diláwar Khán. While Diláwar Khán was yet on the Málwā frontiers the Nizám desirous of possessing himself of the Dakhan and its resources retired to Buihánpur pursued by Sayad Diláwar Khán, who giving battle was killed, the Nizám retiring to Aurangábád in the Dakhan. Álam Alí Khán, deputy viceroy of the Dakhan, was directed to march against him, while from north Gujarāt Anopsingh Bhandári was ordered to send 10,000 horse to Surat, and Nahir Khán, the deputy viceroy, was instructed to proceed thither in person. The Nizám and Álam Alí Khán met near Bálápur in the Berárs and a battle was fought in which the Nizám was successful and Álam Khán was slain. At this time Anopsingh Bhandári committed many oppressive acts, of which the

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Viceroys

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Shah
Emperor,
1721-1748.
MAHÁRÁJA
AJITSINGH
Forty months
Viceroy,
1719-1721.

Piláji Gáikwár
at Songad,
1719

Decay
of Imperial
Power,
1720.

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Mughal
Viceroys

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor
1721-1748

Nizam-ul-Mulk
Prime Minister,
of the Empire,
1721.

HAIDAR KULI
KHAN
Fiftieth Viceroy,
1721-22

Disorder in
Ahmedabad,
1721.

Leaves Delhi
for Gujarat,
1722

chief was the murder of Kapurchand Bhausañ, the leading merchant of Ahmedabad. The cause of Kapurchand's murder was that he had hired a number of armed retainers who used to oppose the Bhandari's orders and set free people unjustly imprisoned by him. To remove this meddler from his way the Bhandari got him assassinated. In A.D. 1721 Nizam-ul-Mulk was appointed prime minister of the empire. Abdul Hamid Khan was recalled from Sorath and in his stead Asad Kuli Khan with the title of Amir-ul-Umara was appointed governor of Sorath and sent Muhammad Sharif Khan into Sorath as his deputy.

In A.D. 1721 in conjunction with Muhammad Amin and Saadat Khan Haider Kuli Khan freed the emperor from the tyranny of the Sayads and was rewarded with the title of Muz-ul-daulah Haider Kuli Khan Bahadur Zafar Jang and the viceroyalty of Gujarat. He obtained the appointment of minister for his brother Jaafar Kuli Khan. Maisum Kuli Khan was disgraced by the title of Shujaat Khan Bahadur and appointed deputy viceroy. As soon as this change was notified, the people of Ahmedabad, who were discontented with the rule of Anopsingh, attacked his palace the Bhadar, and he escaped with difficulty. In consequence of the enmity between Haider Kuli Khan and the Marwatis Shujaat Khan, the deputy viceroy, attacked the house of Nahir Khan who had been Ajitsingh's minister, and forced him to pay £10,000 (Rs 1 ^{lakh}) and leave the city. Shujaat Khan next interfered with the lands of Saifdar Khan Babi, the deputy governor of Godhra, and his brothers. On one of the brothers repairing to Delhi and remonstrating, Haider Kuli, who, above all things was a Muhammadan and anxious to strengthen himself with the Muhammadan nobility of Gujarat, restored their lands to the Babis. In consequence of this decision ill-feeling sprung up between Shujaat Khan and the Babis and when Shujaat Khan went to exact tribute he forced Muhammad Khan Babi, governor of Kaira, to pay a special fine of £1000 (Rs 10,000). Shortly after one of the viceroy's officers, Kasim Ali Khan, while employed against the Kols of that part of the country, was killed at Pethapur. Shujaat Khan advanced, and revenged Kasim Ali's death by burning the town. Next, he passed into Sorath, and after exacting tribute crossed to Kachh. The chief opposed him, and in the fight that followed was beaten and forced to pay about £22,500 (Rs 24 ^{laks}).¹ In A.D. 1721 a Sayad was sent to Sorath as deputy governor in place of Muhammad Sharif and Haider Kuli was appointed governor of Kadi, the Chinnál, and Halvad (called Muhammadnagar) and put in charge of Tharad, Arjanpur, Bhámnáñ, Pethapur, and Kheralu in place of Vakharsingh, son of the Maharája Ajitsingh.

Early in A.D. 1722, Nizam-ul-Mulk took up the office of prime minister of the empire, to which he had been appointed in the previous year. Strenuous efforts were made to embroil him with Haider Kuli

¹ The sum is 6,75,000 *rupees*. Like the *darshan* (see above page 222 note 2) the *rukmah* seems to have varied in value from one-third to one-half of a rupee.

Khán, as the Nizám's austerity and craft were a source of not less anxiety to the Delhi court than Haidar Kúh's more daring and restless ambition. Haidar Kúh Khán, unable to contend with the Nizám, left Delhi and retired to Gujarát. On his way the villagers of Dabháli opposed him killing one of his chief men named Alf Beg Khán. Haidar burned the village and put all the people to death, a severity which caused such terror that throughout his rule no difficulty was experienced in realizing tribute or in keeping the roads safe. About this time, among other changes, Muhammad Báhadur, son of Salábat Khán Bábi, was placed in charge of Sádra and Virpur, with the title of Sher Khán. Shortly after his arrival the viceroy marched against and subdued the rebellious Kohs of the Chunvál, appointing Rustam Ali Khán his governor there. Then, returning to Ahmedábád, he took up his residence in the Bhadra. There is little doubt that at this time Haidar Kúh aimed at bringing all Gujarát under his rule. He seized the imperial horses which passed through Ahmedábád on their way to Delhi, and confiscated many estates and gave them to his own men. On his way to enforce tribute from the Dungarpúr chiefs, he levied £8000 (Rs 80,000) from Lunávida. Through the mediation of the Udepúri Rana, and as he agreed to pay a tribute of £10,000 (1 *lakh* of rupees), the Rana of Dungarpur escaped. Haidar Kúh next proceeded to Bijápúr, north of Ahmedábád, but hearing that the emperor was displeased at his assumption of the power of giving and changing grants of land, he returned to Ahmedábád and restored several estates which he had confiscated. The court continued to distrust him, and at the close of A D 1722 appointed Jumlat-ul-Mulk Nizám-ul-Mulk fifty-first viceroy.

Haidar Kúh Khán, finding himself no match for the Nizám, was induced to retire quietly, and accordingly left Gujarát by way of Dungarpur. Shujáát Khán and Rustam Ali Khán accompanied him as far as Dungarpúr, and then returned to Ahmedábád. In the meantime the Nizám had reached Ujjain, and thence directed Safdar Khán Bábi to carry on the government till he should arrive, appointing at the same time his uncle Hámid Khán as deputy viceroy and Fidwi Khán as minister. Subsequently the Nizám came to Gujarát and chose officers of his own for places of trust, the chief of whom was Momín Khán, who was appointed governor of Surat. The Nizám then returned to Delhi, but, after a short time, disgusted with his treatment at court, he retired to the Dakhan, where, making Haidarábád his capital, he gradually began to act as an independent ruler. Meanwhile in Gujarát dissensions sprang up between Hámid Khán and other officers, but matters were arranged without any outbreak of hostility. Tribute was exacted from the chiefs on the banks of the Vátrak and from Modhera an unruly Koli village was burned down, and garrisons were placed in the Koli country. In A D 1723 Rustam Ali Khán and Shujáát Khán were ordered from Delhi to march on Jodhpur, which they captured and plundered, and then returned to Ahmedábád.

In A D 1723 Piláji Gáikwár, who had been long hovering on the frontier, marched on Surat and was opposed by Momín Khán, whom he defeated. After levying contributions from the surrounding country,

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Muhammad
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Emperor,
1721 1748
HAIDAR KÚLI
KHÁN
Fiftieth Viceroy,
1721 22

Shows Signs of
Independence
and is Recalled,
1722.

NIZAM UL MULK
Fifty-first
Viceroy,
1722

Hámid Khán
Deputy Viceroy,
Momín Khán
Governor of
Surat,
1722

Increase of
Marátha Power,
1723;

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KHANFifty-second
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1723-1730Appoints
Shuját
Khan
his Deputy.Nizám ul Mulk
and Sarbuland
KhanSarbuland
Khan's
Deputy
Defeated,
1724.

he returned to his head-quarters at Songad, and from this overran a considerable portion of the Surat territory, building several forts in the Ráppípla country. At the same time Kántájí Kadam Bándé, invading Gujarát from the side of Dohad, began to levy fixed contributions. Though before this occasional demands had often been made, A.D. 1723 was the first year in which the Marathás imposed a regular tribute on Gujarát. Momín Khán was now appointed provincial minister, and Rustam Áli Khán succeeded him as revenue officer of Surat, and, as the Nizám had gone to the Dakhan without the emperor's leave, Mubáriz-ul-Mulk Sarbuland Khán Bahádúr Diláwar Jang was appointed fifty-second viceroy of Gujarát. He selected Shuját Khán as his deputy, and made other arrangements for the government of the province. Hámíd Khán, uncle and deputy of the Nizám, prepared to oppose Shuját Khán, but through the intervention of Bábis Salabat Khán, Safdar Khán, and Jawán Mard Khán, Hámíd Khán evacuated the Bhadra, and withdrew to Dohad. Shuját Khán now went to collect tribute, leaving Ibráhím Kúli Khán at Ahmedábád, while Rámrái was posted at Mahudha in Kara, with orders to watch the movements of Hámíd Khán. As the viceroy was in need of money, he farmed to one Jivan Jugal the districts of Jambúsár, Makbúlábád or Amod about twenty-two miles north of Broach, Dholka, and Broach. In A.D. 1724, he came to Ahmedábád with Áli Muhammad Khán father of the author of the *Mirát-i-Ahmedí*, as his private minister.

Rustam Áli, governor of Surat, having succeeded twice or thrice in defeating the Marathás under Pílájí Gaikwár, now offered, in conjunction with his brother Shuját Khán, that if 20,000 men were placed under their orders, they would march against the Nizám. The emperor accepted this offer, allowing Rustam Áli to draw on the Surat treasury to the extent of £20,000 (Rs 2 lálhs). Rustam Áli accordingly, with the aid of Ahmed Kúli his brother's son, equipped an army. In the meantime the Nizám was not idle. He promised to Kántájí Kadam Bándé a one-fourth share of the revenue of Gujarát, provided he should be able, in concert with Hámíd Khán, to re-conquer the province from Mubáriz-ul-Mulk. Shuját Khán, who was now at Kadi, instead of following the advice of his minister and carefully watching Hámíd Khán's movements from Kapadvanj, went to a distant part of the province. Hámíd Khán seeing his opportunity, united his forces with those of Kántájí Kadam, and marched to Kapadvanj. Shuját Khán hearing of this, advanced towards Ahmedábád and encamped at Dabhora under Bahyal, eighteen miles east of Ahmedábád and thence proceeded to Mota Medra, about six miles east of the capital. When he came so near Ahmedábád, many of his soldiers went without leave into the city to visit their families. The Marathás attacked his rear guard, and his men giving way took to flight. Hámíd Khán seeing that Shuját Khán had but a small force, marched between him and the capital. A battle was fought, in which Shuját Khán was slain, and his two sons Hasan Kúli and Mustafa Kúli were taken prisoners. Shuját Khán's head was cut off and sent to Safdar Khán Bábi, to be sent to Ibráhím Kúli his son, who was doing duty as commandant at Ahmedábád. Hámíd Khán took up his quarters in

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SADULABAD
SahibHis second
Visit
1723-1729.Mubárriz-ul-Mulk
sent against the
Maráthas,
1725Hámid Khán
and other
Maráthas
PeaseMubárriz-ul-
Mulk enters
Ahmedabad,
1725

including Surat and Baroda. After this Hámid Khán acted tyrannically. He extorted large sums from the rich and poisoned the two sons of Shuját Khán. When the news of Kántaji's and Páti's success reached the Dalhan Trimbakráj Dabháde, son of Khanderav Senápat, came with a large army and laid siege to Cambay. While the siege was being pressed a quarrel among the Maráthá leaders culminated in strife and bloodshed. Trimbakrav Senápat was wounded and the Maráthá army had to disperse and retire.¹ Salábat Khán, leaving Ahmedabad, went to Viramgám, and after some time, placing his nephew at Viramgám he went into Goháváda. When the news of the defeat and death of Rústam M. reached Delhi, the emperor ordered Mubárriz-ul-Mulk to take a strong army and proceed in person to Gujarat and expel Hámid Khán and the Maráthas. Mubárriz-ul-Mulk marched on Gujarat with a large army, assisted by Mahárája Abhír Singh of Jodapur, Chatarsingh Rája of Narmar in Bundelkhand, Gandharsingh, and the Mahárája of Udaipur. On his arrival at Ajmir Mubárriz-ul-Mulk was received by his private minister Abi Mubárriz Khán who afterwards joined Jawán Mard Khán Báb in Ránsampur and united their troops with those under Mubárriz-ul-Mulk. At that time Salábat Khán was removed from his government and Sadfar Khan Bábi died. In obedience to the imperial order Mubárriz-ul-Mulk marched from Ajmir and came to the Gujarat frontier. On his approach Hámid Khán returned to Ahmedabad. He placed Rájsingh and Sardár Muhammad Ghorni in charge of the city and himself withdrew to Mehmúdadábád. Mubárriz-ul-Mulk now sent Sheikh Aliyér in advance with an army against Ahmedabad. When Sheikh Aliyér arrived before the city, Muhammad Ghorni, who was a satisfied with Hámid Khán for bringing in the Maráthas, persuaded Rájsingh to fly. In the meantime Mubárriz-ul-Mulk with the main body of his forces reached Sadoipur. Hámid Khán accompanied by a detachment of Maráthá horse, now returned to Ahmedabad, but Muhammad Ghorni closed the gates, and would not suffer him to enter the city. Mubárriz-ul-Mulk marched to Mesána. About this time Abi Muhammad Khán, the father of the author of the *Mirát-i-Ahmadi*, who was now with Mubárriz-ul-Mulk at Mesána, advised him to conclude the influential Muhammadan family of Báb. Under his advice Salábat Muhammad Khán Báb was appointed governor of Viramgám and Jawán Mard Khán governor of Patan. Shortly afterwards Mubárriz-ul-Mulk, the Gujarati minister of Hámid Khán deserted his master's declining cause. When Kántaji heard that Mubárriz-ul-Mulk had arrived at Pethápúr only eighteen miles from Ahmedabad, he retired to Mehmúdadábád. Before the close of A.D. 1725, Mubárriz-ul-Mulk reached Ahmedabad, where he was well received by the officials and merchants.

¹ See ante 1 page 312. The author of the *Mirát-i-Ahmadi* (Peshawar Text Royal Asiatic Society's Library Edition, I. 618) says Trimbakrav was slain. This seems an oversight as in another passage (ibid., 705-709) he tells us page 312 that Kántaji Trimbakrav was killed in 1731. The latter statement is in agreement with Grant Duff (History of the Maráthas, I. 354).

Hamid Khán and Kantip, who had by this time reached the banks of the Mahi, were now joined by Pilaji Gúkwar. The Maráthas being that the only way to preserve their footing in the province was to secure the cause of Hamid Khán, united their forces with him, and prepared to march on Ahmedabad. Mubáriz-ul-Mulk deputed his son Khánahzad Khán with an army to oppose them, and made several appointments, among other changes raising Ali Muhammad Khán to the post of minister. Khánahzad Khán met the Maráthas near Soptra, about ten miles north-west of Pétlád, and defeated them, pursuing them as far as the Mahi. Then returning, he was encountered by his brother Sháh Nawáz Khán, and marched against the Maráthas who were encamped at Kapadvanj. Another battle was fought, and the Maráthas were again defeated and pursued as far as the hills of Ali-Mohán near Chotá Udepur in the extreme east of the province. Khánahzad Khán now appointed Hasán-ud-dín governor of Baroda, Broach, Jamnagar, and Makkuldead. Meanwhile Antaji Bháskar a Maráthá noble entering Gujarat from the side of Idán, laid siege to the town of Vadnagar which according to the old Gujarati proverb, with Umreth in the Kura district, are the two golden feathers of the Eagle of Gujarat. Vadnagar was inhabited by wealthy Brahmins of the Nagar caste who prayed Mubáriz-ul-Mulk to march to their relief, but as both his sons were in pursuit of the other Maráthá bands defeated at Kapadvanj the viceroy had no troops to spare from the Ahmedabad garrison. The Nagars accordingly, seeing no prospect of help paid a sum of £40,000 (Rs. 4 lakhs) and Antaji Bháskar retired. Kantip and Pilaji, encouraged by this raid of Antaji's, entered Gujarat from different quarters. Kantip again laid siege to Vadnagar. The Nagars, unable to pay the contribution demanded, leaving their property fled and Kantip in his attempts to unearth the buried treasure burned down the town. Shortly afterwards Umreth in the Kura district suffered a similar fate at the hands of Kantip. In one of his raids Pilaji Gúkwar advancing as far as Baroda was met by Khánahzad Khán, the son of the viceroy. Distrusting the issue of a battle Pilaji fled to Cambay, and from Cambay withdrew to Sorath. For these services the emperor raised Khánahzad Khán to the rank of a noble, with the title Ghulib Jang. About this time Ali Muhammad Khán was dismissed from the post of minister, and in his stead first Muhammad Sayid Beg and afterwards Muhammad Suluman were appointed. Not long afterwards Ali Muhammad Khán was again entrusted with a command and raised to be governor of Dholka.

The Maráthas retired to the Dakhan, but, returning in A.D. 1726, compelled Mubáriz-ul-Mulk to confirm his predecessor's grants in their favour. The emperor refused to acknowledge any cessions of revenue to the Maráthas, and the viceroy, hard pressed for money, unable to obtain support from the court and receiving little help from his impoverished districts, was forced to impose fresh taxes on the citizens of Ahmedabad, and at the same time to send an army to collect their tribute from the Mahi chiefs. As part of the agreement between Mubáriz-ul-Mulk and the Maráthá chiefs Pilaji was to receive a share in the

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Viceroy,

1723-1730

Defeat of the
Maráthas at
Soptra and
Kapadvanj,
1725Maráthas
Expedition
against
Vadnagar,
1726Mubáriz-ul-Mulk
pays the Maráthas
Tribute,
1726.

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SAEBULAH
KHAN
Fifty-second
Viceroy,
1723-1730Alliance with
the Peshwa,
1727.Pilaji Gáikwár
obtains Baroda
and Dabhoi,
1727.Capture of
Chámpáner by
the Maráthás,
1728.

revenue of the districts south of the Mahi. But Peshwa Bájiráv Balál, to whom, as agent of his rival Khanderáv Dábháde, Piláji was obnoxious, sent Udáji Pavár to drive Piláji away. In this Udáji was successful, and defeating Piláji forced him to seek the aid of Kántáji. Kántáji, perceiving that if the Peshwa became supreme his own independence would suffer, joined Piláji, and marching together upon Baroda they endeavoured, but without success, to prevent the Musalmán governor Saif-ud-dín Khán from entering the city. About this time want of funds forced Mubáriz ul-Mulk to sell the greater part of the Dholka district to different landholders.

In the following year, A.D. 1727, Bájiráv Peshwa began to negotiate with Mubáriz-ul-Mulk, undertaking that if the one-fourth and one-tenth shares in the revenue of the province were guaranteed to him, he would protect Gujarát from other invaders. Though he did not consent to these proposals, the viceroy so far accepted the alliance of the Peshwa as to allow the governor of Baroda to aid Udáji Pavár against Piláji. Piláji and Kántáji outmanœuvred Udáji and prevented him from effecting a junction with the governor of Baroda, who in the end was forced to abandon both that city and the stronghold of Dabhoi, while Udáji retired to Málwa. Piláji Gáikwár now obtained possession of Baroda. Mubáriz-ul-Mulk, still sorely pressed for funds, marched into Sorath to exact tribute. On reaching Víramgám, Salábat Muhammad Khán Bábi, on behalf of the Jám of Navánagar, presented the viceroy with £10,000 (Rs 1 lálh), and for this service was rewarded with the gift of an elephant. Mubáriz-ul-Mulk then marched against Chháya, the capital of the chief of Porbandar in the south-west of Káthiáváda. This chief, by putting to sea, hoped to escape the payment of tribute. But on hearing that the viceroy proposed to annex his territory and appoint an officer to govern it, he returned and agreed to pay a tribute of £4000 (Rs 40,000).¹ On his way back to Ahmedábád, Mubáriz-ul-Mulk passed through Halvad in Jhálávada, and there married the daughter of Jhála Pratápsingh, the chief of that district, whom he accordingly exempted from the payment of tribute. About this time the viceroy received orders from the emperor to restore certain land which he had confiscated, and as he neglected to obey, certain estates of his in the Panjab were resumed. In the meantime Krishnáji, foster son of Kántáji, made a sudden attack upon Chámpáner and captured that fortress, and from that time Kántáji's agents remained permanently in Gujarát to collect his share of the tribute.

In A.D. 1728 the minister Momín Khán died, and in his place the emperor selected Momín Khán's brother Abd-ul-Ghani Khán. About this time Asad Ali, governor of Júnágadh, also died, and on his death-bed appointed Salábat Muhammad Khán Bábi deputy governor of that fortress. Salábat Muhammad Khán sent his son Sher Khán Bábi to act on his behalf. When the emperor heard of the death of Asad Ali, he appointed Ghulám Muhy-ud-dín Khán, son of the late Asad Ali, governor. Ghulám Muhy-ud-dín did not proceed to Júnágadh but continued Sher Khán Bábi as his deputy. Mubáriz-ul-Mulk, now

¹ The amount was 1,25,000 *mahmúdis*.

perceiving that neither Pílají nor Kántájí afforded any protection to Gujarát, but rather pillaged it, closed with the offers of Bájiráv Peshwa, and in A.D. 1729 formally granted to him the one-fourth and one-tenth shares of the revenue of the province. The Peshwa accordingly sent his brother Chinnájirav to collect the tribute. Chinnájí plundered Dholka and the country near Chámpáner, while Mubáriz-ul-Mulk exacted tribute from the chiefs on the banks of the Vátrak. Kántájí now entered Gujarát and prepared for war in case Chinnájí and the viceroy should unite against him. His movements were not interfered with, and after collecting his share of the tribute, he retired to Sorath. The viceroy now marched against the Kolis, and after destroying many of them together with their wives and children, returned to Ahmedábád by way of Modasa and Ahmednagar. Ghulám Muhy-ud-dín Khan, governor of Junagadh, who had not yet proceeded to his command, appointed a second deputy. Through the influence of the viceroy this appointment was not confirmed, and instead Sher Khán Babi, son of Salabat Muhammad Khan, was placed in charge of that fortress.

In Surat the year A.D. 1723 was marked by a severe flood in the Tapti and by a somewhat serious local disturbance. The chief cause of the disturbance was Mulla Muhammad Ali, a rich Musalman trader of Surat. This man who, as Úmda-tut-tujár or chief of the merchants, had already a special rank in the city, was tempted to take advantage of the disorders of the time to raise himself to the position of an independent ruler. With this object he chose as his head-quarters the island of Píram in the Gulf of Cambay, near the port of Gogha, and there spent considerable sums in strengthening the island and tempting settlers to place themselves under his protection. As Píram was not popular Mulla Muhammad fixed on the village of Athva, on the left bank of the Tapti, about twelve miles from its mouth. Here he began to build a fort, but was ordered to desist by Sohráb Khán, the governor of Surat, from which city the proposed stronghold was only three miles distant. Mulla Muhammad so far from obeying, persuaded Beglar-Beg Khán the commander of the fort of Surat to side with him. Accordingly, next day, Beglar-Beg Khán bombarded the governor Sohráb Khan's residence, proclaiming that his own brother Teghbeg Khán was appointed governor of Surat. In the end Mulla Muhammad Ali induced the chief merchants of the city to pray for the removal of Sohráb who pending receipt of orders from the emperor was made to hand over his official residence in the city to Teg-Beg Khán.

In the same year, A.D. 1729, Jawán Mard Khán Bábí was chosen governor of Petlád, Ali Muhammad Khán was made collector of Ahmedabád, and Ali Muhammad's son, the author of the *Mirát-i-Ahmedi* and his brother were appointed governor and superintendent of the customs of that district. Ali Muhammad Khán shortly resigned and was succeeded by Rú-ín Khán. At this time Jawán Mard Khán Bábí, while punishing the Kolis of Bálór, probably Bhátód about fifteen miles east of Broach, was killed by a man of that tribe, and in revenge for his death the town of Bálór was plundered. On the death of Jawán Mard Khán, at the request of Salábat Muhammad Khán Bábí, his eldest son Kamál-ud-dín Khán Bábí received the districts of

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Mughal
Viceroys.

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor,
1721-1748
SARFULAND
KHAN
Fifty-second
Viceroy,
1723-1730.

Grant of Tribute
to the Peshwa,
1729.

Mulla
Muhammad
Ali raises a
Disturbance
at Surat,
1729.

Nadhd given
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ViceroysMuhammad
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Emperor,
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Fifty-second
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1723-1730Athva Fort,
1730The Viceroy
in Káthiáwáda
and Kachh,
1730Riots at
AhmedábádMAHÁRÁJA
ABHEYSINGH
Fifty-third
Viceroy,
1730-1733.

Samí and Munjpuri and the title of Jawán Maid Khán. At the same time the second son, Muhammad Anwar, with the title of Safdar Khán, was appointed to the government of Rádhampur. The viceroy now went to Nadiád, where Rái Kishandás, agent of Jawán Maid Khán, received the district of Petlád in farm. From Nadiád Mubáriz-ul-Mulk went to collect tribute from Saidársingh, the chief of Bhádarva in the Rewa Kántha about fifteen miles north of Baroda, on the banks of the Mahi, who, after some fighting, agreed to pay a sum of ₹2000 (Rs 20,000). On his way back to Ahmedábád the viceroy levied tribute from the chief of Úmeta, fifteen miles west of Baroda. As Rái Kishandás failed to pay the sum agreed on for the farm of Petlád, an order was issued for his imprisonment. To save himself from the indignity he committed suicide.

When Kántaji returned from Sorath he camped at Sánand, and his advanced guard carried off some of the viceroy's elephants which were grazing there. Men were sent in pursuit, but in vain, and the Maráthás escaped. Meanwhile, at Surat, Mulla Muhammad 'Alí continued to build the fort at Athva. At last his accomplice, Beglar-Beg Khán the commander of the Surat fort, began to perceive that if the Athva fort were completed the Mulla would be in a position to obstruct the trade of the port of Surat. He consequently ordered him to stop building. In spite of this the Mulla succeeded in persuading Sohráb Khán to allow him to go on with his fort promising in return to get him confirmed as governor of Surat. Sohráb Khán agreed, and the fort was completed, and Sohráb Khán was duly appointed governor. As the fort was immediately below Surat the revenue of Surat was greatly diminished, and Sohráb Khán, when it was too late, saw his mistake.

In A D 1730 Mubáriz-ul-Mulk went into Gohilváda in south east Káthiáwáda and levied tribute from Bhávsingh, chief of Sihor, thence he proceeded to Mádhupur, a town under Poibandar, and laid it waste. While engaged at Mádhupur, Momín Khán, son-in-law of the late Momín Khán, owing to some misunderstanding with the viceroy suddenly set out for Ahmedábád and from Ahmedábád proceeded to Ágra. The viceroy now marched in the direction of Kachh and refusing the offer of a yearly tribute of about ₹33,000 (10,00,000 *máhmúdis*), advanced against Bhuj. He experienced great difficulty in crossing the Ran, and as the Ráo had cut off all supplies, and as at the same time news arrived of disturbances in Ahmedábád, he was obliged, after a month and a half, to retire to Rádhampur. The author of the *Murát-i-Ahmedi* was ordered to suppress the Ahmedábád riots, which had arisen out of the levy of some fresh taxes, and was invested with the title of Hasan Muhammad Khán. In this year Udaikaran, Desái of Vírangám, was murdered by a Kasbátí¹ of that town named 'Alí, and Salábát Muhammad Khán Babi, who was sent to investigate this murder, died on his way at Páldi, a village on the right bank of the Sábarmati opposite to Ahmedábád.

News was now (A D 1730) received that Mahárája Abheysingh of Jodhpur had been appointed viceroy and had reached Pálanpur.

¹ Kasbátis are the descendants of the Musalmán garrisons of some towns of north Gujarát. The Kasbátis of Vírangám were originally Tánk Rájputs.

The Mahārāja endeavored to arrange a peaceable transfer to him of the Mithlāra and the late viceroys, but Mubārīz-ul-Mulk refused to try the chance of war, and prepared for resistance. At the same time he made deputy of Ghulam Muhy-ud-din Khān, a soldier on his charge of the government of Junāgadh from Sher Khān Bābi. Mubārīz-ul-Mulā soon after making various appointments, collected with him his father Nābhātūngh and 20,000 men to take over the government of Gujarat. When he reached Pālanpur and saw that Mubārīz-ul-Mulk was determined on resistance, he sent an order to Sadr-ul-Muhammād Ghāni appointing him his minister and directing him to take possession of the city of Ahmedabad and drive out the late viceroys. As Sadr-ul-Muhammād was not strong enough to carry out the order, he waited for the Mahārāja's arrival. When the Mahārāja arrived Sadr-ul-Mulā was met by Sadr-ul-Khān Bābi and Jawān Mard Khān Pādshāh Rādhāyār. They then advanced together to Adalaj, distant only a few miles from the capital, their army increasing daily. Mubārīz-ul-Mulk was already encamped between Adalaj and Ahmedabad, and the approach of the Mahārāja's battle was fought in which Mubārīz-ul-Mulk was defeated. Although he changed his position, and a second battle was fought, no great result took place, in which both sides lost all their best men and command. But as both Mubārīz-ul-Mulk and the Mahārāja felt disgraced, a common soldier on either party could not stand. Among the Mahārāja who had the advantage in position repulsed the enemy, but Mubārīz-ul-Mulk fought so desperately in the fray that the Rathods gave way. They rallied and made one more desperate charge, but were met, repulsed, and finally pushed as far as Sarkhey. The Mahārāja who had not expected to determine an opposition now sent Momīn Khān and Amāsingh to negotiate with Mubārīz-ul-Mulk, who was still determined to resist to the uttermost. It was finally agreed that Mubārīz-ul-Mulk should receive a sum of £10,000 (Rs. 1 lakh) and should surrender Ahmedabad to the Mahārāja. Mubārīz-ul-Mulk accordingly quitted the city and left for Vagra by way of Udepur.

The Mahārāja entering Ahmedabad, appointed Ratansingh Bhandārī his deputy, and placed Fida-ud-din Khān, cousin of Momīn Khān, in charge of the city police. Shortly afterwards Karīmud-din Khān Jhālōrī, governor of Pālanpur, who had accompanied the Mahārāja into Gujarat, died. After the death of Salābat Muhammad Khān Bābi, his son, Sher Khān Bābi, was dismissed from the government of Junāgadh. He retired to his estate of Goghā, and when the Mahārāja arrived in Ahmedabad he paid his respects, presenting the viceroy with an elephant and some horses. The Mahārāja confirmed the lands assigned to his father, and reported his action to the emperor. Momīn Khān was made ruler of Cambay, and Fida-ud-din Khān, his cousin, was made governor of the lands near that city, the revenue of which had been assigned to the Mahārāja. So great was the fear of the Marāthas, that Mustafid Khān, the governor elect of Surat, instead of proceeding direct by land, went to Cambay. From Cambay he moved to Broach, and from Broach entered into negotiations with Pīlāji Gānkwar, promising, if allowed to retain

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Mughal
Viceroys.Muhamma I
ShahEmperor
1721-1748Maharaja
AmarsinghFifty third
Viceroy

1740-1743

Mubārīz-ul-Mulk
Reverts the New
ViceroyBattle of Adalaj
the Mahārāja
defeated by
Mubārīz-ul-Mulk
1740Mubārīz-ul-Mulk
RetiresGovernment of
AhmedsinghMomīn Khān
Ruler of Cambay,
1740

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Mughal
Viceroys.Muhammad
Shah
Emperor,
1721-1748
MAHARAJA
ABHEYSINGH
Fifty third
Viceroy,
1730-1733.

possession of Surat, to pay Pilaji the one-fourth share of its revenues. Pilaji agreed, but Shahab Khan, who was still in possession of Surat, refused to hand it over to Mustafid Khan. In this year also Vakhatsingh, brother of the Maharaja Abheysingh, was appointed governor of Patan, and sent a deputy to act for him. About the same time Mir Fakhri-ud-din, a follower of the late viceroy Mubarez-ul-Mulk, leaving him secretly, came to Ahmedabad, and in an interview with the Maharaja obtained for himself the post of deputy governor of Junagadh. When he proceeded to take up his appointment he was opposed by Mir Ismail, and was killed in a battle fought near Amreli in central Kathiawada. Muhammad Pagar, son of Karimdad Khan Jhalori, was appointed governor of Palanpur in succession to his father, and Jawan Maid Khan was sent to Vadnagar.

The Peshwa and
Viceroy against
Pilaji Gawkar,
1731

In the following year, A.D. 1731, Bajirav Peshwa, entering Gujarat at the head of an army, advanced against Baroda, then in the possession of Pilaji Gawkar. Afterwards, at the invitation of the Maharaja, he visited Ahmedabad and had a meeting with the viceroy in the Shahi Bagh. At this meeting it was agreed that Bajirav should assist Azmatullah, the governor of Baroda, in taking possession of that town and in expelling Pilaji Gawkar. By this arrangement the viceroy hoped by playing off the Peshwa against Pilaji, to succeed in getting rid of the latter, while the Peshwa intended that if Pilaji was forced to give up Baroda, he himself should gain possession of that city. Accordingly the Peshwa, together with an army from the viceroy, marched on Baroda. They had scarcely laid siege to the city when the Peshwa heard that Nizam-ul-Mulk was advancing on Gujarat against him. Abandoning all operations against Baroda, the Peshwa withdrew, with all speed, to the Dakhan. On his way he encountered the army of Trimbakirav Senapati, who, together with Pilaji Kantaji and Udaji Pavai, had united to resist the pretensions of the Peshwa in Gujarat, and were also secretly leagued with the Nizam. An engagement was fought in which the Peshwa was victorious and Trimbakirav was slain.¹ The Peshwa at once pushed on to the Dakhan, contriving to avoid the Nizam, though his baggage was plundered by that chief, who had camped at Ghala Kamej, on the river Tapi, about ten miles above Surat.

The Peshwa
Withdraws.Defeats his
Opponents.Abdullah Beg
appointed the
Nizam's Deputy
at Broach

During these changes the city of Broach, which on account of the strength of its fort the Marathas had failed to take, was governed by Abdullah Beg, an officer originally appointed to that command by Mubarez-ul-Mulk. Dissatisfied that the government of Gujarat should be in the hands of Abheysingh, Abdullah Beg, in A.D. 1731, entered into negotiations with the Nizam, offering to hold Broach as the Nizam's deputy. Nizam-ul-Mulk agreed, appointed Abdullah his deputy, and ennobled him with the title of Nek Alam Khan. About the same time Vakhatsingh, brother of the viceroy, withdrew to his chiefship of Nagoi in Jodhpur, and Azmat-ullah went to Agra. After his safe arrival in the Dakhan Bajirav Peshwa entered into an agreement

¹ See note on page 306

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Viceroys.

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor,
1721-1748,
MAHARAJA
ADHEYSINGH
Fifty-third
Viceroy,
1730-1733.

When Umábái, widow of Khanderáv Senápatí, heard of the assassination of Piláji Gáikwár, she determined to avenge his death. Collecting an army and taking with her Kántáji Kadam and Dámaji Gáikwár, son of Piláji, she marched upon Ahmedabád. As the Maráthás failed to do more than slay a Rájput leader named Jívaráj they came to terms. In the end it was agreed that in addition to the one-fourth and the one-tenth shares of the revenue a sum of £8000 (Rs 80,000) should be paid from the Ahmedabád treasury, Jawán Mard Khán being kept as a hostage till the payments were made. For his services on this occasion Jawan Mard Khán was made governor of Víramgám. During this year an imperial order appointed Khushalchand Sheth, son of Sántidás, Nagar Sheth or chief merchant of Ahmedabád. The Maráthás plundered Rasúlábád a mile south of Ahmedabád and its excellent library was pillaged. Umábái now marched upon Baroda, and the governor, Sher Khán Bábi, prepared to oppose the Maráthás. But Umábái, sending a message to Sher Khan, explained that she had just concluded a peace with the Maharája, and was suffered to pass unmolested. The emperor, satisfied with the arrangements made by the Maharája, presented him with a dress of honour. In this year the Maharája went to court by way of Jodhpur, and appointed Ratansingh Bhandári as his deputy, and the author of the *Mirát-i-Ahmedi* as news recorder. In the same year, A.D. 1733, Ghulám Muhy-ud-dín Khán, governor of Júnágadh died, and his son Mír Hazabr Khán was selected to fill his place.

RATANSINGH
BHANDARI
Deputy Viceroy,
1733-1737

The Maráthás
Return

Meanwhile as the Maráthás had not received their rights, Jadoji Dábháde, son of Umábái, returned to Gujarat. Peace was concluded on the former basis, and Jadoji marched into Sorath to exact tribute. In this year the Kolis of the Chúnvál and Kankrej committed many excesses, and a Rájput noble was robbed in the Pátan district. In the meantime Sohráb Khán, the former governor of Surat, who had been kindly received by Bhávsinghji, the chief of Sihor, began to raise a following and was appointed collector of arrears in Sorath. He chose Sayad Núrullah as his deputy, and sent him to recover the revenue for the current year.

Contest for the
government of
Gogha

On the death of Salábat Khán Bábi, though the Maharája had endeavoured to get Sher Khán Bábi appointed in place of his father, Gogha had been granted to Burhán-ul-Mulk, who chose Sohráb Khán as his deputy. At this time Sher Khán Bábi was at Baroda, and his younger brother, though he resisted, was compelled to leave Gogha. The deputy governor of Sorath complained to the governor of the oppressive conduct of Sohráb Khán. But Burhán-ul-Mulk supported Sohráb and having obtained for himself the government of Sorath, sent Sohráb Khán as his deputy to Júnágadh. In A.D. 1734, Ratansingh Bhandári, the deputy viceroy, who held in hatred Bhávsingh, son of Udaikaran, the hereditary officer of Víramgám, persuaded Jawán-Mard Khán to imprison him and send him to Ahmedabád. Jawan-Mard Khán went so far as to arrest Bhávsingh, but was forced by his supporters to release him.

Disturbance
at Víramgám,
1734Baroda
recovered by the
Maráthás,
1734

In this year Sher Khán Bábi, governor of Baroda, went to visit his lands at Bálásinor, leaving Muhammad Sarbáz in command at Baroda,

Mahadaji Gáukwár, brother of Pílaji, who then held Jambúsar, sending to Songid to Dámaji for aid, marched on Baroda with a strong force. The garrison made a brave defence, and Sher Khán hearing of the attack at Balasimoi, called for aid from Ratansingh Bhandari, the deputy viceroy, who directed Momín Khán, the governor of Cambay, to join Sher Khán and drive back the Maráthás. Sher Khán started at once for Baroda. But Mahadaji leaving a sufficient force before the town pushed on with the bulk of his army to meet Sher Khán, and, though he and his men fought bravely, defeated him, and then returned to Baroda, Sher Khán retiring to Bálásimor. Momín Khán, who arrived after Sher Khán's defeat, did not deem it prudent to engage the Maráthás, and retired to Cambay. In the meantime the garrison of Baroda, hopeless of succour, surrendered the town, and since that day Baroda has continued to be the head-quarters of the Gáukwari family.

Since Jawán Mard Khán's capture of Bhávsingh of Víramgám he had become much disliked. For this reason Ratansingh Bhandári, the deputy viceroy, transferred him to Kadi and Byjpur, and in his place appointed Sher Khán Bábi, whose father Muhammad Salábat Khán Bábi had been a popular governor of Víramgám. At this time Dhanrúp Bhandari, governor of Petlád, died, and the farm of the districts of Nadiad, Arhar-Matar, Petlád, and Mahudha was given to Momín Khán. Mulla Muhammad Ali managed to write letters from his confinement at Surat to the Nizám, and as that chief was now not far from Surat, he wrote urgently to Teghbeg Khán to release him. Teghbeg Khán put the Mulla to death, and bribing the Nizám's messenger, gave out that he had died of joy at his release. Khushálchand, the chief of the merchants of Ahmedabád, having had a difference with Ratansingh, was forced to leave the city, and sought shelter at Cambay and afterwards at Júnágadh. Jawán Mard Khan, who was of an ambitious temperament, now conceived the design of conquering Ídar from Anandsingh and Rúsingh, brothers of the Mahárája Abheysingh. He accordingly marched upon Ídar, taking with him as allies Aghráji Koli of Katosan and Koli Amra of Elol Kánrah. In this strait Anandsingh and Rúsingh sought the aid of Malhárráv Holkár and Ranaji Sindia, who were at this time in Málwa. The Marátha chiefs at once marched to the help of Ídar, and Jawán Mard Khán, disbelieving the report of Marátha aid, continued to advance until he found himself opposed by an overwhelming force. Negotiations were entered into, and Jawán Mard Khán agreed to pay a sum of £17,500 (Rs 1,75,000). Of the total amount £2500 (Rs 25,000) were paid at once, and Zoráwai Khán, brother of Jawán Mard Khán, and Ajabsingh, agent of Aghráji Koli, were kept as hostages until the balance should be paid. In this year Teghbeg Khán of Surat caused a wealthy merchant named Ahmed Chalabi to be assassinated, and confiscated his property. He also caused a fanatic named Sayad Ali to be put to death by certain Afgháns, as he considered that he might excite sedition.

In the following year (A.D. 1735) Dholka was assigned to Ratansingh Bhandári, and through the influence of Buihán-ul-Mulk, Sohráb

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Mughal Viceroys

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor,
1721-1748
RATANSINGH
BHANDARI
Deputy Viceroy
in charge,
1733-1737.

Change of
Governor at
Víramgám

Jawán Mard
Khán fails in
an attempt on
Ídar

Rivalry of Ratan-
singh Bhandári and
Sohráb Khán,
1735

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Muhammad

Shah

Emperor,

1721-1748

RATANSINGH

BHANDARI

Deputy Viceroy

in charge,

1733-1737

Battle of Dholi

Defeat and Death

of Sohráb Khán,

1735

Khán was appointed governor of Víramgám. Ratansingh resented this, and eventually Víramgám was conferred on the Mahárája Abheysingh. When this order reached Sohráb Khán, he forwarded it to Burhán-ul-Mulk, and in consequence of Burhán-ul-Mulk's remonstrances, the arrangements were changed and Sohráb Khán appointed governor. Upon this Sohráb Khán, leaving Sádak Ali as his deputy in Junágadh, marched for Víramgám, while Ratansingh Bhandári, hearing of Sohráb Khán's approach, summoned Momín Khán and others to his assistance, and with his own army proceeded to Dholka and plundered Koth. From Koth he advanced and pitched at Harálah, about ten miles from Sohráb Khán's camp, and here he was joined by Momín Khán and others whom he had summoned to support him. After the union of these forces he marched to Dholi, six miles from Dhandhuka, at which place Sohráb Khán was then encamped. Ratansingh Bhandári now proposed that peace should be concluded, and that Sohráb Khán should enjoy Víramgám until final orders were passed by the emperor. Safdar Khán Bábi and others went to Sohráb Khán and endeavoured to bring him to consent to these terms, but he would not listen, and on both sides preparations were made for battle. During the following night Ratansingh Bhandári planned an attack on Sohráb Khán's camp. The surprise was complete. Sohráb Khán's troops fled, and himself, mortally wounded, shortly afterwards died. By the death of Sohráb Khán the family of Kázim Beg Khán became extinct. He was buried at Sibor in Káthiaváda.

Rivalry between

Ratansingh

Bhandári and

Momín Khán,

1735.

After this success a single horseman attacked and wounded Ratansingh Bhandári in two places. The horseman was at once slain, but no one was able to recognize him. Ratansingh, who in two months had recovered from his injuries, now determined to attack Momín Khán, as that officer in the recent struggle had taken part with Sohráb Khán. Momín Khán hearing of Ratansingh's intentions, withdrew to Cambay. In the course of this year, on the expiry of the period of the farm of Mahudha, Arhar-Mátar, and Nadiad, these districts were transferred from Momín Khán to Safdar Khán Bábi. Kálhanchand, a man of low origin, was appointed to Víramgám in place of Sher Khán Bábi, and instead of Sohráb Khán, Muhsin Khán Khálvi was made deputy governor of Sorath.

MARATHA

AFFAIRS.

Dámáji Gaikwár

and Kántáji,

1735.

Battle of

Anand Mogri.

Defeat of

Kántáji.

About this time Dámáji Gaikwár, who had been chosen by Umábái as her representative in Gujarát, appointed Rangoji to act as his agent. Kántáji being dissatisfied with this arrangement, in which his rights were ignored, marched into Gujarát. Rangoji met him, and a battle was fought at Anand-Mogri, twenty-five miles south-east of Kara, in which Kántáji was defeated and his son killed. In consequence of this reverse Kántáji retired to Petlád. Momín Khán, who with his army was drawn up near Petlád to oppose Rangoji, was compelled to retire to Cambay, where peace was concluded on condition that Dámáji should receive the one-fourth share of the revenues of the country north of the Mahi. As the districts where these battles were fought were held in farm by Safdar Khán Bábi, he suffered much loss, and consequently retired to Rádhanpur. Rangoji was joined by Dámáji Gaikwár, and these two leaders went together to Dholka. While they

were there, Bhávsingh of Víramgám invited them to that town, both on account of the annoyance he suffered from the Máivádís and that he might take vengeance on the Kasbátís for the murder of his father Udaikáran. He accordingly treacherously admitted the Maráthas and slew Daulat Muhammad Tánk, brother of the murderer of his father, and expelled the rest of the Kasbátís, while Kaláji, the Máivádi administrator, was permitted to go to Ahmedabád. Leaving Rangoji at Víramgám, Damáji marched into Sorath to levy tribute from the chiefs, and after collecting a portion of his dues, returned to the Dakhán. In the following year (A D 1736) Rangoji advanced as far as Báyla near Dholka wasting the country. Ratansingh Bhandári, the deputy viceroy, marched against him, and forced him to retire to Víramgám. Ratansingh pursued the Maráthas to Víramgám, attacked and defeated them capturing their baggage, but failed to prevent them taking shelter in the town. About this time some Maráthá horse who were at Samal, otherwise called Thasra, joined the Kolís of those parts, advanced with them against Kapadvanj and without any serious resistance succeeded in capturing the town. Meanwhile though Ratansingh had summoned Momín Khán to his aid, he delayed coming, as he began to scheme independence at Cambay.

Ratansingh Bhandári heard that Pratáprávi, brother of Damáji, and Deváji Jákar were advancing on Ahmedabad with 10,000 horse. At first he thought this a device to draw him from Víramgám, to whose walls his mines had reached. On ascertaining from trusty spies that the report was true, he raised the siege of Víramgám, returned rapidly to Ahmedabád, and pushing forward to meet Pratáprávi, exacted tribute from the chiefs on the banks of the Vátrak. As Pratáprávi drew near, the governor of the Bhíl district retired before him, and he continuing his advance, passed through Valad and Pethápur, and so by way of Chhála reached Dholka. Here, through Muhammad Ismáíl, the governor of Dholka, he demanded from the Bhandári his share of the revenue. Afterwards, leaving 2000 horse in Dholka, he went to Dhandhuka. In the meantime Kántáji, who was a follower of Bajiráv Peshwa, joining with Malhárráv Holkar, advanced upon Ídar, and coming against Dánta, plundered that town. Some Nágari Bráhmans of the town of Vadnagar, who were settled in Dánta, tried to escape to the hills, but were intercepted and pillaged. The Maráthás then proceeded to Vadnagar and plundered the town. From Vadnagar they went as far as Pálanpur, where Paháí Khán Jhálori, being unable to oppose them, agreed to pay a tribute of £10,000 (Rs 1 lálh). Kántáji and Malhárráv Holkar then marched into Máivár, while Pratáprávi and Rangoji crossed over from Dhandhuka into Káthiávada and Gohiváda. About this time Muhammad Pahár Khán Jhálori was appointed deputy governor of Pátan on behalf of Vakhatsingh. As no settlement of his demands on the revenues of Dholka had yet been made, Pratáprávi returned to that town and sent Narhar Pandit to receive the tribute due to him. Afterwards proceeding to Baroda with Rangoji they were summoned to Sorath by Damáji to assist him. Sher Khán Bábi, who up to his time had been at Kana, now came to Ahmedabád, and as the deputy viceroy

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Mughal Viceroys

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor,
1721-1748

RATANSINGH
BHANDARI
Deputy Viceroy
in charge,
1733-1737

The Maráthás
help Bhávsingh
to expel the
Víramgám
Kasbátís.

The Gáikwár
and Peshwa
Plunder the
Country

Chapter III

Mughal
ViceroysMuhammad
Shah
Emperor,
1721-1748.

was displeased with Momín Khán's conduct when Vírangám was besieged, he appointed Sher Khán his own deputy at Petlád, Arhar-Mátar, and Nadiád. Afterwards on Momín Khán's remonstrance Subháchand Márvádi was appointed to examine the accounts and receive the revenue in place of Sher Khán. In A D 1737 Dámáji's brother Pratápráy, returning to his country after exacting tribute from the chiefs of Sorath, died of small-pox at Kánkar near Dholka. Momín Khán seeing that Sher Khán had not yet left Kaira, collected some men and came to Petlád, while Sher Khán went to Dehgám and awaited the departure of Rangoji. Ratansingh Bhandári made preparations to help Sher Khán and Momín Khán returned to Cambay.

Momín Khán
Fifty fourth
Viceroy,
1737.

At this time as the Mahárája Abheysingh was not in favour at court, Momín Khán was appointed fifty-fourth viceroy. As he was unable to effect anything by himself he persuaded Jawán Mard Khán Babi to join him by a promise of the government of Pátan and directed him to proceed and take up that appointment. Now the Jháloris were allies of the Ráthods, and Pahár Khán Jhalori, then in command of Pátan, opposed Jawán Mard Khán, but was finally obliged to vacate Pátan. Momín Khán, who had not hitherto produced the order appointing him viceroy, now made it public and began to act as viceroy with the title of Najm-ud-dauláh Momín Khán Bahádur Firúz Jang, and in A D 1737 sent a copy of this order to Abdúl Husain Khán, the deputy minister, and to Mustafid Khán, who held the office of Kází.

Sher Khán Babi, wishing to remain neutral, retired to Bálásinor and Momín Khán summoned Rangoji, who was in the neighbourhood of Cambay, to his assistance. Rangoji agreed to aid him in expelling the Márvadis, on condition that, if successful, he should be granted one-half of the produce of Gujarát except the city of Ahmedábád, the lands in the neighbourhood of the city, and the port of Cambay. This disastrous alliance with the Maráthás gave the last blow to Mughal power in Gujarát, which otherwise might have lingered for at least a quarter of a century. Momín Khán lived to repent his conduct.

When Ratansingh Bhandári heard of the appointment of Momín Khán to be viceroy he wrote to Mahárája Abheysingh for orders. Meanwhile he sent Muhammadan officials to Cambay to persuade Momín Khán to take no further steps until a reply should be received to the reference Momín Khán had made to Ágra. The reply of the Mahárája was that Ratansingh should resist Momín Khán if he could. Ratansingh prepared to defend Ahmedábád while Momín Khán collecting an army, camped at the Náransar lake.

From the Náransar lake where Momín Khán remained encamped for one and a half months collecting his partisans he advanced to Sojitra, where he was joined by Jawán Mard Khán Babi, and proceeding together they came to Vasu under Petlád, about twenty-six miles from Ahmedábád, and from Vasu to Kaira, about eighteen miles from the capital. At Kaira they encamped on the banks of the Vátrak, where, owing to the incessant rain, they were forced to remain for about a month. When the rain abated and the rivers were fordable, Momín Khán, moving to Ahmedábád, encamped in front of the city.

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Emperor,
1721-1748
MOMIN KHAN
Fifty fourth
Viceroy,
1737

Lays Siege to
Ahmedabad.

MAHARAJA
ABHAYSINGH
Fifty fifth
Viceroy,
1737

Momin Khan
continues the
Siege of
Ahmedabad.

Defence of the
City by
Ratansingh
Bhandari

on the Kankariya tank and prepared for a siege. About the same time Momín Khán's manager, Vajelám, whom he had sent to Songad to solicit Dámáji to march in person to his assistance, arrived and informed him that Dámáji would join him shortly. Zoráwai Khán, who had been left at the Maratha camp as security for the payment of the tribute, was recalled, and instead the district of Parántij was formally assigned to the Maráthás in payment of their demands. Some of the Maharája's guns, which were being sent to Ahmedábád by his agents at Surat through Cambay for facility of transit, were about this time captured by a party of Momín Khán's men. When Ratansingh Bhandári wrote to the Maharája of Momín Khan's advance on Ahmedábád, the Maharája was much displeased, and went from the emperor's presence in anger. The nobles fearing the consequences, recalled him, and persuaded the emperor to re-appoint him viceroy of Gujarát.

Momín Khán was secretly enjoined to disregard the Maharája's appointment and persevere in expelling the Ráthods, and was assured of the emperor's approbation of this line of conduct. He therefore continued to prosecute the siege with vigour. In the meantime another order was received from the imperial court, confirming the reappointment of the Maharája and appointing Fida-ud dín Khan to guard the city with 500 men, directing also that Momín Khán should return to Cambay. It was further stated that, as Ratansingh Bhandári had acted oppressively, some other person should be appointed deputy to fill his place, and that in the meantime a Rajput noble, named Abhaikaran, was to carry on the government. Shortly before this Muhammad Bákir Khán, son of Muâtamid Khán, joined Momín Khán from Surat, while Sádik Áli Khán and his nephew reinforced him from Junágadh. When Momín Khán was informed of the purport of the imperial order he agreed to return to Cambay, provided Ratansingh Bhandári would quit the city, hand over charge to Abhaikaran, and admit Fida-ud-dín Khán and his men into the city.

Ratansingh Bhandári determined not to leave the city, and prepared to defend himself to the last. Dámáji Gaikwár now joined Momín Khán from Songad. Momín Khán met Dámáji at I'sanpu, three miles from Ahmedábád, and made great show of friendship, calling him his brother. When Ratansingh Bhandári heard of the arrangements made between Dámáji and Momín Khán, he sent a message to Dámáji saying, 'Momín Khan has promised Rangoji half of the revenues of Gujarát excepting the city of Ahmedábád, the lands immediately round it, and Cambay. If you will join me, I will give you half of everything not excepting the city nor Cambay, and will send to your camp some of my chief landholders as security if you agree.' Dámáji showed this to Momín Khán, and asked him what he proposed to do. Momín Khán now perforce agreed to do the same, but instead of Cambay offered to make over to the Maráthás the whole district of Vítangúm. Dámáji, accepting these terms, ceased to negotiate with Ratansingh. He then went on pilgrimage to Dúdesai, and returning in the same year, A.D. 1738, he and Rangoji began active operations against Ahmedábád. Their bombardment did so much

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Viceroys.

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor,
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MAHARAJA
ADITYASINGH
Fifty fifth
Viceroy,
1737

Momin Khan
captures
Ahmedabad, -
1738.

Momin Khan
Fifty sixth
Viceroy,
1738-1743.
Prosperity of
Ahmedabad,
1738.

damage to the city that Momin Khan repented having called them to his aid, and foresaw that if the Maráthás once gained any portion of the city it would be no easy matter to drive them out. Momin Khan now sent the writer of the Muht-i-Ahmedi to Ratansingh Bhandári, in hopes that he might withdraw peaceably, but Ratansingh refused to listen to any terms. After some time the Musalmáns under Kázim Ali Khan and others, and the Maráthas under Báburáv endeavoured to take the city by storm, but after a bloody contest were forced to retire. Next day Ratansingh, seeing that he could not long hold the city, entered into a negotiation with Momin Khan, and, on receiving a sum of money for his expenses, and on being allowed to retire with the honours of war, left the city.

Momin Khan entered Ahmedábád. On the capture of the city, in accordance with Momin Khan's engagement, half of it was handed to the Maráthás. Momin Khan sent news of what had taken place to the emperor, and appointed Fida-ud-dín Khan his deputy. Dámáji, who in the meantime had been to Sorath, now returned and was met by Rangoji, who accompanied him as far as the banks of the Mahi, whence Rangoji proceeded to Dholka. After spending a few days at Dholka, Rangoji returned to Ahmedabad and took charge of his share of the city, which comprised the Ráikhar, Khánjehán, and Jamálpur quarters as far as the Astoria and Ráipur gates. The city was thus equally divided, and the Astoria and Ráipur gates were guarded by the Maráthás. At that time the inhabitants of Ahmedabad were chiefly Muhammadans, and the Maráthás, accustomed to extortion, attempting to oppress them, they rose against the strangers, and after a severe affray expelled the greater part of them from the city. Momin Khan, though secretly pleased, affected ignorance and sent Fida-ud-dín Khan to reassure Rangoji. This with some difficulty he succeeded in doing and Rangoji remained in the city. Jawán Maid Khan was sent to Pátan, and, instead of Parántij, the district of Kherálu was granted to Zoráwni Khán Bábí.

With the cessation of Marátha oppression, Ahmedábád began to recover its splendour and opulence. The emperor was much pleased with Momin Khan, and, raising his rank, presented him with a dress of honour, a sword, and other articles of value. At the close of the rainy season Momin Khan went to levy tribute from the chiefs on the banks of the Sábaumati, and Rangoji was asked to accompany him. They marched to Adáraj whence Fida-ud-dín Khan, the deputy viceroy, returned to the city accompanied by Rámáji as deputy of Rangoji. Jawán Maid Khan and Sher Khán Bábí now joined the viceroy's camp, and, about the same time Hathising, chief of Pethápur, paid a visit to the viceroy and settled his tribute. From Adáraj they advanced to Mánasa, and were met by the Mánasa chief. From Mánasa they proceeded to Kadí, and from Kadí to Bijápur. After Momin Khan left the people of Ahmedábád were badly treated, and Rangoji, leaving his brother Akoji in camp, returned to the capital, whence he marched towards Víamgám and Sorath. Momin Khan went from Bijápur to Ídar, and there levied tribute from the chiefs of Mohanpur and Ranásan.

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Viceroys

Muhamma
Shah
Emperor,
1721-1748
MOMIN KHAN
Fifty-sixth
Viceroy,
1738-1743

The Viceroy
collects Tribute,
1738.

Sher Khan Babi
Deputy Governor
of Sorath,
1738.

When Momín Khán arrived at Ídar, Anandsingh and Ráisingh, brothers of Mahárája Abheysingh, went to him and paid the tribute of Mohanpur and Kanásan as being within the limits of the Ídar territory. The matter was amicably settled, and the two brothers accompanied the viceroy as far as the Ídar frontier, when Anandsingh returned to Ídar, and Ráisingh, at Momín Khán's request, remained with him, Momín Khán undertaking to pay the expenses of his men. Prathuáj, the chief of Mánasa, agreed to pay £2300 (Rs. 23,000) and the chief of Varsoda £1000 (Rs. 10,000) as tribute. At this time Sher Muhammad Khán Bábi was appointed to succeed Mír Dost Áli as deputy governor of Sorath. The Maráthás, who had attempted to deprive some of the Rasúlábád and Batwa Sayads of their land, were attacked by the Muhammadan population, and a few men were wounded on either side. Momín Khán, receiving tribute from various chiefs, had now reached Pálanpur, and Páhar Khán Jhálori, the governor of that place, was introduced to the viceroy by Sher Khán Bábi. As news was now received that Devaji Takpar was advancing through the Baroda districts, Momín Khán marched towards Ahmedábád, dismissing Páhar Khán Jhálori on the Pálanpur frontier. Jawán Maid Khán Bábi, appointing his brother Safdar Khán Bábi as his deputy at Patan, pushed forward in advance for Ahmedábád. Mámúr Khan, who had been chosen by Mír Huzabr Áli as his deputy in Sorath, now arrived and complained to Momín Khán regarding Sher Khán Bábi's appointment. Momín Khán said that, as neither had assumed charge of their duties, they should await final orders from the emperor. He then advanced to Hájipuri, and thence encamped on the side of the city near Bahrámpuri and occupied himself in strengthening the city defences. From that camp he proceeded to Ísanpur four miles south of Ahmedábád on his way to levy tribute from the Koli chiefs of the banks of the Vátrak. After this he proceeded to Kúlej on the Vátrak and levied tribute from the Koli chiefs of that neighbourhood. Hearing that Dámáji had left Songad, and crossing the Mahi had gone to Arás, Momín Khán struck his camp and returned to the city, while Dámáji going to Dholka marched from that to Sorath. Momín Khán now permitted Sher Khán to return to his lands in Gogha, whence he proceeded to Júnágadh and took charge of the office of deputy governor.

In A.D. 1738, Mír Huzabr Khán, the-governor of Sorath, died, and as Sher Khan had occupied Júnágadh, and taken into his employ all the troops of Mír Dost Áli, Mámúr Khán was obliged to resign his pretensions and return. The emperor now appointed Himmát Áli Khán, nephew of Momín Khán, governor of Sorath, and he wrote to his uncle to choose a fitting deputy. Momín Khán, as the Maráthas incursions into Sorath increased yearly, and as Sher Khán Bábi was a man able to hold his own with them, suffered him to remain as deputy. When Dámáji returned to Virámgam, after levying tribute from the chiefs of Sorath, he was obliged to march against Kánji Koli, the chief of Chhanár in the Chúnvál. As he could not prevail against them he was forced to call on Momín Khán for aid. Momín Khán sent Fidá-ud-dín Khán at the head of a well-equipped army. On their approach the

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Viceroys

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor,
1721-1749

Momín Khán
Fifty sixth
Viceroy,
1738-1743

The
Deputy Viceroy
collects tribute,
1739

Kolis fled, and the village was burned, and Fidá-ud-dín Khán returned to the capital Dámáji, leaving Rangoji as his deputy, returned to Songad. In this year, A D 1738, Hindustán was invaded by the great Persian Nádir Shah, Dehli sacked, and the emperor made prisoner. Except that coin was struck in Nádir's name, the collapse of Mughal power caused little change in Gujarát.

In A D 1730 Fidá-ud-dín Khán was sent to levy tribute from the chiefs on the banks of the Sábarmati, and, accompanied by Jawán Mard Khán Bábi and Rája Ráisingh of Ídar, marched to Charáiah. As the village of Pánmul under Bijápur had been assigned to the author of the Muát-i-Ahmedi, he accompanied Fidá-ud-dín Khán, who marched to Ahmednagar, and demanded tribute from Jitsingh of Mohanpur and Ranásan. Jitsingh resisted and a doubtful battle was fought. Next day Fidá-ud-dín Khán changed his position and again attacked Jitsingh, who being defeated agreed to pay £1000 (Rs 10,000). They then went to Ídar, where they were hospitably received by Rája Ráising, who presented the leaders with horses. From Ídar they proceeded to Vadnagar, which was under Jawán Mard Khán, who also received them courteously and presented horses. The army then marched to Visalnagar. On the arrival of the troops at Visalnagar, Jawán Mard Khán requested Fidá-ud-dín Khán to subdue Jámáji the Koh chief of Thara-Jámpur in the Kámkrej, who was then at Bálísána under Pátan and who was continually plundering the country. Fidá-ud-dín Khán marched to Bálísána, but Jámáji fled to Thara-Jámpur without risking a battle and the Muhammadans plundered Thara-Jámpur. From Bálísána Fidá-ud-dín marched to Kadí and allowing Jawán Mard Khán to return to Pátan proceeded to Ahmedabád.

At Ahmedábád disputes between Rangoji and Momín Khán regarding the government of the city were frequent. In one serious disturbance Momín Khán was worsted and forced to sue for peace and grant Rangoji his half share both in the government and revenue, which, since the affray in A D 1738, Momín Khán had withheld. A formal agreement was drawn up but did not long remain in force. About this time Momín Khán's nephew Muhammad Momín Khán Bakhshi received a patent granting him the title of Nazar Ali Khán. The year A D 1739 was marked by a disastrous flood in the Sábarmati. In this year also the Maráthás under Chimnájí Ápa achieved the memorable success of taking the fort of Bassein from the Portuguese.

Capture of
Bassein by
the Maráthas,
1739

Tribute
Expedition,
1740

In A D 1740 on his return from Sorath, Dámáji Gáikwár took Rangoji to the Dakhan and appointed Malhánávi Khúni his deputy at Ahmedabád. Fidá-ud-dín Khán met the new deputy at Ísanpur and escorted him to the city. Shortly after Fidá-ud-dín Khán and Nazar Ali Khán started to collect tribute, and Jawán Mard Khán sent his brother Zoiáwar Khán Bábi to accompany them. They advanced against Dábhora under Bahyal eighteen miles east of Ahmedábád in the Bhil district and fought with the chief, who agreed to pay tribute. Thence they went to Atarsumba, where the Kolis after a vain attempt to carry off their cannon agreed to pay tribute. The force then proceeded to Mándva and levied a contribution from the Mándva chief. They next went to Kapadvanj, and passing

through Balásmor reached Virpur under Jamááda. Here, from Sulásmagh, agent of the Jamááda chief, they received two horses and 600 (Rs. 3000) as tribute. While at Jamááda an order of recall came from Momín Khán, who intimated that Malharáiv Khum had laid up large stores of grain and contemplated war. Idris-ud-din Khán at once pushed forward through Balásmor and Károdvany advancing rapidly towards the capital. On the way he received a second despatch from Momín Khán saying that, as the risk of war had for the present passed, they should advance to Pélid, where they would find Malharáiv Khum and settle with him about the revenue accounts. They continued their march, and in two days reached Kara Long poned on the way by Muhammad Kúh Khán, who was charged with messages from Momín Khán. At Kara they found Muhammad Husam, nephew of Idris-ud-din Khán who had been sent with a force to Mahudhya. As Malharáiv Khum was at Ping near Kara Idris-ud-din Khán expressed a wish to meet him, and it was agreed that both sides should go to the Pélid district and there settle the disputed collections. Shortly after they met and arrangements were in progress when the Kolis of the Bhul district rebelled and Abdul Husam Khán and Viceroy were sent against them. After burning two or three villages this detachment rejoined the main body, and not long after all returned to Ahmedábad. During A.D. 1710 Bijáiv Peshwa died.

In A.D. 1711 Momín Khán went to Cambay and while residing at Ghospur near that city received information that Damaji had again appointed Rangoji his deputy in place of Malharáiv Khum, and shortly after Rangoji arrived at Pélid. At this time Momín Khán turned his attention to the falling off in the customs revenue of Cambay and appointed Ismaíl Muhammad collector of customs. As he was anxious to clear some misunderstanding between Rangoji and himself Momín Khán set out to visit Rangoji and assure him of his good wishes. At this time Bhávsingh of Víramgám, who found the Maráthás even more troublesome than the Muhammadins, as soon as he heard of Malharáiv's recall, suddenly attacked the fort of Víramgám and with the aid of some Arabs and Rohillas expelled the Maráthá garrison and prepared to hold the fort on his own account. Shortly after Rangoji demanded that a tower in Ahmedábad, which had been raised a story by Momín Khán so as to command the residence of the Maráthá deputy at the Jamálpur gate, should be reduced to its original height. At the same time he suggested that Momín Khán and he, uniting their forces, should advance and expel Bhávsingh from Víramgám. Momín Khán agreed to both proposals. The addition to the tower was pulled down, and Momín Khán and Rangoji, marching against Víramgám, laid siege to the town. Bhávsingh made a gallant defence, and Momín Khán, who was not sorry to see the Maráthás in difficulties, after a time left them and marched to Kadi and Bijápúr to levy tribute. Rangoji continued the siege, and as Bhávsingh saw that even without Momín Khán the Maráthá army was sufficient to reduce the place, he agreed to surrender Víramgám, provided the fort of Páthi and its dependent villages were granted

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Mughal Viceroys.

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor,
1721-1748
Momín Khán
Fifty sixth
Viceroy,
1738-1743

The Viceroy
at Cambay,
1741

Bhávsingh
surrenders
Víramgám
and receives
Páthi.

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Mughal
Viceroys.

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor,
1721-1748

MOMIN KHAN
Fifty-sixth
Viceroy,
1738-1743

Siege of Broach
by the Maráthás,
1741

Battle of Dholka,
Defeat of the
Maráthás,
1741.

Contests between
the Muhammadans
and Maráthas.

to him. Rangoji agreed, and thus the Maráthás again obtained possession of Viramgám, while Bhávsingh acquired Pátá,¹ a property which his descendants hold to this day.

When Momín Khán arrived at Mánasa, about twenty-six miles north-west of Áhmedábád, hearing that Damáji had crossed the Mahi with 10,000 men, he at once returned to the capital. Damáji arrived at Mánasa and besieged it. The chiefs and Kolis defended the place bravely for about a month, when it fell into Damáji's hands, who not only cleared the prickly-pear stockade which surrounded it, but also burned the town. From Mansa Damáji marched to Sorath. On his return he laid siege to Broach, a fort which, from its natural strength as well as from its favourable position on the Naibada, it had been the constant ambition both of Damáji and of his father Píláji to capture. On the approach of Damáji, Nek Álam Khán, who held the place in the interests of the Nizám, prepared to defend the fort, and wrote to the Nizám for aid. In reply the Nizám warned Damáji not to attack his possessions. On receiving this letter Damáji raised the siege and returned to Songad. It seems probable that concessions were made to tempt Damáji to retire from Broach, and that the Gáikwár's share in the Broach customs dates from this siege.

In A.D. 1741 in a battle between Káim Kúli Khán, governor of Dholka, and Rangoji's deputy, the Maráthás were defeated. Momín Khán, at the request of Rangoji, made peace between them. Fidá-ud-dín Khán, who had recently been raised in rank with the title of Bahádúr, starting to collect tribute burned down the refractory Kolí village of Dabhora, and placing a post there, passed to Satumba, Bálasnor, and Thásra. After the battle at Dholka, the building by Rangoji of the fort of Borsad, caused renewed fighting between the Muhammadans and Maráthás of Dholka. At the request of Muhammad Hádí Khán, governor of Dholka, Fidá-ud-dín Khán, passing through Mahudha to Petlád pushed forward to help him. In the meantime a battle was fought, in which the Maráthas under Malhárráv attacked Muhammad Hádí Khan, and after a short contest withdrew. Next day the Muhammadans, strengthened by the arrival of Fidá-ud-dín Khán, besieged Sojitra. A letter was written to Rangoji, asking the meaning of the attack, and he replied excusing himself and attributing it to the ignorance of Malhárráv. Muhammad Hádí Khán and the author of the *Mirát-i-Áhmedi* eventually met Rangoji at Borsad, and settled that he and Fidá-ud-dín Khán should come together and arrange matters. But Rangoji in his heart intended to fight and wrote to his deputy Rámáji at Áhmedábád to be ready for war. Malhárráv now joined Rangoji at Borsad. At this time many misunderstandings and several fights between the Maráthás and the Muhammadans were appeased by Momín Khán and Rangoji, who, in spite of the ill-feeling among their subordinates and a certain distrust of each other's designs, appear throughout to have maintained a warm

¹ Pátá (north latitude 23° 10', east longitude 71° 44'), at the south east angle of the Ran of Cutch, fifty-two miles west of Áhmedábád.

mutual regard. Dāmaji from his stronghold at Songad was too much occupied in Dakhan politics to give much attention to Gujarat. Rangoji, on the other hand, gained so much influence with the Gujarat chiefs, that at one time he succeeded in engaging Sajisingh Hazari in his service, and also induced Raja Raisingh of Idar to join him. But Momín Khán detached Raisingh from this alliance, by placing him in charge of the post of Amahira and granting him the districts of Modasa, Meghney, Ahmednagar, Parantij, and Harsol. Moreover the customary Gujarat sum at first sent duly by Rangoji to Raja Raisingh for the expenses of his troops had begun to fall into arrears. Raja Raisingh made his peace with Momín Khán through the mediation of Nizár Ali Khán, Momín Khán's nephew, who appears to have been one of the leading spirits of the time.

In 1712 in another fight between the Maráthís and Muhammadins in Ahmedabad the Muhammadins gained a slight advantage. After this Rangoji left the city, appointing as before Dāmaji as his deputy, and joining Jagjiwan Páwar went to Borsad, where he had built a fort. At this time one Jivándas came with authority from the Nizám to act as collector of Dholka, part of the lands assigned to the Nizám as a personal grant, but failed to enforce his position. Shortly after this Raja Virádsing of Idar was killed, and his brother Raising taking leave, went to Idar to settle matters. Momín Khán had his pretent increased to the personal rank of commander of 6000 with a contingent of 6000 cavalry. He received a dress of honour, a jewelled turban, a plume, six pieces of cloth, an elephant, the order of Mahi-maratib¹ and the title of Najm-ud-daulah Momín Khán Bahádur Dilwar Jang. Differences again broke out between Momín Khán and Rangoji, and again matters were settled by a friendly meeting between the two chiefs at Borsad, where Rangoji had taken up his residence. Momín Khán now went to Petlad, and from that to Cambay, where he was taken ill, but after six weeks came to Vasu, where Rangoji visited him. Here though again unwell he went to Dholka, and shortly afterwards he and Rangoji marched upon Limbdi, which at this time is mentioned as under Virangám. While before Limbdi, Rangoji was summoned by Dāmaji to help him against Bápu Náik, and at once started to his assistance. Momín Khán now marched into Gohiváda, and proceeded by Lohána to Gogha, then under the charge of a resident deputy of Sher Khán Bábi. Here he received tribute from the chief of Sihor, and from that, marching into Hálár, went against Navánagar. The Jám resisted for twenty days, and eventually, on his agreeing to pay £5000 (Rs 50,000) as tribute, Momín Khán returned to Ahmedabad. During his absence in spite of stubborn resistance Nazár Ali Khán and Vajerám had collected tribute from the Koh chiefs. Rangoji, who had now left Dāmaji, joined battle with Bápu Náik ere he crossed the Mahi, and Bápu Náik turned back. Rangoji therefore remained at Borsad, but hearing that Momín Khán's illness had become serious, he went once or twice to Ahmedabad to visit him.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor,
1721-1748
Momín KHÁN
Fifty sixth
Viceroy,
1738-1743

Disturbance at
Ahmedabad,
1742.

The Viceroy
collects Tribute
in Káthuváda

¹ The Mahi maratib was a banner having the likeness of a fish at its top.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor,
1721-1748
Death of Momín
Khán,
1743.
Fidá-ud-dín
acts as Viceroy,
1743.

Muftakhr Khán
Defeats the
Maráthás

Dámáji Gaikwár
Returns to
Gujarát

ABDÚL AZÍZ
KHÁN
of Junnar,
Viceroy
(by a forged
order)

Mutiny of the
Troops.

In A.D. 1743 Momín Khán died. His wife, fearing lest Fidá-ud-dín Khán and Muftakhr Khán, Momín Khan's son, would deprive her of her estate sought the protection of Rangoji. In the meantime Fidá-ud-dín Khán and Muftakhr Khán received an imperial order to carry on the government until a new viceroy should be appointed. At this time a man named Anandráam, who had been disgraced by Momín Khan, went over to Rangoji and incited him to murder Fidá-ud-dín Khán and Muftakhr Khán. Rangoji with this intention invited them both to his house, but his heart failed him and shortly afterwards Fidá-ud-dín Khán went to Cambay. Rangoji now determined at all hazards to assassinate Muftakhr Khán. With this object he took Muftakhr Khán's associates, Vajerám and Káim Kuli Khan, into his confidence. Muftakhr Khán accidentally heard of his designs, and remained on his guard. As Rangoji had failed to carry out his promise to raise Sher Khán Babi to the post of deputy viceroy, Sher Khán advanced to Dholka and began plundering some Cambay villages. Rangoji, after another futile attempt to assassinate Muftakhr Khán, sent for his deputy Rámáji, who was then in the neighbourhood, and prepared to fight. Muftakhr Khán on his part, summoned Fidá-ud-dín Khán from Cambay, and in a few days they succeeded in uniting their forces. Sher Khán Babi deserting the cause of Rangoji, the Maráthás were worsted and Rangoji's house was besieged. Rangoji, being hard pressed, agreed to give up Anandráam and to surrender both Borsad and Víramgám, Sher Khán Babi becoming his security. In this way Fidá-ud-dín Khán became sole master of Gujarát.

Shortly after Dámáji Gaikwár returned from Sátira and came to Cambay. In the meantime Rangoji, who had been living with Sher Khán Babi, his security, contrived, with the connivance of Sher Khán, to escape together with his family. Fidá-ud-dín Khán was so greatly enraged with Sher Khán for this treachery, that Sher Khán leaving Ahmedábád on pretence of hunting escaped to Balásmor, where his wife joined him. Fidá-ud-dín Khán put Anandráam to death, while Rangoji through the aid of Sher Khán Babi's wife, made good his escape to Borsad. Fidá-ud-dín Khán had set out to collect tribute, when news arrived that Khanderav Gaikwár, brother of Damáji had crossed the Mahi and joining Rangoji had laid siege to Petlíd. On hearing this, Fidá-ud-dín at once returned to Ahmedabád and sent Valabhdás Kotwal to Khanderav to complain of the misconduct of Rangoji.

After the death of Momín Khán, Jawán Mard Khán Babi was the greatest noble in Gujarát. He began to aspire to power, and Fidá-ud-dín, who was not good in the field, had thoughts of appointing him as a deputy. While matters were in this state, and Jawan Mard Khan was already laying claim to the revenue of the district round Ahmedabád, an order was received appointing Abdúl Azíz Khán the commander of Junnar, near Poona, to be viceroy of Gujarát. This order was forged by Abdúl Azíz Khán in Jawan Mard Khán's interests, whom he appointed his deputy. Though Fidá-ud-dín Khán doubted the genuineness of the order, he was not powerful enough to remove Jawán Mard Khán, who accordingly proclaimed himself deputy viceroy. At this time the troops, clamorous on account of arrears,

placed both Fida-ud-din Khán and Muftakhir Khán under confinement. Jawan Mard Khán assumed charge of the city and stationed his own men on guard. While Fida-ud-din Khán and Muftakhir Khán were in confinement Khanderáv Gáikwár sent them a message that if they would cause the fort of Petlíd to be surrendered to him, he would help them. To this they returned no answer. Fida-ud-din Khán now entreated Jawan Mard Khán to interfere between him and his troops. Jawan Mard Khán accordingly persuaded the mutineers to release Fida-ud-din Khán, who eventually escaped from the city and went to Agra.

Meanwhile Rangoji continued to press the siege of Petlíd and the commander Agha Muhammad Husam, after in vain appealing for help to Jawan Mard Khán, was forced to surrender. Rangoji demolished the fort of Petlíd and marched upon Ahmedábid. As he approached the city Jawan Mard Khán sent the writer of the Mirát-i-Ahmedí and Ajibsingh to negotiate with Rangoji, who demanded all his former rights and possessions.

News had now reached Delhi that a false viceroy was governing Gujarát and accordingly Muftakhir Khán was chosen fifty-seventh viceroy, the order explaining that Abdul Azíz had never been appointed viceroy, and directing Jawan Mard Khán to withdraw from the conduct of affairs. Muftakhir Khán was perplexed how to act. He succeeded in persuading his troops that he would be able to pay them their arrears, and he sent a copy of the order to Jawan Mard Khán, and, as he dared not displace him, he informed Jawan Mard Khán that he had appointed him as his deputy, and that he himself would shortly leave Ahmedábid. Jawan Mard Khán, so far from obeying, ordered Muftakhir Khán's house to be surrounded. Eventually Muftakhir Khán, leaving the city, joined Rangoji, and then retired to Cambay.

Khanderáv Gáikwár returned, and, with the view of enforcing his claims, uniting with Rangoji, marched to Banjar, about five miles south of Ahmedábid. Jawan Mard Khán issuing from the city camped near the Kankriya lake. Nairbi Pandit and Krishnáji on behalf of the Maráthas leaders were sent to Jawan Mard Khán to demand their former rights and possessions. Jawan at first refused, but in the end gave way and the Maráthas appointed Dádu Moráí deputy of the city. Sher Khán Babi now returned to Bálásinor. Khanderáv and Kínáji then went to Dholka, Rangoji to Petlíd, and Khanderáv Gáikwár to Sorath. Fida-ud-din Khán requested Rangoji to help Muftakhir Khán, he replied that he was willing to help him, but had no money. Rangoji then accompanied Fida-ud-din Khán to Cambay, where Muftakhir Khán was. Negotiations were entered into, and the Kháns tried to collect £10,000 (Rs 1 *lakh*) which Rangoji asked for to enable him to make military preparations to aid them. They raised £8000 (Rs 80,000) with great difficulty and admitted Rangoji's Náib to a share in the administration. Rangoji withdrew to Borsad with the £8000 (Rs 80,000) under the pretext that when the remaining £2000 (Rs 20,000) were paid he would take action. Fida-ud-din Khán, annoyed at Rangoji's conduct, went to reside at Dhowan, a village belonging to Jálam Jálá Koh.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys

Muhammad
Shah
Imperator,
1721-1748

Maráthas
Capture
Petlíd

MUFTAKHIR
KHÁN
Fifty seventh
Viceroy,
1743-44

Appoints Jawan
Mard Khán his
Deputy

The Maráthas
in Ahmedábid

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor,
1721-1748

MUFTAKHIR
KHAN

Fifty-seventh
Viceroy,
1743-44

Battle of Kīm
Kathodra
Defeat and
Death of
Abdul Aziz
Khan,
1744

FAKHR UD-
DAULAH
Fifty-eighth
Viceroy,
1744-1748

Jawān Mard
Khān Bābi,
Deputy Viceroy

Khanderāv
Gāikwār called
to Sātara.

IN A.D. 1744 Jawān Mard Khān, after appointing one of his brothers, Zorāwāl Khān, his deputy at Pātan, and keeping his other brother Safdar Khān at Ahmedābād, advanced from the city to Kadi to collect tribute. His next step was to invite Abdūl Azīz Khān, the commander of Junnar, near Poona, to join him in Gujarāt. Abdul Azīz accordingly set out from Junnar, taking with him Fatehyāb Khān, commander of the fort of Mulher in Bāglun and Rustamrāv Maratha. Directing his march in the first instance to Surat he was there watched in the interests of Dāmājī Gāikwār, by Devaji Takpai, the lieutenant of that chief, who, seeing that on leaving Surat, Abdūl Azīz continued to advance to Ahmedabad, pursued him to Kīm Kathodra, about fifteen miles north west of Surat, and there attacked him. In the engagement Devājī Takpai, who had gained over Rustamrāv Maratha, one of the leading men in Abdūl Azīz's army, was victorious. Abdūl Azīz Khān retired; but was so closely followed by the Marathās, that at Pānoli he was forced to leave his elephant, and, mounting a horse, fled with all speed towards Broach. On reaching the Narbada he failed to find any boats, and, as his pursuers were close upon him, putting his horse at the water, he tried to swim the river, but, sticking fast in the mud, he was overtaken and slain by the Marāthās.

On hearing of the death of Abdūl Azīz, Jawān Mard Khān thought of joining Muftakhir Khān. Ere he could carry this plan into effect, the emperor receiving, it is said, a present of £20,000 (Rs 2 lāhs) for the nomination, appointed Fakhr-ud-daulah Fakhr-ud-dīn Khān Shujāāt Jang Bahādur fifty-eighth viceroy of Gujarat. The new viceroy forwarded a blank paper to a banker of his acquaintance named Sitārām, asking him to enter in it the name of a fitting deputy. Sitārām filled in the name of Jawān Mard Khān, and Fakhr-ud-daulah was proclaimed viceroy. About this time Safdar Khān Bābi, after levying tribute from the Sabarmati chiefs, returned to Ahmedābād, and Khanderāv Gāikwār, as he passed from Sorath to Songad, appointed Rangoji his deputy. On being appointed deputy Rangoji sent Krishnājī instead of Morār Nāik as his deputy to Ahmedābād, and himself proceeded to Arhar-Mātar on the Vātrak, and from that moved to Kaira to visit Jawān Mard Khān, with whom he established friendly relations. In the same year Ali Muhammad Khan, superintendent of customs, died, and in his place the author of the *Miāt-i-Ahmedī* was appointed. In this year, too, Pahār Khan Jhalorī died, and his uncle, Muhammad Bahādur, was appointed governor of Pālanpur in his stead.

About this time Umābāi, widow of Khanderāv Dābhāde, summoned Khanderāv Gāikwār to help her in her attempt to lessen the power of the Peshwa. As Dāmājī Gāikwār could not be spared from the Dakhan Khanderāv was appointed his deputy in Gujarāt, and he chose one Rāmchandra to represent him at Ahmedābād. When Fakhr-ud-daulah advanced to join his appointment as viceroy he was received at Bālāsamor with much respect by Sher Khān Bābi. Jawān Mard Khān Bābi, on the other hand, determining to resist Fakhr-ud-daulah to the utmost of his power, summoned Gangādhar with a body of Marāthā horse from Petlād, and posting them at Isanpur, about ten miles south west of the city, himself leaving the fortifications of Ahmedābād, encamped at

Asáwa, about a mile and a half from the walls. During his progress towards the capital the new viceroy was joined by Ráisinghji of Ídar at Kapadvanj, and, advancing together, they arrived at Bhilpur, eighteen miles east of Ahmedábád. On their approach Jawán Mard Khán sent Sáfdar Khán and Gíngádar to oppose them, and the two armies met about six miles from the capital. After some fighting Fakhr-ud daulah succeeded in forcing his way to the suburb of Rájputra, and next day continuing to drive back the enemy occupied the suburb of Bahrámpura and began the actual siege of the city. At this point affairs took a turn. Fakhr-ud-daulah was wounded and returned to his camp, while Jawán Mard Khán succeeded in winning over to his side Sher Khán Bábi and Ráisinghji of Ídar, two of the viceroy's chief supporters. The *Munt-i-Ahmedi* especially notes that Rájá Raisingh asked for money to pay his troops but Fakhr-ud daulah, not knowing that this rule had long been a dead letter, said that as he held a district on service tenure, it was not proper for him to ask for a money and when on imperial service. Next day Fakhr-ud-daulah was surrounded by Sáfdar Khán Bábi and the Marathás, and himself one wife and some children were taken prisoners, while another of his wives and his son, who had managed to escape to Sídhpur, were captured and brought back to Ahmedábád.

After this Khanderáv Gaikwár returned to Gujarat to receive his share of the spoil taken from Fakhr-ud-daulah. Reaching Borsad, he took Rangoji with him as far as Ahmedábád, where he met Jawán Mard Khán, and obtained from Rangoji his share of the tribute. Khanderáv was not satisfied with Rangoji's accounts, and appointing a fresh deputy, he attached Rangoji's property, and before leaving Ahmedábád for Sorath, put him in confinement at Borsad. He also confined Fakhr-ud-daulah in the Gháspur outpost on the bank of the river Mahi. Meanwhile in consequence of some misunderstanding between Jawán Mard Khán Bábi and his brother Sáfdar Khán, the latter retired to Udepur, and Jawán Mard Khán went to Visalnagar then in the hands of his brother Zoráwar Khán. From Visalnagar, Jawán Mard Khán proceeded to Rádhanpur, and meeting his brother Sáfdar Khán, they became reconciled, and returned together to Ahmedábád. Khanderáv Gaikwár, who had in the meantime returned from Sorath, encamping at Dholka appointed Trimbakráv Pandit as his deputy at Ahmedábád in place of Moio Pandit. On hearing that Rangoji had been thrown into confinement, Umábái sent for him, and he along with Khanderáv Gaikwár repaired to the Dakhan.

Shortly afterwards Punáji Vithal, in concert with Trimbak Pandit, being dissatisfied with Jawán Mard Khán, began to intrigue with Fakhr-ud-daulah. In the meantime Umábái had appointed Rangoji as her deputy, and, as he was a staunch friend of Jawán Mard Khán, he expelled Trimbakráv from Ahmedábád, and himself collected the Marátha share of the city revenues. Upon this Punáji Vithal sent Gangádhara and Krishnáji with an army, and they, expelling the Muhammadan officers from the districts from which the Maráthas levied the one-fourth share of the revenue, took the management of them into their own hands. Rangoji now asked Sher Khán Bábi to help him. Sher

Chapter III.

Mughal
ViceroysMuhammad
Sháh
Emperor,
1721-1748FAKHR UD
DAULAH
Fifty eighth
Viceroy,
1744-1748Defeat and
capture of the
Viceroy by
Jawán Mard
Khán BábiRangoji
Disgraced
by Khanderáv
GaikwárPunáji Vithal and
Fakhr ud daulah
oppose Rangoji
and Jawán Mard
Khán.

Chapter III

Mughal
Viceroys

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor,
1721-1748
FAKHR UD-
DAULAH
Fifty eighth
Viceroy,
1744-1748.

Siege of
Kapadvanj
by Fakhr ud
daulah,
1746

At the approach
of Holkar the
Siege is raised.

Khán agreed, but as he had not funds to pay his troops, he delayed, and afterwards plundered Mahudha and Nadiád. As Rangoji failed to join him, Sher Khán proceeded by himself to Kapadvanj, and from Kapadvanj marched against the Marátha camp, with which Fakhr-ud-daulah was then associated. On the night after his arrival, the Maráthas made an attack on Sher Khán's camp, in which many men on both sides were slain. Next morning the battle was renewed, but on Sher Khán suggesting certain terms the fighting ceased. That very night, hearing that Rangoji had reached Bálásinor, Sher Khán stole off towards Kapadvanj. Punáji and Fakhr-ud-daulah followed in pursuit but failed to prevent Rangoji and Sher Khán from joining their forces.

In A D 1746 a battle was fought in the neighbourhood of the town of Kapadvanj in which Sher Khán was wounded. He was forced to take shelter with Rangoji in Kapadvanj, while Fakhr-ud-daulah, Gangádhari, and Krishnáji laid siege to that town. At this time the Lunávada chief asked Malhárávi Holkar on his way back from his yearly raid into Málwa, to join him in attacking Virpur. Holkar agreed and Virpur was plundered. Rangoji, hearing of the arrival of Holkar, begged him to come to his aid, and on promise of receiving a sum of £20,000 (Rs 2 lákhs) and two elephants, Holkar consented. Gangádhari, Krishnáji, and Fakhr-ud-daulah, hearing of the approach of Holkar, raised the siege of Kapadvanj, and marching to Dholka expelled the governor of that district. Shortly afterwards on a summons from Dámáji and Khanderávi Gáikvár Rangoji retired to Baioda. Meanwhile Fakhr-ud-daulah, Krishnáji, and Gangádhari advanced to Jetalpur in the Daskroi sub-division of Ahmedábad and, taking possession of it, expelled Ámbai Habshi, the deputy of Jawán Mard Khán. Dámáji and Khanderávi Gáikvár passed from Baioda to Vasu, where they were met by Krishnáji and Gangádhari, whom Dámáji censured for aiding Fakhr-ud-daulah. On this occasion Dámáji bestowed the districts of Baioda, Nadiád and Borsad on his brother Khanderávi, an action which for ever removed any ill feeling on the part of Khanderávi. Then, proceeding to Goklej, Dámáji had an interview with Jawán Mard Khán. From Goklej he sent Kánoji Tákar with Fakhr-ud-daulah to Sorath, and himself returned to Songad. As Borsad had been given to Khanderávi, Rangoji fixed on Umeth as his residence.

In this year, A D 1746, Teghbeg Khán, governor of Suat, died, and was succeeded by his brother Safdar Muhammad Khán, who, in acknowledgment of a present of seven horses, received from the emperor the title of Bahadur. At this time Tálib Ali Khan died, and the writer of the Mirát-i-Ahmedi was appointed minister by the emperor. In A D 1747 Rangoji returned to Ahmedábad, and Jawán Mard Khán had an interview with him a few miles from the city. Shortly after this the Kolis of Mehmúdábád and Mahudha rebelled, but the revolt was speedily crushed by Sháhábáz Rohilla.

During this year Najm Khán, governor of Cambay, died. Muftakhi Khán, son of Najm ud-daulah Momín Khán I, who had also received the title of Momín Khán, informed the emperor of Najm

Momin Khán II.
Governor of
Cambay,
1748

Chapter III

Mughal
Viceroys

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor,
1721-1748
FAKHR-UD-
DAULAH
Fifty eighth
Viceroy,
1744-1748

Mulla Fakhr ud-
din Escapes to
Bombay

Cession of Surat
Revenue to the
Gáikwár,
1747.

Famine,
1747

Maráthas
Dissensions

Fall of Borsad.

MAHÁRÁJA
VAKHATSINGH
Fifty ninth
Viceroy,
1748

governor, was signed by all the merchants except by Mr Lamb the English chief, and though he at first refused, he was in the end persuaded by the other merchants to sign. The merchants then assisted Sayad Achchan, and Safdar Muhammad Khán retired to Sindh.

Meanwhile, on account of some enmity between Mulla Fakhr-ud-din, the son of Mulla Muhammad Áh, chief of the merchants, and Sayad Achchan, the Mulla was thrown into prison. Mr Lamb went to Sayad Achchan, and remonstrating with him suggested that the Mulla should be sent for. Sayad Achchan agreed, but on the way Mr Lamb carried off Mulla Fakhr-ud-din to the English factory, and afterwards sent him to Bombay in disguise. In the meantime Kedárji Gáikwár, a cousin of Dámáji's, whom, with Malhírrav, Sayad Achchan had asked to his help, arrived at Surat, and though Sayad Achchan had been successful without his aid, Kedárji demanded the £30,000 (Rs 31 lakhs) which had been promised him. As the Sayad was not in a position to resist Kedárji's demands, and as he had no ready money to give him, he made over to him a third of the revenues of Surat until the amount should be paid. As before this another third of the revenues of Surat had been assigned to Háfiz Mas'ûd Khán, the deputy of Yákut Khán of Janjira, the emoluments of the governor of Surat were reduced to one-third of the entire revenue and this was divided between the Mutasaddi and Bakhshi.

In this year (A D 1747, S 1803) there was a severe shock of earthquake and a great famine which caused many deaths. In the following year Jawán Mard Khán endeavoured to recapture Jetalpur, but failed. About the same time Umábái died, and Dámáji's brother Khanderáv, who was on good terms with Ambika wife of Baburáv Senapati, the guardian of Umábái's son, procured his own appointment as deputy of his brother Dámáji in Gujarát. On being appointed deputy Khanderáv at once marched against Rangoji to recover Borsad, which, as above mentioned, Rangoji had taken from Haríba. Their forces were joined by two detachments, one from Momín Khán under the command of Ágha Muhammad Husain, the other from Jawán Mard Khán commanded by Janárdhan Pandit. The combined army besieged Borsad. After a five months' siege Borsad was taken, and Rangoji was imprisoned by Khanderáv. On the fall of Borsad Sher Khán Bábi and Rája Ráisingh of Ídar, who were allies of Rangoji, returned to Bálásinor and Íoai, Fakhr-ud-daulah was sent to Petlád and Fidá-ud-dín Khán, leaving Umreth, took shelter with Jetha, the chief of Atarsumba.

In this year the emperor Muhammad Sháh died and was succeeded by his son Ahmed Sháh (A D 1748-1754). Shortly after Ahmed's accession Mahárája Vakhatsingh, brother of Mahárája Abheysingh, was appointed fifty-ninth viceroy of Gujarát. When he learned what was the state of the province, he pleaded that his presence would be more useful in his own dominions, and never took up his appointment of viceroy. Vakhatsingh was the last viceroy of Gujarát nominated by the imperial court, for although by the aid of the Maráthás Fakhr-ud-daulah was of importance in the province, he had never been able

to establish himself as viceroy. In this year also occurred the death of Khushálchand Sheth, the chief merchant of Ahmedabad.

Khanderao Gaikwar appointed Raghavshankar his deputy at Ahmedabad, and Safdar Khan Babu issued from Ahmedabad with an army to levy tribute from the chiefs on the banks of the Sabarmati. When Fakhr-ud-daulah, the former viceroy, heard of the appointment of Maharaja Vaghatsingh, seeing no chance of any benefit from a longer stay in Gujarát, he retired to Delhi. In A.D. 1748 Asif Jah, Nizam-ul-Mulk, died at an advanced age, leaving six sons and a disputed succession.

About the same time Balajirao Peshwa, who was jealous of the power of the Gaikwar, sent a body of troops, and freed Rangoji from the hands of Khanderao Gaikwar. During these years adventurers, in different parts of the country, taking advantage of the decay of the central power, endeavoured to establish themselves in independence. Of these attempts the most formidable was the revolt of one of the Patan Kasbatis who established his power so firmly in Patan that Jawan Mard Khan found it necessary to proceed in person to reduce him. Shortly afterwards Jawan Mard Khan deemed it advisable to recall his brothers Safdar Khan and Zorawar Khan, who were then at Unja under Patan, and took them with him to Ahmedabad. Fida-ud-din Khan who had been residing at Atarsumba now asked permission to return to Ahmedabad, but as Jawan Mard Khan did not approve of this suggestion, Fida-ud-din departed to Broach and there took up his residence. Janardhan Pandit marched to Kara and the Bhil district to levy tribute, and Khanderao appointed Shevakram his deputy.

In the meantime at Surat, Sayad Achchan endeavoured to consolidate his rule, and with this view tried to expel Hafiz Masud Habshi, and prevent him again entering the city. But his plans failed, and he was obliged to make excuses for his conduct. Sayad Achchan then oppressed other influential persons, until eventually the Habshi and others joining, attacked him in the citadel. Except Mr Lamb, who considered himself bound by the deed signed in A.D. 1747 in favour of Sayad Achchan, all the merchants of Surat joined the assailants. Among the chief opponents of Sayad Achchan were the Dutch, who sending ships brought back Safdar Muhammad Khan from Thatta, and established him as governor of Surat. The English factory was next besieged, and, though a stout resistance was made, the guards were bribed, and the factory plundered. In A.D. 1750 Sayad Achchan, surrendering the citadel to the Habshi, withdrew first to Bombay and then to Poona, to Balajirao Peshwa. Shortly afterwards, in consequence of the censure passed upon him by the Bombay Government for his support of Sayad Achchan, Mr Lamb committed suicide. Wearied by these continual contests for power, the merchants of Surat asked Raja Raghunathdas, minister to the Nizam, to choose them a governor. Raja Raghunathdas accordingly nominated his own nephew, Raja Harprasad, to be governor, and the writer of the Muat-i-Ahmedi to be his deputy. But before Raja Harprasad could join his appointment at Surat, both he and his father were slain in battle.

Chapter III.

Mughal Viceroys

Ahmed Shah
Emperor,
1748 1754
MAHARAJA
VAGHATSINGH
fifty ninth
Viceroy,
1748

Disorder
spreads

SURAT AFFAIRS
A.D. 1750
Sayad Achchan
Unpopular

Safdar
Muhammad
brought back
by the Dutch

Sayad Achchan
Retires

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Ahmed Shah
Emperor,
1748-1754

Jawán Mard
Khán and
the Peshwa,
1750.

The Peshwa
and Gaikwár,
1751

Broach
Independent,
1752

In the same year, A.D. 1750, occurred the deaths of Rájá Ráisingh of Ídar, of Safdar Khán Bábi of Bálásinor, and of Fidá-ud-dín Khán, who had for some time been settled at Broach. Jawán Mard Khán, who, seeing that they were inclined to become permanent residents in Gujarát, was always opposed to the Gaikwár's power, now entered into negotiations with Bálájiráv Peshwa. He chose Patel Sukhdev to collect the Marátha revenue and asked the Peshwa to help him in expelling Dámáji's agents. The Peshwa, being now engaged in war in the Dakhan with Salábat Jang Bahádur, son of the late Nizám, was unable to send Jawán Mard Khán any assistance. Towards the close of the year Jawán Mard Khán started from Ahmedábád to collect tribute from the Sábarmati chiefs. Returning early in A.D. 1751, at the request of Jetha Patel a subordinate of Bhávsingh Desái, he proceeded to Banod or Vanod under Víramgám and reduced the village. Alí Muhammad Khán, the author of the *Mirát-i-Ahmedi*, who about this time was raised in rank with the title of Bahádur, states that owing to the Marátha inroads most of the districts had passed entirely into their possession; in others according to agreements with Jawán Mard Khán they held a half share. Consequently in spite of new taxes, the entire remaining income of the province was only four *lálhs* of rupees, and it was impossible to maintain the military posts or control the rebellious Kóhs.

It was in this year (A.D. 1751) that the Peshwa, decoying Dámáji into his power, imprisoned him and forced him to surrender half of his rights and conquests in Gujarát. Taking advantage of the absence of the Gaikwár and his army in the Dakhan, Jawán Mard Khán marched into Sorath. He first visited Gogha and then levying tribute in Gohilvada advanced into Káthiávada and marched against Navánagar, and, after collecting a contribution from the Jám, returned to Ahmedábád. In the following year (A.D. 1752), as soon as the news reached Gujarát that the Maráthás' share in the province had been divided between the Peshwa and Gaikwár, Momín Khán, who was always quarrelling with the Gaikwár's agent, sending Varajlál his steward to Bálájiráv Peshwa begged him to include Cambay in his share and send his agent in place of the Gaikwár's agent. Bálájiráv agreed, and from that time an agent of the Peshwa was established at Cambay. In the same year Raghunáthráv, brother of the Peshwa, entering Gujarát took possession of the Rewa and Mahi Kantha districts and marched on Surat. Shujá Dhangar was appointed in Shevakráv's place as Dámáji's deputy, and Krishnáji came to collect the Peshwa's share.

Up to this time the city of Broach had remained part of the Nizám's personal estate, managed by Abdúllah Beg, whom, with the title of Nek Alam Khán, Asif Jáh the late Nizám-ul-Mulk had chosen his deputy. On the death of Abdúllah Beg in A.D. 1752 the emperor appointed his son to succeed him with the same title as his father, while he gave to another son, named Mughal Beg, the title of Khertalab Khán. During the contests for succession that followed upon the death of the Nizám in A.D. 1752, no attempt was made to enforce the Nizám's claims on the lands of Broach; and for the future, except for the share of the revenue paid to the Maráthás, the governors of Broach were practically independent.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.Ahmed Shah
Emperor,
1748-1754.Return of Jawán
Mard Khán.He enters
Ahmedábád.Gallant Defence
of the City.

lake. Next day Raghunáthráv moved his camp to near the tomb of Hazrat Sháh Bhikan,¹ on the bank of the Sárbarmati to the south-west of the city. Raghunáthráv now proceeded to invest the city, distributing his thirty to forty thousand horse into three divisions. The operations against the north of the city were entrusted to Dámáji Gúkwár, those on the east to Gopál Hari; while the troops on the south and west were under the personal command of Raghunáthráv and his officers.

After leaving Sirohi Jawán Mard Khán had gone westwards to Tharád and Váv, so that the first messengers failed to find him. One of the later messengers, Mándan by name, who had not left Ahmedábád until the arrival of Raghunáthráv at the Kánkauya lake, made his way to Váv and Tharád, and told Jawán Mard Khán what had happened. Jawán Mard Khán set out by forced marches for Rádhaupur, and leaving his family and the bulk of his army at Pátan, he pushed on with 200 picked horsemen to Kadí and from that to Ahmedábád, contriving to enter the city by night. The presence of Jawán Mard Khán raised the spirits of the besieged, and the defence was conducted with ardour. In spite of their watchfulness, a party of about 700 Maráthas under cover of night succeeded in scaling the walls and entering the city. Ere they could do any mischief they were discovered and driven out of the town with much slaughter. The bulk of the besieging army, which had advanced in hopes that this party would succeed in opening one of the city gates, were forced to retire disappointed. Raghunáthráv now made proposals for peace, but Jawán Mard Khán did not think it consistent with his honour to accept them. On his refusal, the Marátha general redoubled his efforts and sprung several mines, but owing to the thickness of the city walls no practicable breach was effected. Jawán Mard Khán now expelled the Marátha deputies, and continuing to defend the city with much gallantry contrived at night to introduce into the town by detachments a great portion of his army from Pátan. At length, embarrassed by want of provisions and the clamour of his troops for pay, he extorted £5000 (Rs. 50,000) from the official classes. As Jawán Mard was known to have an ample supply of money of his own this untimely meanness caused great discontent. The official classes who were the

¹ Of the death at the age of nine years of this son of Saint Sháh i Alam the Mirát i-Ahmedi (Printed Persian Text, II. 26) gives the following details. Malik Seif ud-din, the daughter's son of Sultan Ahmed I., had a son who he believed was born to him by the prayer of Saint Sháh i Alam. This boy who was about nine years old died. Malik Seif ud-din ran to Sháh i Alam, who used then to live at Asáwal, two or three miles east of Ahmedábád, and in a transport of grief and rage said to the Saint 'Is this the way you deceive people? Surely you obtained me the gift of that boy to live and not to die? This I suppose is how you will keep your promise of mediating for our sinful souls before Allah also?' The Saint could give no reply and retired to his inner apartments. The stricken father went to the Saint's son Sháh Bhikan, who, going in to his father, entreated him to restore the Malik's boy to life. The Saint asked his son 'Are you prepared to die for the boy?' Sháh Bhikan said 'I am ready.' The Saint, going into an inner room, spread his skirts before Allah crying 'Rájauji,' a pet name by which the Saint used to address Allah, meaning Dear King or Lord, 'Rájauji, here is a goat for a goat, take thou this one and return the other.' Lamentations in the Saint's harem showed that half of the prayer was granted and the Malik on returning to his house found the other half fulfilled.

repository of all real power murmured against his rule and openly advocated the surrender of the city, and Jawán Mard Khán, much against his will, was forced to enter into negotiations with Raghunáthráv.

Raghunáthráv was so little hopeful of taking Ahmedábád that he had determined, should the siege last a month longer, to depart on condition of receiving the one-fourth share of the revenue and a safe conduct. Had Jawán Mard Khán only disbursed his own money to pay the troops, and encouraged instead of disheartening the official class he need never have lost the city. At last to Raghunáthráv's relief Jawán Mard Khán was reduced to treat for peace through Vithal Sukhdev. It was arranged that the Maráthas should give Jawán Mard Khán the sum of £10,000 (Rs 1 lakh) to pay his troops, besides presenting him with an elephant and other articles of value. It was at the same time agreed that the garrison should leave the city with all the honours of war. And that, for himself and his brothers, Jawán Mard Khán should receive, free from any Marátha claim, the districts of Pátan, Vidnagar, Sum, Munjpur, Valsadgar, Tharad, Kherda, and Rádhampur with Torvad and Bijápur. It was further agreed that one of Jawán Mard Khán's brothers should always serve the Maráthas with 300 horse and 500 foot, the expenses of the force being paid by the Maráthas. It was also stipulated that neither the Peshwá's army nor his deputy's, nor that of any commander should enter Jawán Mard Khán's territory, and that in Ahmedábád no Marátha official should put up at any of the Khán Bahádúr's mansions, new or old, or at any of those belonging to his brothers followers or servants. Finally that the estates of other members of the family, namely Kauri, Kasba Mátar and Bánsa Mahudra, which belonged to Muhammad Khán, Khán Daurán, and Abud Khán were not to be meddled with, nor were encroachments to be allowed on the lands of Káyam Kúli Khán or of Zoráwar Khán. This agreement was signed and sealed by Raghunáthráv, with Dámaji Gáikwár (half sharer), Malhárátrav Holkar, Jye Aji Sindhua, Rámchandar Vithal Sukhdev, Sakharám Bhagwant, and Mádlharátrav Gopálrav as securities. The treaty was then delivered to Jawán Mard Khán, and he and his garrison, marching out with the honours of war, the Maráthas took possession of Ahmedábád on April 2nd, 1753.

On leaving Ahmedábád Jawán Mard Khán retired to Pátan. At Ahmedábád Raghunáthráv with Dámaji arranged for the government of the city, appointing Shripatrav his deputy. He then marched into Jháláváda to levy tribute from the Lambdi and Wadhván chiefs, and was so far successful that Harbhamji of Lambdi agreed to pay an annual tribute of £4000 (Rs 40,000). As the rainy season was drawing near Raghunáthráv returned to Dholka, while Patel Vithal Sukhdev forced Muhammad Bahádúr, the governor of Pálanpur, to consent to a payment of £11,500 (Rs 1,15,000). From Dholka Raghunáthráv went to Tárápur, about twelve miles north of Cambay, and compelled Momín Khán to submit to an annual payment of £1000 (Rs 10,000). At the same time Ali Muhammad Khán Bahádúr, the author of the Mirát-i-Ahmedí, was appointed collector of customs, and his former grants were confirmed and he was allowed to retain

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Mughal
Viceroys

Ahmed Sháh
Imperator,
1748-1754.

Jawán Mard
Khán
Barrandera.

The Maráthas
take
Possession,
1753.

Collect Tribute.

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Mughal
ViceroysAhmed Shah
Emperor,
1748-1754
Mughal Conquest
Ceases,Failure of an
Attempt on
Cambay,
1753

The Kohis,

Maráthás
Attack
Cambay,
1754

his villages of Sayadpur and Kújádh close to Ahmedábád, as well as the village of Pánmûl in Bijapur Dámáji Gaikvár, after levying tribute in the Vátrak Kántha, went to Kapadvanj, which he took from Sher Khán Bábi. From Kapadvanj he passed to Nadiád and appointed Shevakáí to collect his half share of the revenue of Gujarát. In the Ahmedabad mint, coin ceased to be struck in the emperor's name and the suburbs of the city which had been deserted during the siege were not again inhabited. The Kohis commenced a system of depredation, and their outrages were so daring that women and children were sometimes carried off and sold as slaves. After the rains were over (A.D. 1754) Shetuji, commander of the Ahmedábád garrison, and Shankarji, governor of Víramgám, were sent to collect tribute from Sorath. Though the imperial power was sunk so low, the emperor was allowed to confer the post of Kázi of the city on Kázi Rúkn-ul-Hak Khán who arrived at Ahmedábád and assumed office. At the close of the year Shripatráv, who was anxious to acquire Cambay, marched against Momín Khan. After two doubtful battles in which the Maráthás gained no advantage, it was agreed that Momín Khan should pay a sum of £700 (Rs 7000); and Shripatráv departed from Ahmedábád early in A.D. 1754. When the Kohis heard of the ill success of the Maráthás at Cambay, they revolted and Rághoshankar was sent to subdue them. In an engagement near Luhára in Bahyal in His Highness the Gaikvár's territory about eighteen miles east of Ahmedábád, Rághoshankar scattered the Kohis, but they again collected and forced the Maráthás to retire. At this time Shetuji and Shankarji returned from Sorath, where they had performed the pilgrimage to Dwárka. Shetuji was sent to the Bhíl district against the Kohis. He was unsuccessful, and was so ashamed of his failure that he returned to the Dakhan and Dandu Dátátri was appointed in his place.

In this year died Nek Álam Khán II governor of Broach. He was succeeded by his brother Khertalab Khán who expelled his nephew Hámid Beg, son of Nek Álam Khán. Hámid Beg took refuge in Surat. At Bálásinor a dispute arose between Sher Khán Bábi and a body of Arab mercenaries who took possession of a hill, but in the end came to terms. With the Peshwa's permission his deputy Bhagvantrav marched on Cambay. But Varajlál, Momín Khan's steward, who was then at Poona, sent word to his master, who prepared himself against any emergency. When Bhagvantráv arrived at Cambay he showed no hostile intentions and was well received by Momín Khán. Subsequently a letter from Bhagvantráv to Sálím Jamádár at Ahmedábád ordering him to march against Cambay fell into Momín Khán's hands. He at once surrounded Bhagvantráv's house and made him prisoner. When the Peshwa heard that Bhagvantrav had been captured, he ordered Ganesh Ápa, governor of Jambusar, as well as the governors of Víramgám, Dhandhuka, and other places to march at once upon Cambay. They went and besieged the town for three months, but without success. Eventually Shripatráv, the Peshwa's deputy, sent the author of the *Muât-i-Ahmedí* to negotiate, and it was agreed that Bhagvantráv should be released and that no alteration should be made in the position of Momín Khán. Shortly afterwards Shripatráv was recalled by the Peshwa and his place supplied by an

officer of the name of Rágho About this time Kheitalab Khán, governor of Broach, died, and quarrels arose regarding the succession. Ultimately Hamud Beg, nephew of Kheitalab Khán, obtained the post, and he afterwards received an imperial order confirming him as governor, and bestowing on him the title of Neknám Khán Bahádúr

At Dehli, during A D 1751, the emperor Ahmed Sháh was depósed, and Ázíz-ud-dín, son of Jahandár Sháh, was raised to the throne with the title of Alamgir II After his release Bhagvantráv established himself in the Cambay fort of Nápád and not long after began to attack Momín Khán's villages After several doubtful engagements peace was concluded on Momín Khán paying £1000 (Rs 10,000) on account of the usual share of the Maithás which he had withheld This arrangement was made through the mediation of Tukáji, the steward of Sadashiv Dámodar, who had come to Gujarát with an army and orders to help Bhagvantráv As Momín Khan had no ready money Tukáji offered himself as security and Bhagvantráv and Tukáji withdrew to the Dakhan Momín Khán's soldiery now clamoured for pay As he was not in a position to meet their demands he sent a body of men against some villages to the west belonging to Limbdi and plundered them, dividing the booty among his troops In the following year, A D 1755, Momín Khan went to Gogha, a port which, though at one time subordinate to Cambay, had fallen into the hands of Sher Khan Bábi, and was now in the possession of the Peshwa's officers Gogha fell and leaving a garrison of 100 Arabs under Ibráhím Kúli Khán, Momín Khan returned to Cambay, levying tribute He then sent the bulk of his army under the command of Muhammad Zaman Khán, son of Fida-ud-dín Khán, and Varajál his own steward, to plunder and collect money in Gohilváda and Káthiáwáda Here they remained until their arrears were paid off, and then returned to Cambay After this Momín Khán plundered several Petlád villages and finally, in concert with the Kolis of Dhowan, attacked Jambusar and carried off much booty Momín Khán next marched against Borsad, and was on the point of taking the fort when Sayáji, son of Dámáji Gáikwár, who lived at Baroda, hearing of Momín Khán's success, came rapidly with a small body of men to the relief of the fort and surprised the besiegers The Muhammadan troops soon recovered from the effects of the surprise, and Sayáji fearing to engage them with so small a force retired On Sayáji's departure Momín Khán raised the siege of Borsad and returned to Cambay

In the year A D 1756 the rains were very heavy, and the walls of Ahmedábád fell in many places Momín Khán, hearing of this as well as of the discontent of the inhabitants, resolved to capture the city He sent spies to ascertain the strength of the garrison and set about making allies of the chief men in the province and enlisting troops About this time Rághoji, the Maitha deputy, was assassinated by a Rohilla As soon as Momín Khán heard of Rághoji's death he sent his nephew, Muhammad Zamán Khán, with some men in advance, and afterwards himself at the close of the year, A D 1756, marched from Cambay and camped on the Vátrak From this camp they moved to Kunia, and from Kunia to Ahmedábád. After one or two fights in

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Alamgir II
Emperor,
1754 1759.

Contest with
Momín Khán
Renewed, .
1754.

Momín Khán
takes Gogha,
1755

Momín Khán
recovers
Ahmedábád,
17th Oct 1756.

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Mughal
ViceroysAlamgir II.
Emperor,
1754-1759Jawán Mard
Khán allies
himself with
the Maráthás.

the suburbs the Muhammadans, finding their way through the breaches in the walls, opened the gates and entered the town. The Kolis commenced plundering, and a hand-to-hand fight ensued, in which the Maráthás were worsted and were eventually expelled from the city. The Kolis attempted to plunder the Dutch factory, but met with a spirited resistance, and when Shambhúrám, a Nágár Bráhmaṇ, one of Momín Khán's chief supporters, heard it he ordered the Kolis to cease attacking the factory and consoled the Dutch.

In the meantime Jawán Mard Khán, who had been invited by the Maráthás to their assistance, set out from Pátan, and when he arrived at Pethápúr and Mánsa he heard of the capture of Ahmedábád. On reaching Kalol he was joined by Harbhamráṁ, governor of Kadi. They resolved to send Zoráwar Khán Bábi to recall Sadáshiv Dámodar, and to await his arrival at Viramgám. Shevakráṁ, the Gaikwár's deputy, had taken refuge at Dholka. Momín Khán himself now advanced, and entering Ahmedábád on the 17th October 1756, appointed Shambhúrám his deputy. Sadáshiv Dámodar now joined Jawán Mard Khán at Viramgám, and at Jawán Mard Khán's advice it was resolved, before taking further steps, to write to the Peshwa for aid. Jawán Mard Khán, although he held large service estates, charged the Maráthás £150 (Rs 1500) a day for his troops. Jawán Mard Khán and the Maráthás then advanced to Sánand and Jitalpur, and thence marched towards Cambay. On their way they were met, and, after several combats, defeated by a detachment of Momín Khán's army. Momín Khán sent troops to overrun Kadi, but Harbhamráṁ, the governor of Kadi, defeated the force, and captured their guns. When the emperor heard of the capture of Gogha, he sent a sword as a present to Momín Khán, and when the news of the capture of Ahmedábád reached Ágra, Momín Khán received many compliments. Bálájirav Peshwa on the other hand was greatly enraged at these reverses. He at once sent off Sadáshiv Rámchandra to Gujarát as his deputy, and Dámáji and Khanderáv Gaikwár also accompanied him with their forces. Momín Khán refusing to give up Ahmedábád, prepared for defence. Sadáshiv Rámchandra, Dámáji and Khanderáv Gaikwár advanced, and, crossing the Mahi, reached Kaira. Here they were met by Jawán Mard Khán and the rest of the Maráthá forces in Gujarát, and the combined army advancing against the capital camped by the Kánkanya lake.

Maráthás Invest
Ahmedábád,
1756

The Maráthás now regularly invested the city, but Momín Khán, aided by Shambhúrám, made a vigorous defence. Up to this time Jawán Mard Khán was receiving £150 (Rs 1500) daily for the pay of his own and his brother's troops. Sadáshiv Rámchandra, considering the number of the troops too small for so large a payment, reduced the amount and retained the men in his own service. After a month's siege, Momín Khán's troops began to clamour for pay, but Shambhúrám, by collecting the sum of £10,000 (Rs 1 *lák*h) from the inhabitants of the town managed for the time to appease their demands. When they again became urgent for pay, Shambhúrám diverted their thoughts by a general sally from all the gates at night. On this occasion many men were slain on both sides, and many of the inhabitants deserted the town. The copper vessels of such of the townspeople as had fled

were melted and coined into money and given to the soldiery. In this state of affairs an order arrived from the imperial court bestowing on Momín Khán a dress of honour and the title of Bahádur. Although the imperial power had for years been merely a name Momín Khán asked and obtained permission from the besiegers to leave the city and meet the bearers of the order. The Maráthás redoubled their efforts. Still though the besiegers were successful in intercepting supplies of grain the garrison fought gallantly in defence of the town.

At this juncture, in A D 1757, Rája Shivsingh of Ídar, son of the late Anandsingh, who was friendly to Momín Khán, sent Sajánsingh Hazári with a force to assist the besieged. On their way to Ahmedábád, Harbhaurám with a body of Maráthás attacked this detachment, while Momín Khán sent to their aid Muhammad Láí Rohilla and others, and a doubtful battle was fought. Shortly afterwards Sadáshiv Rámchandar made an attempt on the fort of Kálíkot. The fort was successfully defended by Jamadár Núr Muhammad, and the Maráthás were repulsed. The Maráthás endeavoured in vain to persuade Shambhúram to desert Momín Khán, and though the garrison were often endangered by the faithlessness of the Kolis and other causes, they remained staunch. Momín Khán, though frequently in difficulties owing to want of funds to pay his soldiery, continued to defend the town. The Maráthás next tried to seduce some of Momín Khán's officers, but in this they also failed, and in a sally Shambhúram attacked the camp of Sadáshiv Rámchandar, and burning his tents all but captured the chief himself.

When the siege was at this stage, Hassan Kúli Khán Bahádur, viceroy of Oudh, relinquishing worldly affairs and dividing his property among his nephews, set out to perform a pilgrimage to Makkah. Before he started Shuja-úd-daulah, the Nawáb of Lucknow, requested him on his way to visit Bárájuáv, and endeavour to come to some settlement of Ahmedábád affairs. Accordingly, adopting the name of Shah Núí, and assuming the dress of an ascetic, Hassan Kúli made his way to Poona, and appearing before the Peshwa offered to make peace at Ahmedábád. Sháh Núí with much difficulty persuaded the Peshwa to allow Momín Khán to retain Cambay and Gogha without any Maráthá share, and to grant him a *lakh* of rupees for the payment of his troops, on condition that he should surrender Ahmedábád. He obtained letters from the Peshwa addressed to Sadáshiv Rámchandra to this effect, and set out with them for Ahmedábád. When he arrived Sadáshiv Rámchandra was unwilling to accede to the terms, as the Ahmedábád garrison were reduced to great straits. Sháh Núí persuaded him at last to agree, provided Momín Khán would surrender without delay. Accordingly Sháh Núí entered the city and endeavoured to persuade Momín Khán. Momín Khán demanded in addition a few Petlád villages, and to this the Maráthás refused their consent. Sháh Núí left in disgust. Before many days Momín Khán was forced to make overtures for peace. After discussions with Dámáji Gáikwár, it was agreed that Momín Khán should surrender the city, receive £10,000 (Rs 1 *lakh*) to pay his soldiery, and be allowed to retain Cambay as heretofore, that is to say that the Peshwa should, as

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ViceroysAjamgír II.
Emperor,
1754-1759.Ráj of Ídar
helps Momín
Khán,
1757.Successful
Sally under
Shambhúram.Negotiations
for Peace.

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Mughal
ViceroysAlamgir II
Emperor,
1754-1759.Marátha
Arrangements
in Ahmedabad.

New Coins

Momín Khán
at Cambay.Expedition from
Kachh against
Sindh,
1753

formerly enjoy half the revenues. In addition to this Momín Khán had to promise to pay the Maráthás a yearly tribute of £1000 (Rs 10000) and to give up all claims on the town of Gogha and hand over Shambhurám to the Maráthás. It was also arranged that the £3500 (Rs 35000) worth of *ashrafs* which he had taken through Jamadár Sáhm should be deducted from the £10,000 (Rs 1 lakk). Momín Khán surrendered the town on February 27th, 1758.

Sadāshiv Rāmchandar and Damāji Gaikwār entered the city and undertook its management on behalf of the Maráthás. Of the other chiefs who were engaged in prosecuting the siege Sadāshiv Damodar returned to the Dakhan and Javan Mard Khan receiving some presents from Sadāshiv Rāmchandar departed for Pātan after having had a meeting with Damāji Gaikwār at a village a few miles from the capital. Shambhurám, the Nāgar Brahman, who had so zealously supported Momín Khán when he saw that further assistance was useless tried to escape, but was taken prisoner and sent in chains to Baroda. Sadāshiv Rāmchandar on taking charge of the city had interviews with the principal officials, among whom was the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmedi*, and, receiving them graciously, confirmed most of them in their offices. Then, after choosing Nāro Pandit, brother of Pandurang Pandit, to be his deputy in Ahmedabad, he started on an expedition to collect tribute in Jónálavāda and Sorath. On receiving the government of the city the Marátha generals ordered new coin bearing the mark of an elephant's head to be struck in the Ahmedabad mint. Sayājirāv Gaikwār remained in Ahmedabad on behalf of his father Damāji, and shortly afterwards went towards Kapadvanj to collect tribute. Thence at his father's request he proceeded to Sorath to arrange for the payment of the Gaikwār's share of the revenues of that district. On his return to Cambay Momín Khán was much harassed by his troops for arrears of pay. The timely arrival of his steward Varaj'al with the Peshwa's contribution of £10,000 (Rs 1 lakk) enabled him to satisfy their demands.

Momín Khán now began to oppress and extort money from his own followers, and is said to have instigated the murder of his steward Varaj'al. Sadāshiv Rāmchandar went from Porbandar to Jónágadh, where he was joined by Sayājirāv Gaikwār. At Jónágadh Sher Khán Bábi presented Sadāshiv Rāmchandra and Sayājirāv with horses and they spoke of the necessity of admitting a Marátha deputy into Jónágadh. Nothing was settled as the Maráthás were forced to return to Ahmedabad. In accordance with orders from the Peshwa Shambhurám and his sons, who were still in confinement, were sent to Poona. Damāji Gaikwār was also summoned to Poona, but he did not go. In this year Ráo Lakhpát of Kachh presented Kachh horses and Gujarát bullocks to the emperor, and in return received the title of Mírza Rájá.

About this time the Ráo of Kachh, who planned an expedition against Sindh, solicited aid both from Damāji Gaikwār and Sadāshiv Rāmchandar to enable him to conquer Thatta, and as he agreed to pay expenses, Sadāshiv sent Ranchordás, and Damāji sent Sherarám to help him. In this year also Neknam Khán, governor of Brach, received the title of Bahádur and other honours. In 1758, Sadāshiv Rāmchandar advanced to Kaira and after settling accounts

with Dámáji's agent proceeded against Cambay. Momín Khán, who was about to visit the Peshwa at Poona, remained to defend the town, but was forced to pay arrears of tribute amounting to £2000 (Rs 20,000). In this year Sher Khán Bábi died at Júnágadh, and the nobles of his court seated his son Muhammad Mahábat Khán in his place

Shortly after at the invitation of the Peshwa, Dámáji Gáikwár went to Poona, and sent his son Sayájiráv into Sorath. After his success at Cambay Sadáshiv Rámchandra levied tribute from the chiefs of Umeta, and then returned. On his way back, on account of the opposition caused by Sardár Muhammad Khán son of Sher Khán Bábi, the chief of Bálásinor, Sadáshiv Rámchandar besieged Bálásinor and forced the chief to pay £3000 (Rs 30,000). Next marching against Lunáváda, he compelled the chief Dípsingh to pay £5000 (Rs 50,000). Sadáshiv then went to Visalnagar and so to Pálanpur, where Muhammad Khán Bahádúr Jhálóri resisted him, but after a month's siege he agreed to pay a tribute of £3500 (Rs 35,000). Passing south from Pálanpur, Sadáshiv went to Únja-Unáva, and from that to Katosan where he levied £1000 (Rs 10,000) from the chief Shuja, and then proceeded to Límdbi.

During A D 1758 important changes took place in Surat. In the early part of the year Sayad Muín-ud-dín, otherwise called Sayad Achchan, visited the Peshwa at Poona, and received from him the appointment of governor of Surat. Sayad Achchan then set out for his charge, and as he was aided by a body of Marátha troops under the command of Muzaffar Khán Gárdi and had also secured the support of Nekkám Khán, the governor of Broach, he succeeded after some resistance in expelling Ah Nawáz Khán, son of the late Safdar Muhammad Khán, and establishing himself in the government. During the recent troubles, the English factory had been plundered and two of their clerks murdered by Ahmed Khán Habshi, commandant of the fort. The English therefore determined to drive out the Habshi and themselves assume the government of the castle. With this object men-of-war were despatched from Bombay to the help of Mr Spencer, the chief of the English factory, and the castle was taken in March A D 1759, and Mr Spencer appointed governor. The Peshwa appears to have consented to this conquest. The Marátha troops aided and made a demonstration without the city, and a Marátha man-of-war which had been stationed at Bassein, came to assist the English. A Mr Glass appears to have been appointed *kiledár* under Governor Spencer.

Shortly afterwards Momín Khán, by the advice of Sayad Husain, an agent of the Peshwa, contracted friendship with the English through Mr Erskine, the chief of the English factory at Cambay. Momín Khán then asked Mr Erskine to obtain permission for him to go to Poona by Bombay. Leave being granted, Momín Khán set out for Surat, and was there received by Mr Spencer. From Surat he sailed for Bombay, where the governor, Mr Bouchier, treating him with much courtesy, informed the Peshwa of his arrival. The Peshwa sending permission for his further advance to Poona, Momín Khán took leave of Mr Bouchier and proceeded to Poona.

Chapter III

Mughal
Viceroy

Alamgir II
Emperor,
1754-1759

The Maráthas
levy Tribute.

SURAT AFFAIRS,
1758

The English
take command
of Surat,
1759

Momín Khán
Visits Poona,
1759

APPENDIX I.

The Death of Sulta'n Baha'dur, A.D. 1526-1536¹

COLONEL BRIGGS (Mahammadan Power in India, IV 132) gives the following summary of the events which led to the fatal meeting of Sulta'n Bahádur and the Portuguese viceroy Nono da Cunha in the beginning of 1536-37

When in 1529 Nono daCunha came as viceroy to India he held instructions to make himself master of the island of Diu. In the following year a great expedition, consisting of 100 vessels and 15,600 men, met in Bombay and sailed to the Kathiáwáda coast. After vigorous assaults it was repulsed off Diu on the 17th February 1531. From that day the Portuguese made ceaseless efforts to obtain a footing on the island of Diu. In 1531 besides harrying the sea trade of Gujarát the Portuguese sacked the towns of Tárípur, Balsar, and Surat, and, to give colour to their pretensions, received under their protection Chánd Khan an illegitimate brother of Bahádur. In 1532, under James de Silveira, the Portuguese burned the south Káthiáwáda ports of Pattan-Somnáth, Mangrul, Talája, and Muzaffarábád, killing many of the people and carrying off 4000 as slaves. Shortly after the Portuguese took and destroyed Bassein in Thána obtaining 400 cannon and much ammunition. They also burned Daman, Thána, and Bombay. "All this" says the Portuguese historian "they did to straiten Diu and to oblige the king of Gujarat to consent to their raising a fort on the island of Diu." When Bahádur was engaged with the Mughals (A.D. 1532-1534) the Portuguese Governor General deputed an embassy to wait on Humáyún to endeavour to obtain from him the cession of Diu, hoping by this action to work indirectly on the fears of Bahádur. At last in 1534 Bahádur consented to a peace by which he agreed to cede the town of Bassein to Portugal; not to construct ships of war in his ports, and not to combine with Turkish fleets against Portugal.

Permission was also given to the Portuguese to build in Diu. In consideration of these terms the Portuguese agreed to furnish Bahádur with 500 Europeans of whom fifty were men of note. According to the Portuguese historian it was solely because of this Portuguese help that Bahádur succeeded in driving the Mughals out of Gujarát. Bahádur's cession of land in Diu to the Portuguese was for the purpose of building a mercantile factory. From the moment Bahádur discovered they had raised formidable fortifications, especially when by the withdrawal of the Mughals he no longer had any motive for keeping on terms with them, he resolved to wrest the fort out of the hands of the Portuguese. On the plea of separating the natives from the Europeans, Bahádur instructed his governor of Diu to build a wall with a rampart capable of being mounted with guns. But as this created much dispute and ill-will the rampart was given up. Bahádur next attempted to seize Emanuel de Souza the captain of Diu fort. With this object he invited DeSouza to his camp. DeSouza was warned but determined to accept Bahádur's invitation. He went attended by only one servant, an act of courage which

Appendix I.

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OF SULTÁN
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¹ See above page 256. The Portuguese details have been obtained through the kindness of Dr. Gerson DaCunha.

Appendix I
 THE DEATH
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 BAHÁDUR,
 A.D. 1526 - 1536.

Bahádur so greatly admired that he treated him with honour and allowed him to return in safety. Bahádur next schemed to secure DeSouza in the fort by surprise. With this end he began to pay the Portuguese officers visits at all hours. But DeSouza was always on his guard and Bahádur's surprise visits failed to give him an opportunity. In 1536 DeSouza wrote to the viceroy complaining of the bad feeling of the Gujarat Moors towards the Portuguese in Diu and of the efforts of the king to drive them out of the fort. In consequence of DeSouza's letter Nono da Cunha the viceroy arrived at Diu early in 1536-7. Bahádur went to visit the viceroy on board the viceroy's ship. On his return he was attacked and leaping into the water was killed by a blow on the head and sank.

Of the unplanned and confused circumstances in which the brave Bahádur met his death four Musalman and four Portuguese versions remain. The author of the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* (Persian Text 280-281) states that the Portuguese, who offered their help to Bahádur in the days of his defeat by the emperor Humáyún, obtained from him the grant of land at Diu, and on this land built a fort. After the re-establishment of his power the Sultán, who had no longer any need of their help, kept constantly planning some means of ousting the Portuguese from Diu. With this object Bahádur came to Diu and opened negotiations with the Portuguese viceroy, hoping in the end to get the viceroy into his power. The viceroy knowing that Bahádur regretted the concessions he had made to them was too wary to place himself in Bahádur's hands. To inspire confidence Bahádur, with five or six of his nobles all unarmed, paid the viceroy a visit on board his ship. Suspecting foul play from the behaviour of the Portuguese the king rose to retire, but the Portuguese pressed upon him on all sides. He had nearly reached his boat when one of the Portuguese struck him a blow with a sword, killed him, and threw his body overboard.

The same author gives a second version which he says is more generally received and is probably more accurate. According to this account the Portuguese had come to know that Bahádur had invited the Sultans of the Dakhan to co-operate with him in driving the Portuguese from the Gujarat, Konkan, and Dakhan ports. That the Portuguese viceroy had come with 150 ships and had anchored at Diu off the cham bastion. That Sultan Bahádur not suspecting that the Portuguese were aware of his insincerity went in a barge to see the fleet, and when he got in the midst of their ships the Portuguese surrounded his barge and killed him with lances.

According to Farishtah (II 442, 443, Pers Text) on the invasion of Gujarat by the emperor Humáyún, Sultan Bahádur had asked help of the Portuguese. When his power was re-established, Bahádur, hearing of the arrival of between five and six thousand Portuguese at Diu feared they would take possession of that port. He therefore hastened to Diu from Júnágadh. The Portuguese who were aware that Humáyún had withdrawn and that Bahádur had re-established his power, preferred to attempt to gain Diu by stratagem rather than by force. Bahádur asked the viceroy to visit him. The viceroy feigned sickness and Bahádur with the object of proving his goodwill offered to visit the viceroy on board his ship. On leaving the viceroy's ship to enter his own barge the Portuguese suddenly moved their vessel and Bahádur fell overboard. While in the water a Portuguese struck the king with a lance and killed him.

Abul Fazl's account A D 1590 (Akbar-námah in Elliot, VI 18) seems more natural and in better keeping with Bahádur's impetuous vigour and bravery than either the Gujarát or Farishtah's narratives. The Portuguese chief was apprehensive that as the Sultan was no longer in want of assistance he meditated treachery. So he sent to inform the Sultán that he had come as requested, but that he was ill and unable to go on shore, so that the interview must be deferred till he got better. The Sultán, quitting the royal road of safety, embarked on the 12th February 1536 (3rd Ramazan H 943) with a small escort to visit the viceroy on board the viceroy's ship. As soon as Bahádur reached the vessel he found the viceroy's sickness was a pretence and regretted that he had come. He at once sought to return. But the Portuguese were unwilling that such a prey should escape them and hoped that by keeping him prisoner they might get more ports. The viceroy came forward and asked the Sultan to stay a little and examine some curiosities he had to present. The Sultán replied that the curiosities might be sent after him and turned quickly towards his own boat. A European *kázi* or priest placed himself in the Sultán's way and bade him stop. The Sultan, in exasperation, drew his sword and cleft the priest in twain. He then leaped into his own boat. The Portuguese vessels drew round the Sultan's boat and a fight began. The Sultán and Rúmi Khán threw themselves into the water. A friend among the Portuguese stretched a hand to Rúmi Khán and saved him. The Sultán was drowned in the waves.

Of the four Portuguese versions of Bahádur's death the first appears in Correa's (A D 1512 - 1550) *Lendas Da Asia*, A D 1497 to 1550, the second in DeBarros' (died A D 1570) *Decadas*, A D 1497 to 1539, the third in Do Couto's (died A D. 1600?) continuation of DeBarros, A D 1529 to 1600, and the fourth in Faria-e-Souza's (died A D 1650) *Portuguese Asia* A D 1640. A fifth reference to Bahádur's death will be found in Castaneda's *Historia* which extends to A D 1538.

As Correa was in India from A D 1512 till his death in Goa in A D. 1550, and as his narrative which was never published till A D 1856-64 has the highest reputation for accuracy of detail his version carries special weight. According to Correa (*Lendas Da Asia*, Vol III Chap XCV) during the monsoon of 1536, Nono da Cunha the viceroy received by land a letter from Manoel deSouza the captain of Diu fort, telling him of the discontent of the Gujarát Moors with king Bahádur for allowing the Portuguese to build a fort at Diu. In consequence of this information early in the fair season Nono da Cunha sailed from Goa in his own galleon accompanied by about ten small vessels *fustas* and *laturs* under the command of Antonio de Sylveira. Nono reached Diu about the end of December. King Bahádur was glad that the viceroy should come to Diu almost alone since it seemed to show he was not aware of Bahádur's designs against the Portuguese. When Bahádur arrived at Diu he sent a message to the viceroy inviting him to come ashore to meet him as he had important business to transact. The king's messenger found the viceroy ill in bed, and brought back a message that the viceroy would come ashore to meet the king in the evening. Immediately after the king's messenger left, Manoel deSouza, the captain of Diu fort, came on board to see the viceroy. The viceroy told Manoel to go and thank the king and to return his visit. The king expressed his grief at the viceroy's illness and proposed to start at once to see him. He went to his barge and rowed straight to the viceroy's

Appendix I.

THE DEATH
OF SULTÁN
BAHÁDUR,
A D. 1526 - 1536.

Appendix I.

THE DEATH
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galleon The king had with him, besides the interpreter St Jago, seven men and two pages one carrying a sword and the other a bow. The captain of the fort and some other officers in their own barges followed the king Bahádur, who was the first to arrive, came so speedily that the viceroy had hardly time to make preparations to receive him. He put on heavy clothes to show he was suffering from ague and ordered all the officers to be well armed. When Bahádur came on board he saw the men busy with their weapons but showed no signs that he suspected foul play. He went straight to the viceroy's cabin. The viceroy tried to get up but Bahádur prevented him, asked how he was, and returned at once to the deck. As Bahádur stood on the deck the captain of the fort boarded the galleon, and, as he passed to the cabin to see the viceroy, Bahádur laughingly upbraided him with being behind time. Then without taking leave of the viceroy Bahádur went to his barge. When the viceroy learned that the king had left he told the captain to follow the king and to take him to the fort and keep him there till the viceroy saw him. The captain rowed after the king who was already well ahead. He called to the king asking him to wait. The king waited. When the captain came close to the king's barge he asked the king to come into his vessel. But the interpreter without referring to the king replied that the captain should come into the king's barge. DeSouza ordered his boat alongside. His barge struck the king's barge and DeSouza who was standing on the poop tripped and fell into the water. The rowers of the royal barge picked him out and placed him near the king who laughed at his wet clothes. Other Portuguese barges whose officers thought the Moors were fighting with the captain began to gather. The first to arrive was Antonio Cardoza. When Cardoza came up the interpreter told the king to make for land with all speed as the Portuguese seemed to be coming to seize and kill him. The king gave the order to make for the shore. He also told the page to shoot the hollow arrow whose whistling noise was a danger signal. When the Moors in the king's barge heard the whistle they attacked Manoel deSouza, who fell dead into the sea. Then Diogo de Mesquita, D'Almeida, and Antonio Correa forced their way on to the king's barge. When the king saw them he unsheathed his sword and the page shot an arrow and killed Antonio Cardoza, who fell overboard and was drowned. D'Almeida was killed by a sword-cut from a Moor called Tiger and Tiger was killed by Correa. At that moment Diogo de Mesquita gave the king a slight sword-cut and the king jumped into the sea. After the king, the interpreter and Rúmí Khán, two Moors, and all the rowers leapt into the water. The Portuguese barges surrounded them and the men struck at the three swimmers with lances and oars. The king twice cried aloud 'I am Sultán Bahádur,' hoping that some one would help him. A man who did not know that he was the king struck Bahádur on the head with a club. The blow was fatal and Bahádur sank. The second version is given by Barros (A.D. 1560) in his *Decadas da Asia*, Vol V page 357 of the 1707 edition. The third version by Do Couto (A.D. 1600) in his continuation of Barros' *Decadas*, and the fourth by Faria-e-Souza (A.D. 1650) in his *Portuguese Asia* are in the main taken from De Barros. The following details are from Steevens' (A.D. 1697) translation of Faria given in Briggs' *Muhammadian Power in India*, IV 135-138.

Bahádur king of Cambay, who had recovered his kingdom solely by the assistance of the Portuguese, now studied their ruin, and repenting of the leave he had granted to build a fort at Diu endeavoured to

take it and to tell the commander and the garrison. Nono da Cunha the Portuguese vice-roy under took his duty and prepared to prevent them. Emanuel de Souza who commanded at Din was warned by a Moor that the King would send for him by a certain Moor and kill him. De Souza determined to go and when sent for appeared with only one servant. Admiring De Souza's courage the King treated him honourably and allowed him to return in safety. The King's mother tried to dissuade her son from plotting against De Souza but to no effect. To remove suspicion Bahadur began to pay the Portuguese officers visits at unregular hours but was never received by De Souza on his guard. Meanwhile on the 9th January 1536, Nono da Cunha the Portuguese vice-roy set out from Goa for Din with 100 sail. When he put in at Chid he found Nizam-ul-Mulk who pretended he had come to divert his women at sea but really with designs on that place. When Nono reached Din the King was hunting in the mountains and Nono expected him of his arrival. The King sent for him by a Portuguese agent of the name of John de St. Iago called Pirangi Khin but Nono da Cunha pleaded illness. The King, pretending great friendship came to Din accompanied by Emanuel de Souza who had brought the last message from Da Cunha. At Din the King went on board the vice-roy's ship and for a time they discoursed. The King was troubled at a page whispering something to Da Cunha, but as Da Cunha took no notice his suspicions were allayed. The message was from De Souza, stating that the captains whom he had summoned were awaiting orders to secure or kill the King. Da Cunha thought it strange that De Souza had not killed the King while he was in his power in the fort, and De Souza thought it strange that Da Cunha did not now seize the King when he was in his power in the ship. Da Cunha directed all the officers to escort the King to the palace and then accompany De Souza to the fort, where Da Cunha intended to seize the King when he came to visit him. The King on his part had resolved to seize Da Cunha at a dinner to which he had invited him and send him in a cage to the Great Turk. De Souza who was going to invite the King to the fort after Da Cunha had entered it came up with the King's barge and delivered his invitation through Rumi Khin. Rumi Khin warned the King not to accept it. The King disregarding this warning invited De Souza into his barge. While stepping into the King's barge De Souza fell overboard, but was picked up by officers who carried him to the King. At this time three Portuguese barges came up and some of the officers seeing De Souza hastily enter the King's barge drew close to the King's barge. The King remembering Rumi Khin's warning ordered Emanuel de Souza to be killed. James de Mesquita understanding the order flew at and wounded the King. An affray followed and four Portuguese and seven of the King's men were killed. The King tried to get away in a boat but a cannon shot killed three of his rowers and he was stopped. He next attempted to escape by swimming, but being in danger of drowning discovered himself by crying for help. A Portuguese held out an oar to him, but others struck him fatal blows, so that he sank.

The conclusion to be drawn from these four Musalman and four Portuguese versions is that on either side the leader hoped by some future treachery to seize the person of the other, and that mutual suspicion turned into a fatal affray a meeting which both parties intended should pass peacefully and lull the other into a false and favourable security.

Appendix I

THE DEATH
OF SUITAN
BAHADUR
A.D. 1526-1536

APPENDIX II.

THE HILL FORT OF MA'NDU

PART I.—DESCRIPTION.

Appendix II.
THE HILL FORT
OF MĀNDU.
DESCRIPTION.

MĀNDU, about twenty-three miles south of Dhār in Central India, is a wide waving hill-top, part of the great wall of the Vindhyan range. The hill-top is three to four miles from north to south and four to five miles from east to west. On the north, the east, and the west, Māndu is islanded from the main plateau of Mālwa by valleys and ravines that circle round to its southern face, which stands 1200 feet out of the Nīmār plain. The area of the hill-top is over 12,000 English acres, and, so broken is its outline, that the encircling wall is said to have a length of between thirty-seven and thirty-eight miles. Its height, 1950 feet above the sea, secures for the hill-top at all seasons the boon of fresh and cool air.

About twenty miles south of Dhār the level cultivated plateau breaks into woody glades and uplands. Two miles further the plain is cleft by two great ravines, which from their deeper and broader southern mouths 700 to 800 feet below the Dhār plateau, as they wind northwards, narrow and rise, till, to the north of Māndu hill, they shallow into a woody dip or valley about 300 yards broad and 200 feet below the south crest of Mālwa. From the south crest of the Mālwa plateau, across the tree tops of this wild valley, stand the cliffs of the island Māndu, their crests crowned by the great Dehli gateway and its long lofty line of flanking walls. At the foot of the sudden dip into the valley the Âlamgír or World-Guarding Gate stands sentinel¹. Beyond the gateway, among wild reaches of rock and forest, a noble causeway with high domed tombs on either hand fills the lowest dip of the valley. From the south end of the causeway the road winds up to a second gateway, and beyond the second gateway between side walls climbs till at the crest of the slope it passes through the ruined but still lofty and beautiful Dehli or northern gateway, one of the earliest works of Dilāwar Khān (A.D. 1400), the founder of Musalmān Māndu.

Close inside of the Dehli gate, on the right or west, stands the handsome Hindola Palace. The name Hindola, which is probably the title of the builder, is explained by the people as the Swingcot palace, because, like the sides of the cage of a swinging cot, the walls of the hall bulge

¹ The following Persian verses are carved on the Âlamgír gateway

In the time of A'lamgír Aurangzib (A.D. 1658-1707), the ruler of the World,

This gate resembling the skies in altitude was built anew
In the year A.H. 1079 (A.D. 1668) the work of renewal
was begun and completed

By the endeavour of the exalted Kha'n Muhammad Beg Khan

From the accession of this Emperor of the World Aurangzib

This was the eleventh year by way of writing and history.

Appendix II.-
THE HILL FORT
OF MANDU
DESCRIPTION.

below and narrow towards the top. Its great baronial hall and hanging windows give the Hindola palace a special merit and interest, and an air of lordly wealth and luxury still clings to the tree-covered ruins which stretch west to large underground cisterns and hot weather retreats. About a quarter of a mile south stand the notable group of the Jaház Mehel or Ship palace on the west, and the Tapela Mehel or Caldron palace on the south, with their rows of lofty pointed arches below deep stone caves, their heavy windowless upper stories, and their massive arched and domed roof chambers. These palaces are not more handsomely built than finely set. The massive ship like length of the Jaház Mehel lies between two large tree-girt ponds, and the Tapela, across a beautiful foreground of water and ruin, looks east into the mass of tangled bush and tree which once formed part of the 130 acres of the Lál Bágh or Royal Gardens.

The flat palace roofs command the whole 12,000 acres of Mándu hill, north to the knolls and broken uplands beyond the great ravine-moat and south across the waving hill-top with its miles of glades and ridges, its scattered villages hamlets and tombs, and its gleaming groves of mangoes, *khurnis*, banyans, *mlowras*, and *pipals*. In the middle distance, out from the tree-tops, stand the lofty domes of Hoshang's tomb and of the great Jama mosque. Further south lies the tree-girt hollow of the Sagar Talav or Sea Lake, and beyond the Sagar lake a woody plateau rises about 200 feet to the southern crest, where, clear against the sky, stand the airy cupolas of the pavilion of Rup Mati, the beautiful wife of Baz Bahádúr (A.D. 1551-1561), the last Sultan of Malwa. Finally to the west, from the end of the Rup Mati heights, rises even higher the bare nearly isolated shoulder of Songad, the citadel or inner fort of Mandu, the scene of the Gujarát Bahadúr's (A.D. 1531) daring and successful surprise. This fair hill-top, beautiful from its tangled wildness and scattered ruins, is a strange contrast to Mándu, the capital of a warlike independent dynasty. During the palmy days of the fifteenth century, of the 12,000 acres of the Mandu hill-top, 560 were fields, 370 were gardens, 200 were wells, 780 were lakes and ponds, 100 were bazar roads, 1500 were dwellings, 200 were rest-houses, 260 were baths, 470 were mosques, and 3¼ were palaces. These allotments crowded out the wild to a narrow pittance of 1560 acres of knolls and ridges.

From the Jaház Mehel the road winds through fields and woods, gemmed with peafowl and droll with monkeys, among scattered palaces mosques and tombs, some shapely some in heaps, about a mile south to the walled enclosure of the lofty domed tomb of the establisher of Mándu's greatness, Hoshang Shah Ghori (A.D. 1405-1432). Though the badly-fitted joinings of the marble slabs of the tomb walls are a notable contrast to the finish of the later Mughal buildings, Hoshang's tomb, in its massive simplicity and dim-lighted roughness, is a solemn and suitable resting-place for a great Pathán warrior. Along the west of the tomb enclosure runs a handsome flat-roofed colonnade. The pillars, which near the base are four-sided, pass through an eight-sided and a sixteen-sided belt into a round upper shaft. The round shaft ends in a square under-capital, each face of which is filled by a group of leafage in outline the same as the favourite Hindu *Singh-mukh* or horned face. Over the entwined leafy horns of this moulding, stone brackets support heavy stone beams, all Hindu in pattern.¹ Close to the east of Hoshang's tomb is Hoshang's

¹ Mr Fergusson (Indian Architecture, page 548) says "The pillars appear to have been taken from a Jain building." But the refinement on the square capital of each pillar of the Hindu *Singh mukh* or horned face into a group of leaves of the same

Appendix II
THE HILL FORT
OF MANDU.
DESCRIPTION.

Jámá Masjid or Great Mosque, built of blocks of red limestone. Hoshang's mosque is approached from the east through a massive domed gateway and across a quadrangle enclosed on the east north and south by wrecked colonnades of pointed arches. The west is filled by the great pointed arches of the mosque in fair repair. On the roof of the mosque from a thick undergrowth of domelets rise three lofty domes¹

In front of the gateway of the Great Mosque, in the centre of a masonry plinth about three feet high stands an iron pillar about a foot in diameter at the base and twenty feet high. Close to the east of the gateway is the site of Mehmúd's (A.D. 1442) Tower of Victory, traces of which remained as late as A.D. 1840. About fifty yards further east are the ruins of a great building called the Ashrafi Mehel, said to have been a Musalmán college. To the north-east a banner marks a temple and the local state offices. South the road passes between the two lines of small houses and huts that make modern Mandu. Beyond the village among ruins and huge swollen baobab stems, the road winds south along a downward slope to the richly-wooded lowland, where stretches to the west the wide coolness of the Sagar Talav or Sea lake. Its broad surface covering 600 acres is green with fanlike lorn leaves, reeds, and water-grasses. Its banks are rough with brakes of tangled bush from which in uncramped stateliness rise lofty *mhauras* mangoes, *lurnis*, and *pípals*. To the east round a smaller tank, whose banks are crowned by splendid mangoes and tamarinds stand the domes of several handsome tombs. Of some

outline shows that the pillars were specially carved for use in a Muslim building. The porch on the north side of the tomb enclosure is described (Ditto, page 543) as composed of pillars avowedly re-erected from a Jain building. This note of Mr. Fergusson's must have gone astray, as the north porch of Hoshang's tomb enclosure is in the plain massive pointed arch and square-shafted style of the tomb and of the great mosque. Mr. Fergusson's note apparently belongs to the second and smaller Jámá Masjid about a hundred yards east of the Sea or Sagar lake, the pillars of whose colonnade and porch are still enhanced by roofs of the lucky face of the Hindu old honey.

¹ Hoshang's great mosque has the following much damaged Persian inscription.

The mosque of exalted construction, the temple of heavenly altitude,

Whose every thick pillar is a copy of the (pillars of the) Sacred Temple (the Temple of Makkah).

On account of the greatness of its dignity, like the pigeons of the Temple of Makkah,

Sacred angels of high degree are always engaged in hovering around it,

The result of the events born of the merciless revolution of the skies

When the sun of his life came as far as the balcony (i.e. was ready to set).

Azám Humayún (that is Malik Mughis) said . . .

The administration of the country, the construction of buildings, and the driving back of enemies

Are things which I leave you (the son of Azám Humayún) as parting advice with great earnestness.

The personification of the kindness of Providence, the Sultan Ala-ud-dín (Mehmúd I. A.D. 1436-1469), who is .

The outcome of the refulgence of the Faith, and the satisfier of the wants of the people,

In the year A.H. 858 (A.D. 1454),

In the words of the above parting advice, finished the construction of this building.

Appendix II.
THE HILL FORT
OF MANDU
DESCRIPTION.

of these domes the black masses are brightened by belts of brilliant pale and deep-blue enamel. To the north of this overflow-pool a long black wall is the back of the smaller Jama or congregation mosque, badly ruined, but of special interest, as each of its numerous pillars shows the uninjured Hindu *Singh-mu'kh* or horned face. By a rough piece of constructive skill the original cross corners of the end cupolas have been worked into vaulted Musalman domes.¹

From the Sea Lake, about a mile across the waying richly-wooded plain, bounded by the southern height of the plateau, the path leads to the sacred Rewa Kund or Narayana Pool, a small shady pond lined with rich masonry, and its west side enriched by the ruins of a handsome Bath or Hammam Khanah. From the north-east corner of the Rewa Pool a broad flight of easy stairs leads thirty or forty feet up the slope on whose top stands the palace of Bíz Bahadur (A.D. 1551-1561) the last independent chief of Mandu.² The broad easy flight of steps ends in a lofty arched gateway through which a roomy hall or passage gives entrance into a courtyard with a central masonry cistern and an enclosing double colonnade, which on the right opens into an arched balcony overlooking the Rewa Kund and garden. Within this courtyard is a second court enclosed on three sides by an arched gallery. The roof of the colonnades, which are reached by flights of easy steps, are shaded by arched pavilions topped by cupolas brightened by belts of blue enamel.

¹ This Jámá Mosque has the following Persian inscription dated H. 835 (A.D. 1431)

With good omens, at a happy time, and in a lucky and well-started year,

On the 4th of the month of Allah (Ramaza'n) on the great day of Friday,

In the year 835 and six months from the Hijrah (A.D. 1431)

Counted according to the revolution of the moon in the Arabian-manner,

This Islamic mosque was founded in this world,

The top of whose dome rubs its head against the green canopy of Heaven

The construction of this high mosque was due to Mughl's-ud-din-wad dunya (Malik Mughis), the father of Mehmud I of Ma'lwa (A.D. 1436-1469), the redresser of temporal and spiritual wrongs

Ulugh (brave), A'azam (great), Huma'yu'n (august), the Kha'n of the seven climes and the nine countries

By the hands of his enterprise this so great mosque was founded,

That some call it the House of Peace, others style it the Kaa'bah.

This good building was completed on the last of the month of Shawwa'l (A.H. 835, A.D. 1431)

May the merit of this good act be inserted in the scroll of the Khan's actions!

In this centre may the praises of the sermon read (in the name) of Mehmud Sha'h

Be everlasting, so long as mountains stand on the earth and stars in the firmament

² The following Persian inscription carved on the entrance arch shows that though it may have been repaired by Bíz Bahadur, the building of the palace was fifty years earlier (H. 914, A.D. 1503)

"In the time of the Sulta'n of Nations, the most just and great, and the most knowing and munificent Kha'ka'n Na'sir Sha'h Khilji (A.D. 1500-1512). Written by Yusuf, the year (H. 914) (A.D. 1508)."

Appendix II.
THE HILL FORT
OF MANDU.
DESCRIPTION

To the south of Báz Bahádúr's Palace a winding path climbs the steep slope of the southern rim of Mándu to the massive pillared cupolas of Rup Matí's palace, which, clear against the sky, are the most notable ornament of the hill-top. From a ground floor of heavy masonry walls and arched gateways stairs lead to a flat masonry terrace. At the north and south ends of the terrace stand massive heavy-eaved pavilions, whose square pillars and pointed arches support lofty deep-grooved domes. The south pavilion on the crest of the Vindhyan cliff commands a long stretch of the south face of Mándu with its guardian wall crowning the heights and hollows of the hill-top. Twelve hundred feet below spreads the dim hazy Nimár plain brightened eastwards by the gleaming coil of the Narbada. The north pavilion, through the clear fresh air of the hill-top, looks over the entire stretch of Mándu from the high shoulder of Songad in the extreme south-west across rolling tree-brightened fields past the domes, the tangled bush, and the broad gray of the Sea Lake, to the five-domed cluster of Hoshang's mosque and tomb, on, across a sea of green tree tops, to the domed roof-chambers of the Jabáz and Tapela palaces, through the Dehli gateway and, beyond the deep cleft of the northern ravine, to the bare level and the low ranges of the Málwa plain.

. From the Rewa Pool a path, along the foot of the southern height among noble solitary *mhauras* and *thurns*, across fields and past small clusters of huts, guides to a flight of steps which lead down to a deep shady rock-cut dell where a Muhammadan chamber with great open arched front looks out across a fountained courtyard and sloping scalloped water table to the wild western slopes of Mándu. This is Nilkanth, where the emperor Akbar lodged in A.D. 1574, and which Jehangír visited in A.D. 1617¹

From the top of the steps that lead to the dell the hill stretches west bare and stony to the Songad or Tarápúr gateway on the narrow neck beyond which rises the broad shoulder of Songad, the lofty south-west limit of the Mándu hill-top²

PART II—HISTORY:

The history of Mándu belongs to two main sections, before and after the overthrow by the emperor Akbar in A.D. 1563 of the independent power of the Sultáns of Málwa

HISTORY
The
Málwa Sultáns,
A.D. 1400-1570

SECTION I—THE MÁLWA SULTÁNS, A.D. 1400-1570

Of early Hindu Mándu, which is said to date from A.D. 313, nothing is known³. Hind spire stones are built into the Hindola palace walls, and the pillars of the lesser Jámá mosque, about a hundred yards from the east end of the sea or Sagar Lake, are Hindu apparently Jain. Of these local Hind chiefs almost nothing is known except that their fort was

¹Translations of its two much-admired Persian inscriptions are given below pages 370-371

²On the Tarápúr gateway a Persian inscription of the reign of the emperor Akbar (A.D. 1556-1605) states that the royal road that passed through this gateway was repaired by Táhir Muhammad Hasan Imád-ud-dín.

³The Persian references and extracts in this section are contributed by Khán Sáheb Fazl ul-láh Lutfulláh Farídí of Surat.

⁴Sir John Malcolm in Eastwick's Handbook of the Panjáb, 119. This reference has not been traced. Farishtah (Elliot, VI, 553) says Mándu was built by Anand Dev of the Pais tribe, who was a contemporary of Khusráo Parwíz the Sassanian (A.D. 591-621).

taken and their power brought to an end by Sult in Shams-ud-din Altamsh about A D 1231¹ Dhár, not Mandu, was at that time the capital. It seems doubtful whether Mándu ever enjoyed the position of a capital till the end of the fourteenth century. In A D 1401, in the ruin that followed Timúr's (A D 1398-1400) conquest of Northern India, a Pathan from the country of Ghor, Diláwari Khan Ghorí (A D. 1387-1405), at the suggestion of his son Alp Khán, assumed the white canopy and scarlet pavilion of royalty.² Though Dhár was Diláwar's head-quarters he sometimes staid for months at a time at Mandu,³ strengthening the defences and adorning the hill with buildings, as he always entertained the desire of making Mandu his capital.⁴ Three available inscriptions of Diláwar

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HISTORY.

The
Málwa Sultáns,
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¹ The date is uncertain. Compare Elphinstone's History, 323, Briggs' Farishtah, I. 210-211, Tabak-i-Nasiri in Elliot, II 328. The conquest of Mándu in A D 1227 is not Mándu in Málwa as Elphinstone and Briggs supposed, but Mandur in the Siwálík Hills. See Elliot, Vol II page 325 Note 1. The Persian text of Farishtah (I 115), though by mistake calling it Mándu (not Mándu), notes that it was the Mandu in the Siwálík hills. The poetical date script also terms it Biládi Siwálík or the Siwálík countries. The date of the conquest of the Siwálík Mándu by Altamsh is given by Farishtah (Ditto) as A D 624 (A D 1226). The conquest of Málwa by Altamsh, the taking by him of Bhulérh and Ujjain, and the destruction of the temple of Maha Káli and of the statue or image of Bikramájit are given as occurring in A D 631 (A D 1233). The Mirát-i-Sikandari (Persian Text, 13) notices an expedition made in A D 1395 by Zafar Khán (Muzaffar I. of Gujarat) against a Hindu chief of Mándu, who, it was reported, was oppressing the Musalmáns. A siege of more than twelve months failed to capture the fort.

² Briggs' Farishtah, IV 170

³ Briggs' Farishtah, IV. 168. According to the Wákriat-i-Mushtakí (Elliot, IV. 573) Diláwar Khán, or as the writer calls him Amín Sháh, through the good offices of a merchant whom he had refrained from plundering obtained the grant of Mándu, which was entirely desolate. The king sent a robe and a horse, and Amín gave up walking and took to riding. He made his friends ride, enlisted horsemen, and promoted the cultivation of the country (Elliot, IV 552). Farishtah (Pers Text, II 460-61) states that when Sultán Muhammad, the son of Firúz Tughlak, made Khwájah Sarwar his chief minister with the title of Khwájah Jehán, and gave Zafar Khán the viceroyalty of Gujarát and Khizr Khán that of Multán, he sent Diláwar Khán to be governor of Málwa. In another passage Farishtah (II 461) states that one of Diláwar's grandfathers, Sultán Shaháb ud dín, came from Ghor and took service in the court of the Delhi Sultáns. His son rose to be an *Amir*, and his grandson Diláwar Khán, in the time of Sultán Firúz, became a leading nobleman, and in the reign of Muhammad, son of Firúz, obtained Málwa in fief. When the power of the Tughlaks went to ruin Diláwar assumed the royal emblems of the umbrella and the red tent.

⁴ Diláwar Khán Ghorí, whose original name was Husein, was one of the grandsons of Sultán Shaháb ud dín Muhammad bin Sám. He was one of the nobles of Muhammad, the son of Firúz Tughlak, who after the death of that monarch, settled in and asserted his power over Málwa (Pers. Text Farishtah, II 460). The emperor Jehángír (who calls him Amín Sháh Ghorí) attributes to him the construction of the fort of Dhár. He says (Memoirs Pers Text, 201-202) Dhár is one of the oldest cities of India. Rája Bhoj, one of the famous ancient Hindu kings, lived in this city. From his time up to this a thousand years have passed. Dhár was also the capital of the Muhammadan rulers of Málwa. When Sultán Muhammad Tughlak (A D 1325) was on his way to the conquest of the Dakhan he built a cut stone fort on a raised site. Its outline is very elegant and beautiful, but the space inside is empty of buildings. Amín Sháh Ghorí, known as Diláwar Khán, who in the days of Sultán Muhammad the son of Sultán Firúz, king of Delhi, gained the independent rule of Málwa, built outside this fort an assembly mosque, which has in front of it fixed in the ground a four-cornered iron column about four feet round. When Sultán Bahádúr of Gujarát took Málwa (A D 1530-31) he wished to carry this column to Gujarát. In digging it up the pillar fell and broke in two, one piece measuring twenty two feet the other thirteen feet. As it was lying here uncared for I (Jehángír) ordered the big piece to be carried to Agra to be put up in the courtyard of the shrine of him whose abode is the heavenly throne (Akbar), to be utilised as a lamp post. The mosque has two gates. In

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OF MANDU.

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The
Málwa Sultáns,
A.D. 1400 - 1570.

Khán (A.D. 1387-1405) seem to show that he built an assembly mosque near the Ship Palace, a mosque near the Dehli Gate, and a gate at the entrance to Songadh, the south-west corner and citadel of Mándu, afterwards known as the Tárápúr Gate

In A.D. 1398 Alp Khán, son of Diláwar Khán, annoyed with his father for entertaining as his overlord at Dhár Mehmúd Tughlak, the refugee monarch of Dehli, withdrew to Mándu. He stayed in Mándu for three years, laying, according to Farishtah, the foundation of the famous fortress of solid masonry which was the strongest fortification in that part of the world.¹ On his father's death in A.D. 1405 Alp Khán took the title of Sultán Hoshang, and moved the capital to Mándu. The rumour that Hoshang had poisoned his father gave Diláwar's brother in arms, Muzaffar Sháh of Gujarat (A.D. 1399-1411), an excuse for an expedition against Hoshang.² Hoshang was defeated at Dhár, made prisoner, and carried to Gujarát, and Muzaffar's brother Nasrat was appointed in his place. Nasrat failed to gain the goodwill either of the people or of the army of Málwa, and was forced to retire from Dhár and take refuge in Mándu. In consequence of this failure in A.D. 1408, at Hoshang's request Muzaffar set Hoshang free after a year's confinement, and deputed his grandson Ahmed to take Hoshang to Málwa and establish Hoshang's power.³ With Ahmed's help Hoshang took Dhár and shortly after secured the fort of Mándu. Hoshang (A.D. 1405-1431) made Mándu his capital and spread his power on all sides except towards Gujarát.⁴ Shortly after the death of Muzaffar I. and the accession of Ahmed, when (A.D. 1414) Ahmed was quelling the disturbances raised by his cousins, Hoshang, instead of helping Ahmed as requested, marched towards Gujarát and created a diversion in favour of the rebels by sending two of his nobles to attack Broach. They were soon expelled by Ahmed Sháh. Shortly after Hoshang marched to the help of the chief of Jhálávada in Kathiávada,

front of the arch of one gate they have fixed a stone tablet engraved with a prose passage to the effect that Ahmíd Sháh Ghori in the year H 803 (A.D. 1405) laid the foundation of this mosque. On the other arch they have written a poetic inscription of which the following verses are a part—

The liege lord of the world
The star of the sphere of glory.
The stay of the people
The sun of the zenith of perfection
The bulwark of the law of the Prophet, A'míd Sháh Da'u'd
The possessor of amiable qualities, the pride of Ghor
Diláwar Khán, the helper and defender of the Prophet's faith,
The chosen instrument of the exalted Lord, who in the city of
Dhár constructed the assembly mosque
In a happy and auspicious moment on a day of lucky omen
Of the date 808 years have passed (A.D. 1405)
When this fabric of Hope was completed

¹ Briggs' Farishtah, IV 169

² When fellow nobles in the court of the Tughlak Sultán, Zafar Khán (Sultán Muzaffar of Gujarát) and Diláwar Khán bound themselves under an oath to be brothers in arms. Farishtah, Pers. Text II 462

³ Briggs' Farishtah, IV. 173, Elphinstone's History, 678

⁴ Though their temples were turned into mosques the Jains continued to prosper under the Ghoris. At Deogarh in Lalitpura in Jhānsi in the North-West Provinces an inscription of Samvat 1481, that is of A.D. 1424, records the dedication of two Jaina images by a Jain priest named Holi during the reign of Sháh Alambhaka of Mandapapura, that is of Sháh Alp Khán of Mándu that is Sultán Hoshang Ghori. Archaeological Survey of India, New Series, II 120.

and ravaged eastern and central Gujarāt¹. To punish Hoshang for these acts of impertinence between A.D. 1418 and 1422, Ahmed twice besieged Māndu, and though he failed to take the fort his retirement had to be purchased, and both as regards success and fair dealing the honours of the campaign remained with Ahmed². In A.D. 1421 Hoshang went disguised as a horse dealer to Jājnapur (now Jajpur) in Cuttack in Orissa. He took with him a number of cream coloured horses, of which he had heard the Raja was very fond. His object was to barter these horses and other goods for the famous war elephants of Jājnapur. An accident in the camp of the disguised merchants led to a fight in which the Raja was taken prisoner and Hoshang was able to secure 150 elephants to fight the Gujarāt Sultan³. During Hoshang's absence at Jājnapur Ahmed pressed the siege of Māndu so hard that the garrison would have surrendered had Hoshang not succeeded in finding his way into the fort through the south or Tarapur Gate⁴. For ten years after the Gujarat campaign by the help of his minister Malik Muḡhis of the Khali family and of his minister's son Mahmud Khan, Māwa prospered and Hoshang's power was extended. Hoshang enriched his capital with buildings, among them the Great Mosque and his own tomb, both of which he left unfinished. Hoshang's minister Malik Muḡhis (who received the title of Ulugh Aḡzam Humāyūn Khān) appears to have built the assembly mosque near the Sagar Lake in Hoshang's life-time, c. 1431. Another of his buildings must have been a mint, as copper coins remain bearing Hoshang's name, and Māndu Shadrūd as the place of mintage. In A.D. 1432, at Hoshangābād, on the left bank of the Nerbada, about 120 miles east of Māndu, Hoshang, who was suffering from diabetes, took greatly to heart the fall of a ruby out of his crown. He said: A few days before the death of Firūz Tughlak a jewel dropped from his crown. Hoshang ordered that he should be taken to Māndu. Before he had gone many miles the king died. His nobles carried the body to the Madrasah or college in Shadrūdābād or Māndu, and buried him in the college on the ninth day of Zil Hajjah, the twelfth month of A.H. 838 = A.D. 1434. The year of Hoshang's death is to be found in the letters

Ah Shāh Hoshang na mund Ahs, Shāh Hoshang stayed not.⁵

On Hoshang's death his son Ghazni Khān, with the title of Sultān Muhammad Ghori, succeeded. Malik Muḡhis, his father's minister, and the minister's son Mahmud were maintained in power. In three years

¹ Farishtah, Pers. Text II. 461-65.

² Briggs' Farishtah, IV. 176, 178, 180, 181, 183.

³ Farishtah, Pers. Text II. 466-67.

⁴ Briggs' Farishtah, IV. 180. In connection with the Tārāpur Gate Farishtah says (Pers. Text, II. 468) 'The fort of Māndu is built on the top of a mountain, and the line of its fortification is about twenty-eight miles in length. In place of a moat it is surrounded by a deep chasm, so that it is impossible to use missiles against it. Within the fort water and provisions are abundant and it includes land enough to grow grain for the garrison. The extent of its walls makes it impossible for an army to invest it. Most of the villages near it are too small to furnish supplies to a besieging force. The south or Tārāpur gate is exceedingly difficult of access. A horseman can hardly approach it. From whichever side the fort may be attempted, most difficult heights have to be scaled. The long distances and intervening hills prevent the watchers of the besieging force communicating with each other. The gate on the side of Delli is of easier access than the other gates.'

⁵ It follows that Farishtah (Briggs, IV. 190) is mistaken in stating that Hoshang's son Muhammad gave Māndu the name of Shadrūdābād, the Abode of Joy.

⁶ Farishtah, Pers. Text II. 472-475. It seems to follow that from the first the monument to Hoshang in Hoshangābād was an empty tomb. Compare Briggs' Farishtah, IV. 180-190.

Appendix II.

The First Part
of History.

History.

The

Mansabdar.

A.D. 1400-1570

(A.D. 1433-1437), as Sultan Muhammad proved disloyal and suspicious. Mahmūd, the minister's son, procured his death by poison. Mahmūd Khān then asked his father to accept the succession. But his father declined, saying that Mahmūd was fitter to be king. In A.D. 1433 Mahmūd was accordingly crowned with the royal diara of Hoshang. He conferred on his father the honour of being attended by more-bearers carrying gold and silver sticks, who when the Khān mounted or went out, had, like the more-bearers of independent monarchs, the privilege of repeating the *Bismillāh*: 'In the name of the compassionate and merciful Allāh.' He gave his father royal honours, the white canopy and the silver quiver, and to his title of Malik Ashraf Khān Jehan he added among others *Amīr-ul-Umara* and *Adām Humayūn*.² Mahmūd quelled a revolt among his nobles. An outbreak of plague in the Gujarāt camp relieved him from a contest with Ahmed Shāh. In A.D. 1439 Mahmūd repaired the palace of Sultan Hoshang and erected the mosque built in commemoration of that monarch which Farisrah describes as a splendid edifice with 205 columns.³ About the same time Mahmūd completed Hoshang's tomb which Hoshang had left unfinished. On the completion of this building Hoshang's remains seem to have been moved into it from their first resting-place in the college. In A.D. 1441 Mahmūd built a

² The following were detailed, but also more confused, say is told in the *Wakā'id-i-Mahmūdī* (Jilid IV, 551-52): 'A man named Mahmūd, son of Moghul Khān, came to Hoshang and entered his service. He was a warlike man, well secretly skilled in the sword. He became minister, and gave his daughter in marriage to the king. [Farisrah, Pers. Text II, 474, says: "Malik Moghul gave his daughter (Mahmūd's) sister in marriage, not to Hoshang, but to Hoshang's son Muhammad Shāh." His father Malik Moghul, coming to know of his son's ambitious designs, hid under the wing of a lion. However Mahmūd feared Allah, and to deceive the king's physicians shot himself in a dark room and drank the blood of a newly killed goat. When the physicians came Mahmūd was hardly there up the bed, and a lion and a vulture took his head and hid it on the floor as if in pain. The physicians called for a light. When they saw that what Mahmūd had given up was blood, they were surprised of his sickness, and told the king that Mahmūd had not long to live. The king retained from killing a dynast man. This strange story seems to be an embellishment of a passage in Farisrah, Pers. Text II, 477. When Sultan Jehan, that is Malik Moghul the father of Mahmūd, was ordered by Sultan Muhammad to take the field against the Rajput of the of Nāg in Bharūch, many of the nobles of Mahmūd went with him. In their absence the party of nobles to the Sultan represented to Sultan Muhammad that Mahmūd Khān was plotting his death. On hearing that the Sultan was enraged, and that Mahmūd withdrew himself from the Court to protect himself. At the same time he would send word to Mahmūd's appearance to give him notice. On the death of Sultan Muhammad the party of nobles opposed to Mahmūd, concealing the fact of Muhammad's death, sent word that Muhammad had ordered him immediately to the palace, as he wanted to send him on an embassy to Gujarat. Mahmūd, who knew that the Sultan was dead, returned word to the nobles that he had received Hoshang's orders as the successor of the Sultan of his father Sultan Hoshang, but that since he came to him and confirmed him that the God of the country depended on his going to Gujarat he was ready to go and we would Muhammad. The nobles were caught in their own trap. They went to Mahmūd and were seized and imprisoned by him.

³ Farisrah, Pers. Text II, 480.

⁴ Buzurg Farisrah, IV, 163. Then this man. The Chief of Nāg, the Great, the King.

⁵ It is related that one of the great men in the camp of Sultan Ahmed of Gujarat had a warning dream in which the Prophet in white robes appeared to him and said: 'The country of Gujarat is perishing and is coming down from the skies. Tell Sultan Ahmed to leave this country.' This warning was told to Sultan Ahmed, but he disregarded it and within three days perdition was upon his camp. Farisrah, Pers. Text II, 484.

⁶ Buzurg Farisrah, IV, 215, gives 200 columns and 200 pillars. This must have been an addition in the text used by Briggs. These details do not appear in the edition. The Persian text of Farisrah, IV, 215, mentions 200 columns of pillars of gold and silver work. No reference is made, however, to the pillars.

garden with a dome and palaces¹ and a mosque at Naálchah about three miles north of the Dehli Gate of Mándu, a pleasing well-watered spot where the plateau of Málwa breaks into glades and knolls² In A.D. 1443 in honour of his victory over Rana Kumbha of Chitor, Mehmúd built a beautiful column of victory,³ seven storeys high, and a college in front of the mosque of Hoshang Ghori. Facing the east entrance to the Great Mosque stands a paved ramp crowned by a confused ruin. As late as A.D. 1843 this ruin is described as a square marble chamber Each face of the chamber had three arches, the centre arch in two of the faces being a door Above the arches the wall was of yellow stone faced with marble Inside the chamber the square corners were cut off by arches No roof or other trace of superstructure remained⁴ This chamber seems to be the basement of the column of victory which was raised in A.D. 1443 by Mehmud I. (A.D. 1432-1469) in honour of his victory over Rána Kumbha of Chitor⁵ Mehmúd's column has the special interest of being, if not the original, at least the cause of the building of Kumbha Rana's still uninjured Victory Pillar, which was completed in A.D. 1454 at a cost of £900,000 in honour of his defeat of Mehmúd⁶ That the Mandu Column of Victory was a famous work is shown by Abul Fazl's reference to it in A.D. 1590 as an eight-storeyed minaret.⁷ Farishtah, about twenty years later (A.D. 1610), calls it a beautiful Victory Pillar seven storeys high⁸ The emperor Jehangír (A.D. 1605-1627) gives the following account of Mehmúd's Tower of Victory⁹ This day, the 29th of the month *Tar*, corresponding to July-August of A.D. 1617, about the close of the day, with the ladies of the palace, I went out to see the *Huft Manzar* or Seven Storeys, literally Seven Prospects This building is one of the structures of the old rulers of Málwa, that is of Sultan Mehmúd Khilji It has seven storeys, and on each storey there are four porticos, and in each portico are four windows The height of this tower is about 163 feet and its circumference 150 feet From the surface of the ground to the top of the seventh storey there are one hundred and seventy-one steps" Sir Thomas Herbert, the traveller, in A.D. 1626 describes it from hearsay, or at least at second-hand, as a tower 170 steps high, supported by massive pillars and adorned with gates and windows very observable It was built, he adds, by Khán Jehán, who there has buried¹⁰

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¹ Farishtah, Pers. Text II 487

² Briggs' Farishtah, IV 207 Malcolm's Central India, I. 32. In A.D. 1817 Sir John Malcolm (Central India, I. 32 Note) fitted up one of Mehmúd's palaces as a hot weather residence

³ Of the siege of Kumbhalmer a curious incident is recorded by Farishtah (Pers. Text, II 485) He says that a temple outside the town destroyed by Mehmúd had a marble idol in the form of a goat The Sultán ordered the idol to be ground into lime and sold to the Rájputs as betel leaf lime, so that the Hindus might eat their god The idol was perhaps a ram, not a goat. The temple would then have been a Sun-temple and the ram, the carrier or *vahana* of the Sun, would have occupied in the porch a position similar to that held by the bull in a Mahádeva temple.

⁴ Ruins of Mándu, 13

⁵ In the end of A.H. 846 (A.D. 1442) Mehmúd built a seven storeyed tower and a college opposite the Jumá Mosque of Hoshang Sháh. Briggs' Farishtah, IV. 210, Persian Text, II 488

⁶ Compare Briggs' Farishtah, IV 323.

⁷ Gladwin's Ain i Akbari, II. 41

⁸ Briggs' Farishtah, IV. 210, Farishtah, Persian Text II 488

⁹ Memoirs of the emperor Jehangír (Pers. Text) Sir Sayad Ahmed's Edition, page 188, eleventh year of Jehangír, A.D. 1617

¹⁰ Herbert's Khán Jehan is doubtless Mehmúd's father the minister Malik Mughís, Khán Jehán Aázam Humáyún It cannot be Khán Jehán Pír Muhammad, Akbar's general, who after only a few months' residence was slain in Mándu in A.D. 1561, nor can it be Jehangír's great Afghan general, Khán Jehán Lodi (A.D. 1600-1633), as he

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Two years later (A.D. 1445) Mehmūd built at Māndu. and endowed with the revenues of several villages a large *Shifa Khānah* or Hospital. with wards and attendants for all classes and separate apartments for maniacs. He placed in charge of it his own physician Maulāna Fazlullāh.¹ He also built a college to the east of the Jamā mosque, of which traces remain.²

In A.D. 1453, though defeated, Mehmūd brought back from Gujarāt the jewelled waistbelt of Gujarāt, which in a daring charge he had taken from the tent of the Gujarat king Kutb-ud-dīn Shāh.³ In A.D. 1441 Mehmūd's father died at Mandisor. Mehmūd felt the loss so keenly that he tore his hair like one bereft of reason.⁴ After his father's death Mehmūd made his son Ghiās-ud-dīn minister, and conferred the command of the army and the title of Aāzam Humāyūn on his kinsman Tāj Khān. In A.D. 1469, after a reign of thirty-four years (A.D. 1436-1469) of untiring energy and activity Mehmūd died. Farishtah says of him. "His tent was his home, the field of battle his resting-place. He was polite, brave, just, and learned. His Hindu and Musalmān subjects were happy and friendly. He guarded his lands from invaders. He made good his loss to any one who suffered from robbery in his dominions, recovering the amount from the village in whose lands the robbery had taken place, a system which worked so well that theft and robbery became almost unknown. Finally, by a systematic effort he freed the country from the dread of wild beasts."⁵

In A.D. 1469 Mehmūd was succeeded by his son and minister Ghiās-ud-dīn, to whose skill as a soldier much of Mehmūd's success had been due. On his accession Ghiās-ud-dīn made his son Abdul Kādir Prime Minister and heir-apparent, and gave him the title of Nāsir-ud-dīn. He called his nobles, and in their presence banded his sword to Nasir-ud-dīn, saying: "I have passed thirty-four years in ceaseless fighting. I now devote my life to rest and enjoyment."⁶ Ghiās-ud-dīn, who never left Māndu during the whole thirty years of his reign (A.D. 1469-1499), is said to have completed the Jahāz Mehel or Ship Palace,⁷ and the widespread buildings

was not in Māndu until A.D. 1528, that is more than a year after Herbert left India. Compare Herbert's *Travels*, 107-118; Elliot, VI, 249-253, VII, 7, 8, and 21; and Blochman's *Alim-Akbar*, 593-595.

¹ Briggs' *Farishtah*, IV, 214.

² *Paik of Māndu* 13. *Farishtah* has three mentions of colleges. One (*Pers. Text*, II, 475) as the place where the body of Hoehang was carried, probably that prayers might be said over it. In another passage in the reign of Mehmūd I (*Pers. Text*, II, 480), he states that Mehmūd built colleges in his territories which became the cradle of Shiraz and Samarkand. In a third passage he mentions a college (page 488) near the Victory Tower.

³ Briggs' *Farishtah*, IV, 217. A different but almost incredible account of the capture of the royal belt is given in the *Murāt-i-Ikbari*, *Pers. Text*, 159: When Sultan Kāb-ud-dīn, son of Sultan Muhammad defeated Sultan Mehmūd Khān at the battle of Kapadvanj, there was slain a saugher as could not be exceeded. By chance, in the heat of the fray, which resembled the Day of Judgment, the wardrobe-keeper of Sultan Kutb-ud-dīn, in whose charge was the jewelled belt, was by the retirement of his horse carried into the ranks of the enemy. The animal there became so violent that the wardrobe-keeper fell off and was captured by the enemy, and the jewelled belt was taken from him and given to Sultan Mehmūd of Malwa. The author adds: The jewelled waistband was in the Malwa treasury at the time the fortress of Māndu was taken by the strength of the arm of Sultan Muẓaffar (A.D. 1531). Sultan Mehmūd carried the belt together with a famous sword and horse to Sultan Muẓaffar by the hands of his son.

⁴ Briggs' *Farishtah*, IV, 209.

⁵ Briggs' *Farishtah*, IV, 234-235. *Pers. Text*, II, 505.

⁶ Briggs' *Farishtah*, IV, 256.

⁷ *Paik of Māndu* 6.

which surround it. It seems probable that the Tapala Palace close to the south-east of the Ship palace and the lake and royal gardens immediately to the north and north-east of the Tapala palace were part of Ghūs ud-din's pleasure houses and grounds. The scale of the ruins behind the Hindola or Swing of palace to the north and their connection with the out-buildings to the west of the Jahaz Mehel, suggest that they also belonged to the palaces and women's quarters of the pleasure-loving Ghūs ud-din.

Of the surprising size and fantastic arrangements of Ghūs ud-din's pleasure city the true Mandu Shudabud or Abode of Joy, curious details have been preserved. This Abode of Pleasure was a city not a palace. It contained 15,000 inhabitants all of them women, none either old or plain-featured, and each trained to some profession or craft. Among them were the whole officers of a court besides courtiers, teachers, musicians, dancers, prayer-readers, embroiderers and followers of all crafts and callings. Whenever the king heard of a beautiful girl he never rested till he obtained her. This city of women had its two regiments of guards, the Archers and the Carabineers each 500 strong, its soldiers dressed like men in a distinguishing uniform. The archers were beautiful young Turki damsels all armed with bows and arrows, the carabineers were Abyssinian maidens, each carrying a carbine. Attached to the palace and city was a deer park, where the Lord of Leisure used to hunt with his favourites. Each dweller in the city of women received her daily dole of grain and coppers, and besides the women were many pensioners, mice parrots and pigeons who also received the same dole as their owners. So evenly just was Ghūs ud-din in the matter of his allowances, that the prattler of his favourites received the same allowance as the roughest carabineer.¹

The Lord of the City of Pleasure was deeply religious. Whenever he was unmaking himself two of his companions held in front of him a cloth to remind him of his shroud. A thousand *Hāfizahs*, that is women who knew the Kur'ān by heart, constantly repeated its holy verses, and, under the orders of the king, whenever he changed his raiment the *Hāfizahs* blew on his body from head to foot with their prayer hallowed breath.² None of the five daily prayers passed unprayed. If at any of the hours of prayer the king was asleep he was sprinkled with water, and when water failed to arouse him, he was dragged out of bed. Even when dragged out of bed by his servants the king never uttered an improper or quivorous word.

So keen was his sense of justice that when one of his courtiers pretending he had purchased her, brought to him a maiden of ideal beauty, and her relations, not knowing she had been given to the king, came to complain, though they gladly resigned her, the king grieved over his unconscious wrong. Besides paying compensation he mourned long and truly, and ordered that no more inmates should be brought to his palace.³ So great was the king's charity that every night below his pillow he placed a bag containing some thousand gold-mohurs, and before evening all were distributed to the deserving. So religious was the king that he paid 50,000 *tanhas* for each of the four feet of the ass of Christ. A man came bringing a fifth hoof, and one of the courtiers said "My Lord, an ass has four feet. I never heard that it had five, unless perhaps the ass of Christ had five." "Who knows," the king replied, "it may be that this

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¹ Farishtah Pers. Text, II. 504-505.

² Farishtah Pers. Text, II. 505.

³ Farishtah Pers. Text, II. 507.

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last man has told the truth, and one of the others was wrong. See that he is paid." So sober was the king that he would neither look upon nor hear of intoxicants or stimulants. A potion that had cost 100,000 *tanhas* was brought to him. Among the 300 ingredients one was nutmeg. The king directed the potion to be thrown into a drain. His favourite horse fell sick. The king ordered it to have medicine, and the horse recovered. "What medicine was given the horse?" asked the king. "The medicine ordered by the physicians" replied his servants. Fearing that in this medicine there might be an intoxicant, the king commanded that the horse should be taken out of the stables and turned loose into the forest.¹

The king's spirit of peace steeped the land, which, like its ruler, after thirty years of fighting yearned for rest. For fourteen years neither inward malcontent nor foreign foe broke the quiet. In A.D. 1482 Bahlol Lodi advanced from Dehli to subdue Málwa. The talk of Mándu was Bahlol's approach, but no whisper of it passed into the charmed City of Women. At last the son-minister forced his way into the king's presence. At the news of pressing danger his soldier-spirit awoke in Ghías-ud-dín. His orders for meeting the invaders were so prompt and well-planned that the king of Dehli paid a ransom and withdrew. A second rest of fifteen years ended in the son-minister once more forcing his way into the Presence. In A.D. 1500 the son presented his father, now an aged man of eighty, with a cup of sherbet and told him to drink. The king, whose armlet of bezoar stone had already twice made poison harmless, drew the stone from his arm. He thanked the Almighty for granting him, unworthy, the happiest life that had ever fallen to the lot of man. He prayed that the sin of his death might not be laid to his son's charge, drank the poison, and died.²

Ghías-ud-dín can hardly have shut himself off so completely from state affairs as the story-tellers make out. He seems to have been the first of the Málwa kings who minted gold. He also introduced new titles and ornaments, which implies an interest in his coinage.³ Farishtah says that

¹ Wákiát-i-Mushtáki in Elliot, IV. 551-556. Probably these are stock tales. The Gujarat historians give Muza'ffar and Muhammad the Goli-giver (A.D. 1441-1451) credit for the horse scrupulosity. See Mirát-i-Sikandar-i-Pers. Text, 178.

² Briggs' Farishtah, IV. 236-239, Wákiát-i-Jehángir in Elliot, VI. 349-350, Wákiát-i-Mushtáki in Elliot, IV. 551-555; Malcolm's Central India, I. 35-36. The Mirát-i-Sikandar-i-Pers. Text, 160 has the following notice of Ghías-ud-dín. The Sultáns of Mándu had reached such a pitch of luxury and ease that it is impossible to imagine aught exceeding it. Among them Sultán Ghías-ud-dín was so famous for his luxurious habits, that at present (A.D. 1611) if any one exceeds in luxury and pleasure, they say he is a second Ghías-ud-dín. The orders of the Sultán were that no event of a painful nature or one in which there was any touch of sadness should be related to him. They say that during his entire reign news of a sad nature was only twice conveyed to him: once when his son-in-law died and once when his daughter was brought before him clothed in white. On this occasion the Sultán is related to have simply said, "Perhaps her husband is dead." Thus he said because the custom of the people of India is that when the husband of a woman dies she gives up wearing coloured clothes. The second occasion was when the army of Sultán Bahlol Lodi plundered several of the districts of Chandern. Though it was necessary to report this to the Sultán, his ministers were unable to communicate it to him. They therefore asked a band of actors (*dhands*) to assume the dress of Afgháns, and mentioning the districts to represent them as being pillaged and laid waste. Sultán Ghías-ud-dín exclaimed in surprise, "But is the governor of Chandern dead that he does not avenge upon the Afgháns the ruin of his country?"

³ Compare Catalogue of Indian Coins, The Mahomedan States, pages LIV-LV and 118-121.

Ghás ud-din used to come out every day for an hour from his *harim*, sit on the throne and receive the salutations of his nobles and subjects, and give orders in all weighty matters of state. He used to entrust all minor affairs to his ministers, but in all grave matters he was so anxious not to shirk his responsibility as a ruler, that he had given strict orders that all such communications should be made to him at whatever time they came through a particular female officer appointed to receive his orders.¹

According to most accounts Násir-ud-din was led to poison his father by an attempt of his younger brother Shujat Khan, supported if not organised by some of Ghás ud-din's favourite wives to oust Násir-ud-din from the succession.² In the struggle Násir-ud-din triumphed and was crowned at Mándu in A.D. 1500.³ The new king left Mándu to put down a revolt. On his return to Mándu he devoted himself to debauchery and to hunting down and murdering his brother's adherents. He subjected his mother Khurshid Rani to great indignities and torture to force from her information regarding his father's concealed treasures.⁴ In a fit of drunkenness he fell into a reservoir. He was pulled out by four of his female slaves. He awoke with a headache, and discovering what his slaves had done put them to death with his own hand.⁵ Some time after in A.D. 1512, he again fell into the reservoir, and there he was left till he was dead.⁶ Násir-ud-din was fond of building. His palace at Akburpur in the Nimar plain about twenty miles south of Mándu was splendid and greatly admired.⁷ And at Mándu besides his sepulchre⁸ which the emperor Jehangír (A.D. 1617) mentions,⁹ an

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¹ Farishtah Pers. Text, II 507.

² Farishtah (Pers. Text, II 508) detailing how Násir ud dín came to power, says There was a difference between Násir ud dín and his brother Alá ud dín. The mother of these princes, Khurshid Ráni, who was the daughter of the Hindu chief of Báglaña, had taken Alá ud dín the younger brother's side. After killing his father Násir ud dín ordered his mother to be dragged out of the *harim* and Alá ud dín and his children to be slaughtered like lambs.

³ Briggs' Farishtah, IV 238-239. Farishtah holds that Násir ud dín's murder of his father is not proved. He adds (Pers. Text, II 516) that Násir ud dín was at Dhár where he had gone to quell the rebellion of the nobles when the news of Ghás ud dín's death reached him. He argues that as a parricide cannot flourish more than a year after his father's murder, and as Násir ud dín ruled for years after that event, he could not have killed his father.

⁴ Farishtah Pers. Text, II 516.

⁵ Briggs' Farishtah, IV 243. The emperor Jehangír (Memoirs Pers. Text, 181) says that Násir ud dín had a disease which made him feel so hot that he used to sit for hours in water.

⁶ Wáki'at i Jehángíri in Elliot, VI 350. Farishtah (Pers. Text, II 517-18) says that Násir ud dín died of a burning fever he had contracted by hard drinking and other evil habits, that he showed keen penitence before his death, and bequeathed his kingdom to his third son Mahmud. The emperor Jehangír (Memoirs Pers. Text, 181) confirms the account of the Wáki'at as to the manner of Násir ud dín's death.

⁷ Briggs' Farishtah, IV 243.

⁸ The emperor Jehangír thus describes (Memoirs Pers. Text, 181) his visit to Násir-ud-dín's grave. It is related that when during his reign Sher Khán Afghán búr (A.D. 1540-1556) visited Násir ud dín's grave he ordered his attendants to flagellate the parricide's tomb. When I visited the sepulchre I kicked his grave and ordered those with me to do the same. Not satisfied with this I ordered his bones to be dug out and burned and the ashes to be thrown into the Narbada.

⁹ Wáki'at i Jehángíri in Elliot, VI 350. The emperor Jehangír (Memoirs Pers. Text, 202) refers to the well known bridge and water palace about three miles north of Ujjain as the work of Násir ud dín. He says On Sunday I reached Saadulpur near Ujjain. In this village is a river house with a bridge on which are alcoves both built by Násir ud dín Khilji (A.D. 1500-1512). Though the bridge is not specially praiseworthy the water courses and cisterns connected with it have a certain merit.

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inscription shows that the palace now known by the name of Báz Bahádúr was built by Násir-ud-dín

Násir-ud-dín was succeeded by his younger son (Mehmúd A.D. 1512-1530), who, with the title of Mehmúd the Second, was crowned with great pomp at Mándu. Seven hundred elephants in gold-embroidered velvet housings adorned the procession¹ Shortly after his accession Mehmúd II was driven out of Mándu by the revolt of the commandant Mubáfiz Khán, but was restored by the skill and courage of Medámí Rái his Rájput commander-in-chief² A still more dangerous combination by Muzaffar II (A.D. 1511-1526) of Gujarát and Sikandar Sháh Lodí (A.D. 1488-1516) of Dehli, was baffled by the foresight and energy of the same Rájput general Mehmúd, feeling that his power had passed to the Hindus, tried to disband the Rájputs and assassinate Medámí Rái. Failing in both attempts Mehmúd fled from Mándu to Gujarát, where he was well received by Sultán Muzaffar (A.D. 1511-1526)³ They advanced together against Mándu, and in A.D. 1519, after a close siege of several months, took the fort by assault. The Rájput garrison, who are said to have lost 19,000 men, fought to the last, consecrating the close of their defence by a general *javar* or fire-sacrifice. Sultán Mehmúd entered Mándu close after the storming party, and while Mehmúd established his authority in Mándu, Muzaffar withdrew to Dhár. When order was restored Mehmúd sent this message to Muzaffar at Dhár "Mándu is a splendid fort. You should come and see it." "May Mándu," Muzaffar replied, "bring good fortune to Sultán Mehmúd. He is the master of the fort. For the sake of the Lord I came to his help. On Friday I will go to the fortress, and having had the sermon read in Mehmud's name will return." On Muzaffar's arrival in Mándu Mehmúd gave a great entertainment,⁴ and Muzaffar

¹ Briggs' *Farishtah*, IV. 246.

² Briggs' *Farishtah*, IV. 247-249 Malcolm's (*Central India*, I. 38) writes the Rájput's name Maderay. The Mirát-i-Sikandarí (Persian Text, 149-155), gives the form Medámí Rái, the Lord of the Battlefield, a title which the author says (page 149) Mehmud conferred on the Rájput in acknowledgment of his prowess.

³ The Mirát-i-Sikandarí (Pers. Text, 154) gives the following details of Mehmúd's fight. Sultán Mehmúd, on pretence of hunting left Mándu and remained hunting for several days. The Hindus, whom Medámí Rái had placed on guard over him, slept after the fatigue of the chase. Only some of the more trusted guards remained. Among them was a Rájput named Krishna, a Málwa *zamíndár* who was attached to the Sultán. Mehmud said to Krishna, "Can you find me two horses and show me the way to Gujarát that I may get aid from Sultán Muzaffar to punish these rascals? If you can, do so at once, and, Allah willing, you shall be handsomely rewarded." Krishna brought two horses from the Sultán's stables. Mehmúd rode on one and seated his dearest of wives, Rání Kannya Kuar, on the other. Krishna marched in front. In half the night and one day they reached the Gujarát frontier.

⁴ *Táríkh-i-Sher Sháhí* in Elliot, IV. 386 The Mirát-i-Sikandarí (Pers. Text, 160) gives the following details of the banquet. Sultán Mehmúd showed great hospitality and humility. After the banquet as he led the Sultán over the palaces, they came to a mansion in the centre of which was a four cornered building like the Kaábah, carved and gilded, and round it were many apartments. When Sultán Muzaffar placed his foot within the threshold of that building the thousand beauties of Sultán Mehmúd's *harím*, magnificently apparelled and jewelled, all at once opened the doors of their chambers and burst into view like huns and faïres. When Muzaffar's eyes fell on their charms he bowed his head and said "To see other than one's own *harím* is sinful." Sultán Mehmúd replied "These are mine, and therefore your's, seeing that I am the slave purchased by your Majesty's kindness." Muzaffar said "They are more suitable for you. May you have joy in them. Let them retire." At a signal from Sultán Mehmud the ladies vanished.

retired to Gujarát leaving a force of 3000 Gujarátis to help to guard the hill.¹ Immediately after Muzaffar's departure, as Sultán Mehmúd was anxious to recover Chandern and Gágraun, which still remained in the possession of Medáni Rái and his supporters, he marched against them. Rána Sága of Chitor came to Medáni's aid and a great battle was fought.² Mehmúd's hastiness led him to attack when his men were weary and the Rajputs were fresh. In spite of the greatest bravery on the part of himself and of his officers the Musalmán army was defeated, and Mehmúd, weakened by loss of blood, was made prisoner. Rána Sága had Mehmúd's wounds dressed, sent him to Chitor, and on his recovery released him.³

In A.D. 1526, by giving protection to his outlawed brother Chánd Khán and to Razí-ul-Mulk, a refugee Gujarát noble, Mehmúd brought on himself the wrath of Bahádúr Sháh of Gujarát (A.D. 1526-1536). The offended Bahádúr did not act hastily. He wrote to Mehmúd asking him to come to his camp and settle their quarrels. He waited on the Gujarát frontier at Karjí Ghát, east of Bānswara, until at last satisfied that Mehmúd did not wish for a peaceful settlement he advanced on Mándu. Meanwhile Mehmúd had repaired the walls of Mándu, which soon after was invested by Bahádúr. The siege was proceeding in regular course by mines and batteries, and the garrison, though overtaxed, were still loyal and in heart, when in the dim light of morning Mehmúd suddenly found the Gujarát flag waving on the battlements. According to the *Mirát-i-Sikandarí*⁴ Bahádúr annoyed by the slow progress of the siege asked his spies where was the highest ground near Mándu. The spies said Towards Songad-Chitor the hill is extremely high. With a few followers the Sultán scaled Songad, and rushing down the slope burst through the wall and took the fort (May 20th, 1526).⁵ Mehmúd surrendered. Near Dohad, on his way to his prison at Chámpánír, an attempt was made to rescue Mehmúd, and to prevent their escape he and some of his sons were slain and buried on the bank of the Dohad tank.⁶ Bahádúr spent the rainy season (June-October 1526) in Mándu, and Málwa was incorporated with Gujarát.

Mándu remained under Gujarát, till in A.D. 1534, after Bahádúr's defeat by Humáyún at Mandasor, Bahádúr retired to Mándu. Humáyún followed. At night 200 of Humáyún's soldiers went to the back of the fortress, according to Farnshtah the south-west height of Songad⁷ by which Bahádúr had surprised Mehmúd's garrison, scaled the walls by ladders and ropes, opened the gate, and let others in. Mallu Khán, the commandant of the batteries, a native of Málwa, who afterwards gained the title of Kádír Sháh, went to Bahádúr and wakened him. Bahádúr rushed out with four or five attendants. He was joined by about twenty more, and reaching the gate at the top of the *mardán*, apparently the Tárápúr gate by which Humáyún's men had entered, cut through 200 of Humáyún's troops and went off with Mallu Khán to the fort of Songad,

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The Emperor
Humáyún,
A.D. 1534-1535.

¹ Briggs' Farnshtah, IV. 250-262.

² Farnshtah Pers. Text, II. 527. According to the *Mirát-i-Sikandarí* (Pers. Text, 161) Mehmud marched against Gágraun first, and slew Hemkaran, a partisan of Medáni Rái, in a hand-to-hand fight. On this the Rána and Medáni Rái joined their forces against Mehmúd.

³ Briggs' Farnshtah, IV. 262-263.

⁴ Persian Edition, 239.

⁵ Briggs' Farnshtah, IV. 267-68. Sultán Bahádúr apparently surprised the party in charge of the Tárápúr or Southern Gate.

⁶ Briggs' Farnshtah, IV. 269, *Mirát-i-Ahmedí*, Persian Text, I. 76.

⁷ Briggs' Farnshtah, II. 77.

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the citadel of Mándu. While two of Bahádur's chiefs, Sadr Khán and Sultán Alam Lodi, threw themselves into Songad, Bahádur himself let his horses down the cliff by ropes and after a thousand difficulties made his way to Chámpánir.¹ On the day after Bahádur's escape Sadr Khán and Sultán Alam Lodi came out of Songad and surrendered to Humáyún.²

In the following year (A.D. 1535) the combined news of Sher Sháh's revolt in Bengal, and of the defeat of his officers at Bionch and Cambay, forced Humáyún to return from Gujarát. As he preferred its climate he withdrew, not to Agra but to Mándu.³ From Mándu, as fortune was against him in Bengal, Humáyún went (A.D. 1535-36) to Agra.

On Humáyún's departure three chiefs attempted to establish themselves at Mándu. Bhápat Kán, the ruler of Bijágar, sixty miles south of Mándu, Mallu Khán or Kádú Sháh, a former commandant of Mándu, and Mírán Muhammad Fárúki from Buhánpur.⁴ Of these three Mallu Khan was successful. In A.D. 1536, when Humáyún fled from Sher Sháh to Persia, Mallu spread his power from Mándu to Ujjain Sítangpur and Rantambhor, assumed the title of Kádú Sháh Málwi, and made Mándu his capital. Some time after Sher Sháh, who was now supreme, wrote to Mallu Kádú Sháh ordering him to co-operate in expelling the Mughals. Kádú Sháh resenting this assumption of overlordship, addressed Sher Sháh as an inferior. When Sher Sháh received Mallu's order he folded it and placed it in the scabbard of his poniard to keep the indignity fresh in his mind. Alláh willing, he said, we shall ask an explanation for this in person.⁵ In A.D. 1542 (H. 949) as Kádú Sháh failed to act with Kutb Khán, who had been sent to establish Sher Sháh's overlordship in Málwa, Sher Sháh advanced from Gwalior towards Mándu with the object of punishing Kádú Sháh.⁶ As he knew he could not stand against Sher Sháh Kádú Sháh went to Sítangpur to do homage. Though on arrival Kádú Sháh was well received, his kingdom was given to Shuját Khan, one of Sher Sháh's chief followers, and himself placed in Shuját Khan's keeping.⁷ Suspicious of what might be in store for

¹ Abul Fazl's Akbar Námah in Elliot, VI 14, Briggs' Farishtah, II 77.

² Abul Fazl's Akbar Námah in Elliot, V 192.

³ Abul Fazl's Akbar Námah in Elliot, VI 15, Briggs' Farishtah, II 80-81.

⁴ Abul Fazl's Akbar Námah in Elliot, VI 18. According to Farishtah (Pers. Text, II 532) Mallu, the son of Mallu, was a native of Málwa and a Khilji slave noble. Mallu received his title of Kádú Sháh from Sultán Mahmud III. of Gujarát (A.D. 1536-1544) at the recommendation of his minister Imád-ul Mulk who was a great friend of Mallu. Mirát-i-Sikandari, Persian Text, 298.

⁵ Farishtah Pers. Text, II 532.

⁶ Farúkhi i Sher Sháh in Elliot, IV 391, Briggs' Farishtah, IV 271-72.

⁷ Farishtah (Pers. Text, 533-34) refers to the following circumstance as the cause of Kádú Sháh's suspicion. On his way to Sher Sháh's darbar at Ujjain Kádú saw some Mughal prisoners in chains making a road. One of the prisoners seeing him began to sing

Ward mī līn dardī ahvāl o fikrī khishtān mī kunī
In this plight thou seest me to-day,
Thine own turn is not far away

When Kádú Sháh escaped, Sher Sháh on hearing of his flight exclaimed—

Bī wad chī kard dīdī
Mallu Ghulām-e-qāhī

Thus he treats us with scorn,
Mallu the slave base born

To this one of Sher Sháh's men replied

Kāul-i Farūd bar hāhī
I-i-khura ft abhī

The words of the Prophet are true,
No good can a slave ever do

Local
Musalmán Chiefs,
A.D. 1536-1542.

Sher Sháh Súr,
A.D. 1542-1545.

Hum Kádir Sháh fled to Gujrat Sher Sháh was so much annoyed at Shujaát Khán's remissness in not preventing Kádir Sháh's escape that he transferred the command at Dhá and Mandu from Shujáát Khán to Hají Khán and Junaid Khán. Shortly after Kádir Sháh brought a force from Gujarat and attacked Mandu Shujaát came to Hají Khán's help and routed Kádir Sháh under the walls of Mandu In reward Sher Sháh made him ruler of the whole country of Mándu¹ Shujaát Khan established his head-quarters at Mandu with 10,000 horse and 7000 matchlockmen.

During the reign of Sher Sháh's successor Salím Shah (A D 1545 - 1553), Shujáát was forced to leave Malwa and seek shelter in Dúngarpúr Selim pardoned Shujaát, but divided Málwa among other nobles. Shujáát remained in Hindustan till in A D 1553, on the accession of Salím's successor, Adilí, he recovered Malwa, and in A.D. 1554, on the decay of Adilí's power, assumed independence² He died almost immediately after, and was succeeded by his eldest son Malík Báyzázid³ Shujáát Khan was a great builder. Besides his chief works at Shujáwalpúr near Ujjain, he left many memorials in different parts of Malwa⁴ So far none of the remains at Mandu are known to have been erected during the rule of Shujáát Khan

On the death of his father Malík Báyzázid killed his brother Daulat Khán, and was crowned in A.D 1555 with the title of Báẓ Bahádúr He attacked the Gonds, but met with so crushing a defeat that he foreswore fighting⁵ He gave himself to enjoyment and become famous as a musician,⁶ and for his poetic love of Rúp Maní or Rúp Matí, who according to one account was a wise and beautiful courtesan of Saháranpúr in Northern India, and according to another was the daughter of a Nímar Rájput, the master of the town of Dhárampurí.⁷ In A.D. 1560 Pír Muhammad, a general of Akbar's, afterwards ennobled as Khán Jehán, defeated Báẓ Bahádúr, drove him out of Mándu, and made the hill his own head-quarters⁸ In the following year (A.D 1561), by the help of the Berár chief, Pír Muhammad was slain and Báẓ Bahádúr reinstated On news of this defeat (A D 1562) Akbar sent Abdulláh Khán Uzbek with almost unlimited power to reconquer the province Abdullah was successful, but, as he showed signs of assuming independence, Akbar moved against him and he fled to Gujarát⁹ Akbar remained in Mándu during the greater part of the following rains (A D 1563), examining with interest the buildings erected by the Khiljí kings¹⁰ At Mandu Akbar married the daughter of Mírán Mubarak Khan of Khándesh¹¹ When Akbar left (August 1564) he appointed Karra Bahádúr Khán governor of Mandu and returned to Agra.¹² In A D 1568 the Murzás, Akbar's cousins, flying from Gujarat attacked

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Salím Sháh Súr,
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Báẓ Bahádúr,
A D. 1555-1570.

¹ Táríkh i-Sher Sháhi in Elliot, IV 397
² Táríkh-i Alfi in Elliott, V 168, Elphinstone's India, 402-403.
³ Táríkh i Alfi in Elliot, V 168
⁴ Briggs' Farishtah, IV 276.
⁵ When Báẓ Bahádúr attacked the Gonds their chief was dead, and his widow, Ráni Durgávati, was ruling in his place The Ráni led the Gonds against the invaders, and hemming them in one of the passes, inflicted on them such a defeat that Báẓ Bahádúr fled from the field leaving his baggage and camp in her hands Farishtah Pers Text, II 538
⁶ According to Farishtah (Pers. Text, II 538) Báẓ Bahádúr was already an adept in music
⁷ Malcolm's Central India, I 39, Ruins of Mándu, 30
⁸ Briggs' Farishtah, II. 210
⁹ Blochman's Ain i Akbari, 321
¹⁰ Briggs' Farishtah, IV. 211
¹¹ Briggs' Farishtah, IV. 216.
¹² Tabakát i-Akbari in Elliot, V 291.

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Ujjain From Ujjain they retreated to Mándu and failing to make any impression on the fort withdrew to Gujarát¹ The Mirzá's failure was due to the ability of Akbar's general, Háji Muhammad Khán, to whom Akbar granted the province of Mándu² At the same time (A.D. 1568) the command of Mandu hill was entrusted to Sháh Budágh Khán, who continued commandant of the fort till his death many years later During his command, in a picturesque spot overlooking a well-watered ravine in the south of Mándu, between the Ságur Lake and the Tárápur Gateway, Budágh Khán built a pleasure-house, which he named, or rather perhaps which he continued to call Nílkanth or Blue Throat This lodge is interesting from the following inscriptions, which show that the emperor Akbar more than once rested within its walls³

The inscription on the small north arch of Nílkanth, dated A.D. 1574, runs -

(Call it not waste) to spend your life in water and earth (i.e. in building).
If perchance a man of mind for a moment makes your house his lodging.
Written by Sháh Buda'gh Khan in the year A.H. 982-87.⁴

The inscription on the great southern arch of Nílkanth, dated A.D. 1574, runs

This pleasant building was completed in the reign of the great Sultan, the most munificent and just Kha'kan, the Lord of the countries of Arabia and Persia,⁵ the shadow of God on the two earths, the ruler of the sea and of the land, the exalter of the standards of those who war on the side of God, Abul Fatah Jala'l-ud-din Muhammad Akbar, the warrior king, may his dominion and his kingdom be everlasting

Written by Faridun Husein, son of Ha tim-al-Wardi, in the year A.H. 982⁶

The inscription on the right wall of Nílkanth, dated A.D. 1591-92, runs:

In the year A.H. 1000, when on his way to the conquest of the Dakhan, the slaves of the Exalted Lord of the Earth, the holder of the sky-like Throne, the shadow of Alla'h (the Emperor Akbar), passed by this place
That time wastes your home cease, Soul, to complain,
Who will not scorn a complainer so vain
From the story of others this wisdom derive,
Ere naught of thyself but stories survive

The inscription on the left wall of Nílkanth, dated A.D. 1600, runs.

The (Lord of the mighty Presence) shadow of Alla'h, the Emperor Akbar, after the conquest of the Dakhan and

¹ Tabakát-i Akbari in Elliot, V. 330-31

² Blochman's Ain-i-Akbari, 375.

³ The emperor Jihángir thus describes (Memoirs Pers. Text, 372) a visit to this building On the third day of Amardád (July 1617) with the palace ladies I set out to see Nílkanth, which is one of the pleasantest places in Mándu fort Sháh Budágh Khán, who was one of the trusted nobles of my august father, built this very pleasing and joy giving lodge during the time he held this province in fief (A.D. 1572-1577) I remained at Nílkanth till about an hour after nightfall and then returned to my state quarters

⁴ An officer who distinguished himself under Humáyun, one of Akbar's commanders of Three Thousand, long governor of Mándu, where he died. Blochman's Ain-i-Akbari, 372.

⁵ When opposed to Arab the word Ájam signifies all countries except Arabia, and in a narrower sense, Persia The meaning of the word Ájam is dumbness, the Arabs so glorying in the richness of their own tongue as to hold all other countries and nations dumb

⁶ The stones on which this inscription is carved have been wrongly arranged by some restorer. Those with the latter portion of the inscription come first and those with the beginning come last. Munshi Abdur Rahim of Dhár

Da'ndos (Kha'ndesh) in the year A.H. 1009 set out for
Hind (Northern India)

May the name of the writer last for ever !

At dawn and at eve I have watched an owl sitting

On the lofty wall-top of Shirwān Shāh's Tomb¹

The owl's plaintive hooting convey'd me this warning

"Here pomp, wealth, and greatness lie dumb"

In A.D. 1573, with the rest of Málwā, Akbar handed Mándu to Muzaffar III the dethroned ruler of Gujarát. It seems doubtful if Muzaffar ever visited his new territory.² On his second defeat in A.D. 1562 Báz Bahádúr retired to Gondwana, where he remained, his power gradually waning, till in A.D. 1570 he paid homage to the emperor and received the command of 2000 horse.³ His decoration of the Rewa Pool, of the palace close by, which though built by Násir-ud-din Khiljī (A.D. 1500-1512) was probably repaired by Báz Bahádúr, and of Rúp Matī's pavilion on the crest of the southern ridge make Báz Bahádúr one of the chief beautifiers of Mándu. According to Farishtah (Pers. Text, II 538-39) in 1562, when Báz Bahádúr went out to meet Akbar's general, Adham Khán Atkah, he placed Rúp Matī and his other singers in Sárangpur under a party of his men with orders to kill the women in case of a reverse. On hearing of Báz Bahádúr's defeat the soldiers hastily sabred as many of the women as they could and fled. Among the women left for dead was Rúp Matī, who, though dangerously wounded, was not killed. When Adham Atkah entered Sárangpur his first care was to enquire what had become of Rúp Matī. On hearing of her condition he had her wound attended to by the best surgeons, promising her, as a help to her cure, a speedy union with her beloved. On her recovery Rúp Matī claimed the general's promise. He prevaricated and pressed his own suit. Rúp Matī temporised. One night the impatient Turk sent her a message asking her to come to him. Rúp Matī to gain time invited him to her own pavilion which she said was specially adorned to be the abode of love. Next night the Atkah went to her house in disguise. Her women directed him to Rúp Matī's couch. Adham found her robed and garlanded, but cold in death. Rúp Matī was buried on an island in a lake at Ujjain, and there, according to the *Áin-i-Akbarī*, Báz Bahádúr when he died was laid beside her.⁴

SECTION II — MUGHALS (A.D. 1570-1720) AND MARÁTHÁS (A.D. 1720-1820)

About A.D. 1590 Akbar's historian, the great Abul Fazl, described Mándu as a large city whose fortress is twenty-four miles (twelve *kos*) in circuit. He notices that besides in the centre of the hill where stands an eight-storeyed minaret, the city had many monuments of ancient magnificence, among them the tombs of the Khiljī Sultāns. And that from the dome which is over the sepulchre of Sultān Mehmúd, the son of Hoshang (this should be the sepulchre of Hoshang built by his successor Sultān Mehmúd) water drops in the height of summer to the astonishment of the ignorant. But, he adds, men of understanding know how to account for the water-drops.⁵ Abul Fazl further notices that on Mándu Hill is found a species of tamarind whose fruit is as big as the cocoanut, the pulp of

¹ The maternal uncle of Naushírwān (A.D. 586-635) the Sásánian, Shirwān Shāh was ruler of a district on Mount Caucasus. Al Masūdi, Arabic Text *Præfatus* d'Or, II 4, and *Rauzat-us-Safa*, Persian Text, I 259.

² Blochman's *Áin-i-Akbarī*, 353.

⁴ Blochman's *Áin-i-Akbarī*, 429.

³ Briggs' *Farishtah*, IV. 279.

⁵ Gladwin's *Áin-i-Akbarī*, II. 41.

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which is very white. This is the African baobab or *Adansonia digitata*, known in Hindustani as *goramiti* or white tamarind, whose great fruit is about the size of a coconut. Its monster baobabs are still a feature of Mandu. Some among them look old enough to have been yielding fruit 300 years ago. Finally Abul Fazl refers to Mandu as one of twenty-eight towns where Akbar's copper coins were struck.¹ About twenty years later (A.D. 1610) the historian Farishtah² thus describes the hill. The fort of Mandu is a work of solid masonry deemed to be one of the strongest fortifications in that part of the world. It is built on an insulated mountain thirty-eight miles in circumference.³ The place of a ditch round the fortification is supplied by a natural ravine so deep that it seems impossible to take the fort by regular approaches. Within the fort is abundance of water and forage, but the area is not large enough to grow a sufficient store of grain. The hill cannot be invested. The easiest access is from the north by the Delhi Gate. The south road with an entrance by the Tārāpur Gate is so steep that cavalry can with difficulty be led up. Like Abul Fazl Farishtah notices that, except during the rains, water constantly oozes from between the chinks in the masonry of the dome of Sultan Hoshang's tomb. He says the natives of India attribute this dripping to universal veneration for Sultan Hoshang, for whose death, they say, the very stones shed tears.

Except that copper coins continued to be minted and that it was nominally one of the four capitals of the empire, during the emperor Akbar's reign Mandu was practically deserted. The only traces of Akbar's presence on the hill are in two of the five inscriptions already quoted from the Nilkanth pleasure house, dated A.D. 1591 and A.D. 1600.

After about fifty years of almost complete neglect the emperor Jehāngir, during a few months in A.D. 1617, enabled Mandu once more to justify its title of Shādiabad, the Abode of Joy. Early in March A.D. 1617, in the eleventh year of his reign, the emperor Jehāngir after spending four months in travelling the 189 miles from Ajmir by way of Ujjain, arrived at Naūlehah on the main land close to the north of Mandu. The emperor notices that most of the forty-six marches into which the 189 miles were divided ended on the bank of some lake stream or great river in green grass and woody landscape, brightened by poppy fields. We came, he writes, enjoying the beauty of the country and shooting, never weary, as if we were moving from one garden to another.

Of the country round Naūlehah Jehāngir says: "What can be written worthy of the beauty and the pleasantness of Naūlehah. The neighbourhood is full of mango trees. The whole country is one unbroken and restful evergreen. Owing to its beauty I remained there three days. I granted the place to Kamāl Khān, taking it from Keshava Mārū, and I changed its name to Kamālpur. I had frequent meetings with some of the wise men of the *jogis*, many of whom had assembled here. Naūlehah is one of the best places in Malwa. It has an extensive growth of vines, and among its mango groves and vineyards wander streamlets of water. I arrived at a time when, contrary to the northern climes, the vines were in blossom and fruit and so great was the vintage that the meanest boor could eat grapes to his fill. The poppy was also in flower, and its fields delighted the eye with their many-coloured beauty."

¹ Blochman's *Ain-i-Akbari*, 31.² Briggs' *Farishtah*, IV 162, 191, 190.³ Nineteen fars, taking the *far* to be two miles.⁴ The emperor Jehāngir's *Memoirs*, Pers. Text, Sir Fayad Ahmed's Edition, 173-203.

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place with Núr Jehán Begam. Núr Jehán asked my leave to shoot the tigers with her gun. I said "Be it so." In a trice she killed these four tigers with six bullets. I had never seen such shooting. To shoot from the back of an elephant from within a closed *howdah* and bring down with six bullets four wild beasts without giving them an opportunity of moving or springing is wonderful. In acknowledgment of this capital marksmanship I ordered a thousand *ashrafis* (Rs 4500) to be scattered¹ over Núr Jehán and granted her a pair of ruby wristlets worth a lák of rupees.²

Of the mangoes of Mánda Jehángir says. In these days many mangoes have come into my fruit stores from the Dakhan, Burhánpur, Gujarat, and the districts of Málwa. This country is famous for its mangoes. There are few places the mangoes of which can rival those of this country in richness of flavour, in sweetness, in freedom from fibre, and in size.³

The rains set in with unusual severity. Rain fell for forty days continuously. With the rain were severe thunderstorms accompanied by lightning which injured some of the old buildings.⁴ His account of the beauty of the hill in July, when clear sunshine followed the forty days of rain, is one of the pleasantest passages in Jehángir's Memoirs. What words of mine can describe the beauty of the grass and of the wild flowers! They clothe each hill and dale, each slope and plain. I know of no place so pleasant in climate and so pretty in scenery as Mánda in the rainy season. This month of July which is one of the months of the hot season, the sun being in Leo, one cannot sleep within the house without a coverlet, and during the day there is no need for a fan. What I have noticed is but a small part of the many beauties of Mánda. Two things I have seen here which I had seen nowhere in India. One of them is the tree of the wild plantain which grows all over the hill top, the other is the nest of the *mamolah* or wagtail. Till now no bird-catcher could tell its nest. It so happened that in the building where I lodged we found a wagtail's nest with two young ones.

The following additional entries in the Memoirs belong to Jehángir's stay at Mánda. Among the presents submitted by Mahábat Khán, who received the honour of kissing the ground at Mánda, Jehángir describes a ruby weighing eleven *misals*.⁵ He says. This ruby was brought to Ajmir last year by a Frankish jeweller who wanted two lákhs of rupees for it. Mahábat Khán bought it at Burhanpur for one lák of rupees.⁶

On the 1st of *Tír*, the fourth month of the Persian year (15th May 1617), the Hindu chiefs of the neighbourhood came to pay their

¹ This scattering of gold silver or copper coin, called in Arabic and Persian *misal*, is a common form of offering. The influence of the evil eye or other baneful influence is believed to be transferred from the person over whom the coin is scattered to the coin and through the coin to him who takes it.

² This feat of Núr Jehán drew from one of the Court poets the couplet

Núr Jehán gar ehl-e ba surat zannat

Dir asfi Mánda zani shir askanat

Núr Jehán the tiger-slayer's woman

Razak with men as the tiger-slaying woman

Sherrifkhan, that is tiger slayer, was the title of Núr Jehán's first husband. Abi-Kuli Is'ajli.

³ *Tuzuk-i-Jehángir Pers. Text*, 187.

⁴ *Tuzuk-i-Jehángir Pers. Text*, 189.

⁵ The *misal* which was used in weighing gold was equal in weight to ninety-six barleycorns. Blochman's *Ain-i-Akbari*, 36.

⁶ *Tuzuk-i-Jehángir Pers. Text*, 195.

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I increased the measure of affection and honours the more humility and respect did he show. I called him near me and made him sit by me. He submitted a thousand *ashrafs* (= Rs. 4500) and a thousand rupees as a gift or *nazar* and the same amount as sacrifice or *nisār*. As there was not time for me to inspect all his presents he produced the elephant Sarnāk, the best of the elephants of Adil Khān of Bijāpur. He also gave me a case full of the rarest precious stones. I ordered the military paymasters to make presents to his nobles according to their rank. The first to come was Khan Jehan, whom I allowed the honour of kissing my feet. For his victory over the Rāna of Chitor I had before granted to my fortunate child Kurram the rank of a commander of 20,000 with 10,000 horse. Now for his service in the Dakhan I made him a commander of 30,000 and 20,000 horse with the title of Shāh Jehān. I also ordered that henceforward he should enjoy the privilege of sitting on a stool near my throne, an honour which did not exist and is the first of its kind granted to anyone in my family. I further granted him a special dress. To do him honour I came down from the window and with my own hand scattered over his head as sacrifice a trayfull of precious stones as well as a large trayfull of gold.

Jehāngir's last Māndu entry is this. On the night of Friday in the month of *Abān* (October 24th, 1617) in all happiness and good fortune I marched from Māndu and halted on the bank of the lake at Nālchah.

Jehāngir's stay at Māndu is referred to by more than one English traveller. In March 1617, the Rev. Edward Terry, chaplain to the right Honourable Sir T. Roe Lord Ambassador to the Great Mughal, came to Māndu from Burhānpūr in east Khāndesh.¹ Terry crossed a broad river, the Narbada, at a great town called Anchabarpur (Akbarpur)² in the Nīmār plain not far south of Māndu hill. The way up, probably by the Bhairav pass a few miles east of Māndu, seemed to Terry exceeding long. The ascent was very difficult, taking the carriages, apparently meaning coaches and wagons, two whole days.³ Terry found the hill of Māndu stuck round with fair trees that kept then distance so, one from and below the other, that there was much delight in beholding them from either the bottom or the top of the hill. From one side only was the ascent not very high and steep. The top was flat plain and spacious with vast and

¹ A Voyage to Last India, 151. Terry gives April 1616, but Roe seems correct in saying March 1617. Compare Wākāt-i-Jehāngir in Elliot, VI. 351.

² Akbarpur lies between Dharanpur and Walsar. Malcolm's Central India, I. 81 note.

³ Carriages may have the old meaning of things carried, that is baggage. The time taken favours the view that wagons or carts were forced up the hill. For the early sixteenth century use of carriages in its modern sense compare Terry (Voyage, 161). Of our wagons drawn with oxen . . . and other carriages we made a ring every night, also Dodsworth (1614), who describes a band of Rajputs near Baroda cutting off two of his carriages (Kerr's Voyages, IX. 203), and Roe (1616), who journeyed from Ajmir to Māndu with twenty camels, four carts and two coaches (Kerr, IX. 308). Terry's carriages seem to be Roe's coaches, to which Dela Valle (A.D. 1623) Hakluyt's Edition, I. 21) refers as much like the Indian chariots described by Strabo (B.C. 50) covered with crimson silk fringed with yellow about the roof and the curtains. Compare Idrisi (A.D. 1160-1150), but probably from Al Istakhrī, A.D. 960. Elliot, I. 87). In all Nahrvala or north Gujarāt the only mode of carrying either passengers or goods is in chariots drawn by oxen with harness and traces under the control of a driver. When in 1616 Jehāngir left Ajmir for Māndu the English carriage presented to him by the English ambassador Sir Thomas Roe was allotted to the Sultanah Nūr Jehān Begum. It was driven by an English coachman. Jehāngir followed in the coach his own men had made in imitation of the English coach. Corryat (1615, Crudites, III, Letters from India, unpag.) calls the English chariot a gallant coach of 150 pounds price.

far-stretching woods in which were lions tigers and other beasts of prey and many wild elephants Terry passed through Mándu a few days' march across a plain and level country, apparently towards Dhár, where he met the Lord Ambassador Sir Thomas Roe, who had summoned Terry from Surat to be his chaplain Sir Thomas Roe was then marching from Ajmir to Mándu with the Court of the emperor Jehángír, whom Terry calls the Great King.

On the 3rd of March, says Roe, the Mughal was to have entered Mándu But all had to wait for the good hour fixed by the astrologers From the 6th of March, when he entered Mándu, till the 24th of October, the emperor Jehángír, with Sir Thomas Roe in attendance, remained at Mándu¹ According to Roe before the Mughal visited Mándu the hill was not much inhabited, having more ruins by far than standing houses.² But the moving city that accompanied the emperor soon overflowed the hill-top. According to Roe Jehángír's own encampment was walled round half a mile in circuit in the form of a fortress, with high screens or curtains of coarse stuff, somewhat like Aras hangings, red on the outside, the inside divided into compartments with a variety of figures This enclosure had a handsome gateway and the circuit was formed into various coins and bulwarks The posts that supported the curtains were all surmounted with brass tops³ Besides the emperor's encampment were the noblemen's quarters, each at an appointed distance from the king's tents, very handsome, some having their tents green, others white, others of mixed colours The whole composed the most curious and magnificent sight Roe had ever beheld⁴ The hour taken by Jehángír in passing from the Dohli Gate to his own quarters, the two English miles from Roe's lodge which was not far from the Dohli Gate to Jehángír's palace, and other reasons noted below make it almost certain that the Mughal's encampment and the camps of the leading nobles were on the open slopes to the south of the Sea Lake between Báiz Bahádúr's palace on the east and Songad on the west And that the palace at Mándu from which Jehángír wrote was the building now known as Báiz Bahádúr's palace⁵ A few months before it reached Mándu the imperial camp had turned the whole valley of Ajmir into a magnificent city,⁶ and a few weeks before reaching Mándu at Thoda, about fifty miles south-east of Ajmir, the camp formed a settlement not less in circuit than twenty English miles, equalling in size almost any town in Europe⁷ In the middle of the encampment were all sorts of shops so regularly disposed that all persons knew where to go for everything

The demands of so great a city overtaxed the powers of the deserted Mándu. The scarcity of water soon became so pressing that the poor were commanded to leave and all horses and cattle were ordered off the hill⁸ Of the scarcity of water the English traveller Coryat, who was then a guest of Sir Thomas Roe, writes On the first day one of my Lord's people, Master Herbert, brother to Sir Edward Herbert, found a fountain which, if he had not done, he would have had to send ten course

Appendix II
THE HILL FOR
OF MANDU
HISTORY
The Mughals,
A.D. 1570-1720,

¹ Kerr's Voyages, IX. 335, Wákhát-i-Jehángír in Elliot, VI. 377.

² Roe writing from Ajmir in the previous year (29th August 1616) describes Mándu as a castle on a hill, where there is no town and no buildings Kerr, IX. 267.

³ Roe in Kerr's Travels, IX. 313.

⁴ Roe in Kerr's Travels, IX. 314

⁵ Compare Wákhát-i-Jehángír in Elliot, VI. 377.

⁶ Roe in Kerr's Travels, IX. 314

⁷ Roe in Kerr's Travels, IX. 321.

⁸ Roe in Kerr's Travels, IX. 335.

The Mughals,
A.D. 1570-1720.

The pleasant outlying position of Roe's lodge proved to be open to the sky and on that out of the vast wilderness wild beasts often came, seldom returning without a sheep a goat or a kid. One evening a great lion leapt over the stone wall that encompassed the yard and snapt up the Lord Ambassador's little white neat shock that is as Roe explains a small Irish mastiff, which ran out barking at the lion. Out of the ruins of the mosque and tomb Roe built a lodge,⁷ and here he passed the rains with his family including besides his secretary, chaplain, and cook twenty-three Englishmen and about sixty native servants and during part of the time the sturdy half-crazed traveller Tom Corryate or Corrat.⁸ They had

* Terry's Voyage, 228 * Terry's Voyage, 69

their flock of sheep and goats, all necessities belonging to the kitchen and everything else required for bodily use including bedding and all things pertaining thereto¹. Among the necessities were tables² and chairs, since the Ambassador refused to adopt the Mughal practice of sitting cross-legged on mats "like taylor on their shopboards". Roe's diet was dressed by an English and an Indian cook and was served on plate by waiters in red taffata cloaks guarded with green taffata. The chaplain wore a long black cassock, and the Lord Ambassador wore English habits made as light and cool as possible³.

On the 12th of March, a few days after they were settled at Mándu, came the festival of the Persian New Year. Jehángir held a great reception seated on a throne of gold bespangled with rubies emeralds and turquoises. The hall was adorned with pictures of the King and Queen of England, the Princess Elizabeth, Sir Thomas Smith and others, with beautiful Persian hangings. On one side, on a little stage, was a couple of women singers. The king commanded that Sir T. Roe should come up and stand beside him on the steps of the throne where stood on one side the Persian Ambassador and on the other the old king of Kandahár with whom Sir T. Roe ranked. The king called the Persian Ambassador and gave him some stones and a young elephant. The Ambassador knelt and knocked his head against the steps of the throne to thank him⁴. From time to time during Terry's stay at Mándu, the Mughal, with his stout daring Persian and Tartarian horsemen and some grandees, went out to take young wild elephants in the great woods that environed Mándu. The elephants were caught in strong toils prepared for the purpose and were manned and made fit for service. In these hunts the king and his men also pursued lions and other wild beasts on horseback, killing some of them with their bows carbines and lances⁵.

The first of September was Jehángir's birthday. The king, says Corryat,⁶ was forty-five years old, of middle height, corpulent, of a seemly composition of body, and of an olive coloured skin. Roe went to pay his respects and was conducted apparently to Báẓ Bahádúr's Gardens to the east of the Rewa Pool. This tangled orchard was then a beautiful garden with a great square pond or tank set all round with trees and flowers and in the middle of the garden a pavilion or pleasure-house under which hung the scales in which the king was to be weighed⁷. The scales were of beaten gold set with many small stones as rubies and turquoises. They were hung by chains of gold, large and massive, but strengthened by silken ropes. The beam and tressels from which the scales hung were covered with thin plates of gold. All round were the nobles of the court seated on rich carpets waiting for the king. He came laden with diamonds rubies pearls and other precious vanities, making a great and glorious show. His sword targets and throne were corresponding in riches and splendour. His head neck breast and arms above the elbows and at the wrist were decked with chains of precious stones, and every finger had two or three rich rings. His legs were as it were fettered with chains of diamonds and rubies as large as walnuts and amazing pearls. He got into the scales crouching or sitting on his legs like a woman. To counterpoise his weight bags sand to contain Rs. 9000 in

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THE HILL FORT
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HISTORY

The Mughals,
A.D. 1570-1720

¹ Terry's Voyage, 183

² Terry's Voyage, 186, 198

³ Terry's Voyage, 198, 205.

⁴ Roe in Kerr's Voyages, IX. 337, Pinkerton's Voyages, VIII. 35

⁵ Terry's Voyage, 403

⁶ Corryat's Crudities, III, Letter 2. Extracts unpag'd.

⁷ Roe in Kerr's Voyages, IX. 343.

The Mughals,
A.D. 1570-1720.

² Turner's Verse, 189

carriack which showed its life on the side of the hill covered over with part of that rock. It was a place that had much beauty in it by reason of the cypress, we have, lap best ved on it and much pleasure by reason of the cypress. Beside the fountain this great has still one of the clear muddy cold and murmurs peccoloped tallstones where, as Terry says, water will down a broad stone table with many hollows like to small pebbles, and passage over the hollows making, so pretty a murmur as helps to tie the eye with the bonds of sleep.

Shah Jehan seems to have been pleased with Mándu. He returned in A.D. 1621 and stayed at Mándu till he marched north against his father in A.D. 1622. In March A.D. 1623, Shah Jehan came out of Mándu with 20,000 horse, many elephants, and powerful artillery, intending to fight his brother Shah Parvur. After the failure of this expedition Shah Jehan returned to Mándu. At this time (A.D. 1623) the Italian traveller Dela Valle ranks Mándu with Agra, Lahore and Ahmedabad, as the four capitals, each endowed with an imperial palace and court. Five years later the great, cruel Khan Jehan Lodhi besieged Mándu, but apparently without success. Khan Jehan Lodhi's siege of Mándu is mentioned, in connection with a description of Mándu in Herbert's Travels. Herbert, who was in Gujarat in A.D. 1626, says Mándu is seated at the side of a declining hill (apparently Herbert refers to the slope from the southern crest northwards to Sagur Lake and the Grot or Nallanth) in which both for ornament and defence is a castle which is strong in being encompassed with a defensive wall of nearly five miles (probably *for* that is ten miles) the whole, he adds, heretofore had fifteen miles circuit. But the city later built is of less time yet fresher beauty, whether you behold the temples (in one of which are entombed four kings), palaces or fortresses, especially that tower which is elevated 170 steps supported by massive pillars and adorned with gates and windows very observable. It was built by Khan Jehan, who there lies buried. The confusedness of these details shows that Herbert obtained them second-hand, probably from Corryat's Master Herbert on Sir T. Roe's staff. The new city of fresher

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THE HILL FORT
OF MANDU.

HERBERT

The Mughals
A.D. 1570-1720.

¹ Terry's Voy., c. 161

² WALKER i Jehangir in I Hist., VI 383

³ WALKER i Jehangir in I Hist., VI 387

⁴ Iphigene's History, 49, 97. Compare Dela Valle (Haklyt Edition, I 177) writing in A.D. 1621, Sultan Khurram after his defeat by Jehangir retired to Mándu.

⁵ Dela Valle's Travels, Haklyt Edition I 97

⁶ Iphigene's History, 507.

⁷ Herbert's Travels, 81. Corryat's Master Herbert was as already noticed named like the traveller Thomas. The two Thomases were distant relations, both being fourth in descent from Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrook, who lived about the middle of the fifteenth century. A further connection between the two families is the copy of complimentary verses "To my cousin Sir Thomas Herbert," signed Ch. Herbert, in the 1671 and 1695 editions of Herbert's Travels, which are naturally, though somewhat doubtfully, ascribed to Charles Herbert, a brother of our Master Thomas. It is therefore probable that after his return to England Sir Thomas Herbert obtained the Mándu details from Master Thomas who was himself a writer, the author of several poems and pamphlets. Corryat's tale how, during the water famine at Mándu, Master Herbert annexed a spring or cistern, and then bound a servant of the Great King who attempted to share in its use, shows admirable courage and resolution on the part of Master Thomas, then a youth of twenty years. The details of Thomas in his brother Lord Herbert's autobiography give additional interest to the hero of Corryat's tale of a Tank. Master Thomas was born in A.D. 1597. In 1610, when a page to Sir Edward Cecil and a boy of thirteen, in the German War especially in the siege of Juliers fifteen miles north east of Aix-la-Chapelle, Master Thomas showed such forwardness as no man in that great army surpassed. On his voyage to India in 1617, in a fight with a great Portuguese carriack,

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THE HILL FORT
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beauty is probably a reference to the buildings raised and repaired by Abdul Karim against Jehangir's coming, among which the chief seems to have been the palace now known by the name of Báz Bahádur. The tower of 170 steps is Mehmúd Khilji's Tower of Victory, erected in A.D. 1443, the Khán Jehán being Mehmúd's father, the great minister Khan Jehán Áázam Humáyún.

In A.D. 1658 a Rája Shivráj was commandant of Mándu.¹ No reference has been traced to any imperial visit to Mándu during Aurangzib's reign. But that great monarch has left an example of his watchful care in the rebuilding of the Álamgir or Aurangzib Gate, which guards the approach to the stone-crossing of the great northern ravine and bears an inscription of A.D. 1668, the eleventh year of Álamgir's reign. In spite of this additional safeguard thirty years later (A.D. 1696) Mándu was taken and the standard of Uday Pavár was planted on the battlement.² The Maráthás soon withdrew and Málwa again passed under an imperial governor. In A.D. 1708 the Shia-loving emperor Bahádur Sháh I (A.D. 1707-1712) visited Mándu, and there received from Ahmedábád a copy of the Kuráán written by Imám Áli Takí, son of Imám Músa Raza (A.D. 810-829), seventh in descent from Áli, the famous son-in-law of the Prophet, the first of Musalmán mystics. In A.D. 1717 Asaph Jáh Nizám-ul-Mulk was appointed governor of Málwa and continued to manage the province by deputy till A.D. 1721. In A.D. 1722 Rája Girdhar Bahádur, a Nagar Bráhman, was made governor and remained in charge till in A.D. 1724 he was attacked and defeated by Chinnáji Pandit and Uday Pavár.³ Rája Girdhar was succeeded by his relation Dia Bahádur, whose successful government ended in A.D. 1732, when through the secret help of the local chiefs Malháráo Holkar led an army up the Bhairav pass, a few miles east of Mándu, and at Turallah, between Amjhera and Dhar, defeated and slew Dia Bahádur. As neither the next governor Muhammad Khan Bangash nor his successor Raja Jai Singh of Jaipur were able to oust the Maráthás, their success was admitted in A.D. 1734 by the appointment of Peshwa Bajiráo (A.D. 1720-1740) to be governor of Málwa. On his appointment (A.D. 1734) the Peshwa chose Anand Ráo Pavár as his deputy. Anand Ráo shortly after settled at Dhár, and since A.D. 1734 Mándu has continued part of the territory of the Pavárs of Dhar.⁴ In A.D. 1895 Mándu sheltered the heroic Mina Bai during the birth-time of her son Ramchandra Rao Pavár, whose state was saved from the clutches of

Captain Joseph in command of Heriot's ship *Globe*, was killed. Thomas too, Joseph's place, forced the carrack acrossed, and so riddled her with shot that she never floated again. To his brother's aid came to India Lord Herbert, who spent a year with the Maráthás who went from Surat to the Great Mughal. After his return to England Major Herbert travelled him to Algora, capturing a small worth £1600. In 1622, when Master Thomas was in command of one of the ships sent to fetch Prince Charles (later King Charles I) from Spain, during the return of a certain Lord Cromwell and Dutchkings, that is Dutch and Spanish vessels, offended the Prince's dignity by firing on his private vessel, his flag. The Prince ordered the fighting ship to be captured, whereupon Master Thomas, with some other ships got to the Prince's side, and shot so long that both Lord Cromwell and a certain Lord Cromwell were killed. After only a day or two Thomas fought with great courage and bravery with the Maráthás, sometimes burning and destroying his adversary's ships and driving him away. The end of Master Thomas was sad. Finding his profits of his life had yielded her hand into a private and melancholy life, and after having been married for many years, he died about 1612 and was buried in London in St. Martin's Church, Covent Garden.

¹ *First Fort of Mandu*, VII. 215.

² *Malcolm's Central India*, I. 71.

³ *Malcolm's Central India*, I. 61.

⁴ *Malcolm's Central India*, I. 169.

Holkar and Sindhu by the establishment of British overlordship in A.D. 1817¹

In A.D. 1820 Sir John Malcolm² describes the hill-top as a place of religious resort occupied by some mendicants. The holy places on the hill are the shrine of Hoshang Ghori whose guardian spirit still scares barrenness and other disease fiends³ and the Rewa or Narbada Pool, whose holy water, according to common belief, prevents the dreaded return of the spirit of the Hindu whose ashes are strewn on its surface, or, in the refined phrase of the Bráhmán, enables the dead to lose self in the ocean of being.⁴ In A.D. 1820 the Jamá Mosque, Hoshang's tomb, and the palaces of Báz Bahadur were still fine remains, though surrounded with jungle and fast crumbling to pieces.⁵ In A.D. 1827 Colonel Briggs says⁶ Perhaps no part of India so abounds with tigers as the neighbourhood of the once famous city of Mandu. The capital now deserted by man is overgrown by forest and from being the seat of luxury, elegance, and wealth, it has become the abode of wild beasts and is resorted to by the few Europeans in that quarter for the pleasure of destroying them. Instances have been known of tigers being so bold as to carry off troopers riding in the ranks of their regiments. Twelve years later (A.D. 1839) Mr. Fergusson⁷ found the hill a vast uninhabited jungle, the rank vegetation tearing the buildings of the city to pieces and obscuring them so that they could hardly be seen.⁸ Between A.D. 1842 and 1852 tigers are described as prowling among the regal rooms, the half-savage marauding Bhil as eating his meal and feeding his cattle in the cloisters of its sanctuaries and the insidious *pípal* as levelling to the earth the magnificent remains.⁹ So favourite a tiger retreat was the Jaház Palace that it was dangerous to venture into it unarmed. Close to the very huts of the poor central village, near the Jamá Mosque, cattle were frequently seized by tigers. In the south tigers came nightly to drink at the Sagar lake. Huge bonfires had to be burnt to prevent them attacking the houses.¹⁰ In A.D. 1883 Captain Eastwick wrote At Mandu the traveller will require some armed men, as tigers are very numerous and dangerous. He will do well not to have any dogs with him, as the panthers will take them even from under his bed.¹¹ If this was true of Mandu in A.D. 1883—and is not as seems likely the repetition of an old-world tale—the last ten years have wrought notable changes. Through the interest His Highness Sir Anand Rao Pavár, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., the present Mahárája of Dhar takes in the old capital of his state, travelling in Mandu is now as safe and easier than in many, perhaps than in most, outlying districts. A phaeton can drive across the northern ravine-moat through the three gateways and along the hill-top, at least as far south as the Sea Lake. Large stretches of the level are cleared and tilled, and herds of cattle graze free from the dread of wild beasts. The leading buildings have been saved from their ruinous tree-growth, the underwood has been cleared, the marauding Bhil has settled to tillage, the tiger, even the panther, is nearly

Appendix II

THE HILL-FORT
OF MANDU
Historical.

Notices,
A.D. 1820-1895

¹ Malcolm's Central India, I 106.

² Central India, II 503.

³ Ruins of Mandu, 43 March 1852 page 34

⁴ Ruins of Mandu, 43 March 1852 page 34

⁵ Malcolm's Central India, II 503.

⁶ Briggs' Farnsbah, IV 236 note *.

⁷ Indian Architecture, 541

⁸ Ruins of Mandu, 9

⁹ Ruins of Mandu, 9

¹⁰ Ruins of Mandu, 13, 25, 35 Some of these extracts seem to belong to a Bombay Subaltern, who was at Mandu about A.D. 1842, and some to Captain Claudius Harris, who visited the hill in April 1852. Compare Ruins of Mandu, 34.

¹¹ Murray's Handbook of the Panjáb, 118.

Appendix II.

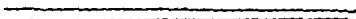
THE HILL FORT
OF MÁNDU.*History.*

Notices,

A.D. 1820-1895.

as rare as the wild elephant, and finally its old wholesomeness has returned to the air of the hill-top.

This sketch notices only the main events and the main buildings. Even about the main buildings much is still doubtful. Many inscriptions, some in the puzzling interlaced *Tughra* character, have still to be read. They may bring to light traces of the Mándu kings and of the Mughal emperors, whose connection with Mándu, so far as the buildings are concerned, is still a blank. The ruins are so many and so widespread that weeks are wanted to ensure their complete examination. It may be hoped that at no distant date Major Delasseau, the Political Agent of Dhar, whose opportunities are not more special than his knowledge, may be able to prepare a complete description of the hill and of its many ruins and writings.



MARÁTHA HISTORY
OF
GUJARÁT:
A D 1760-1819.

BY
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LATE OF H. M.'S BOMBAY CIVIL SERVICE.

[*CONTRIBUTED IN 1879*]

HISTORY OF GUJARÁT.

MARÁTHA PERIOD.

A D. 1760-1819.

THE
MARÁTHÁS,
A.D. 1760-1819.

It will be evident from what has been related in the Musalmán portion of this history that long before 1760, the Maráthás had a firm foothold in Gujarát, and were able to dictate to the local chiefs the policy of the Dakhan Court. Long before 1819 too, Maráthá influence was on the wane before the rising fortunes of the British. Between these two dates however is comprised the whole or nearly the whole of the period during which the Maráthás were virtually paramount in Gujarát. From each of these two dates the political history took a new departure, and on this account they serve respectively to denote the starting point and terminus of Maráthá supremacy. Most of what took place before 1760 is so interwoven with the interests and intrigues of the Muhammadan delegates of the court of Dehli that it has been fully described in the history of the Musalmán Period. It is however necessary, in order to trace the growth of Maráthá power, to briefly set forth in a continuous narrative the events in which this race was principally concerned, adding such as transpired independently of Musalmán politics. This task is rendered easier by the very nature of Maráthá policy, which has left little to be recorded of its action in Gujarát beyond the deeds and fortunes of its initiators and their adherents.

The connection of the Maráthás with Gujarát can be divided by the chronicler into the following periods. First, the time of predatory inroads from 1664 to 1743, before the leaders of these expeditions had permanently established themselves within the province. Secondly, what may be termed the mercenary period, when the Maráthás partly by independent action, but far more by a course of judicious interference in the quarrels of the Muhammadan officials and by loans of troops, had acquired considerable territorial advantages. Towards the end of this period, as has been already seen, their aid was usually sufficient to ensure the success of the side which had managed to secure it, and at last the capital itself was claimed and held by them. Then came the time of domination, from 1760 to 1801, during which period the Gaúkwár influence was occasionally greater than that of the Peshwa. From 1802, internal dissensions at the courts of Poona and Baroda weakened the hold the Maráthás had on the province, and the paramount power had to all intents and purposes passed over to the British long before the downfall of Bájuráv Peshwa and the final annexation of his rights and territory in 1819.

THE
MARÁTHAS,
A.D. 1760-1819.

Śiváji's First
Inroad,
1664

Shortly after, when the Gáikwár made over to the British the work of collecting the tribute from Káthiáváda, Maratha supremacy came to an end

The first Marátha force that made its appearance in Gujarát was led there early in 1664 by Śiváji. This leader was at the time engaged in a warfare with the Mughals, which, however desultory, required him to keep up a much larger force than could be supported out of the revenues of his dominions. He therefore looked to plunder to supply the deficiency, and Surat, then the richest town of Western India, was marked down by him as an easy prey. His mode of attack was cautious. He first sent one Bahirji Náik to spy out the country and report the chances of a rich booty, whilst he himself moved a force up to Junnar on pretence of visiting some forts in that direction recently acquired by one of his subordinates. On receiving a favourable report from Bahirji, Śiváji gave out that he was going to perform religious ceremonies at Násik, and taking with him 4000 picked horsemen, he marched suddenly down the Gháts and through the Dáng jungles, and appeared before Surat. There he found an insignificant garrison, so he rested outside the city six days whilst his men plundered at their leisure. On hearing of the tardy approach of a relieving force sent by the governor of Ahmedábád, Śiváji beat a retreat with all his booty to the stronghold of Ráygad. By the time the reinforcement reached Surat, the only trace of the invaders was the emptied coffers of the inhabitants. About the same time, or shortly after, the fleet which Śiváji had equipped at Alibág about two years before came up to the mouth of the gulf of Cambay and carried off one or two Mughal ships which were conveying to Makka large numbers of pilgrims with their rich oblations.¹

Śiváji's Second
Attack,
1670.

This insult to the Muhammadan religion was enough to incense the bigoted Aurangzeb, apart from the additional offences of the sack of Surat and the assumption in 1665 of royal insignia by Śiváji. He therefore sent an expedition to the Dakhan strong enough to keep the Maráthas for some time away from Gujarát. One of Śiváji's officers, however, seems to have attacked a part of the Surat district in 1666, and to have got off safely with his spoils. In 1670, Śiváji again descended upon that city with about 15,000 men. The only serious resistance he experienced was, as before, from the English factors. He plundered the town for three days, and only left on receiving some information about the Mughals' movements in the Dakhan, which made him fear lest he should be intercepted on his way back to the country about the Gháts.

1671.

Śiváji left a claim for twelve lákhs of rupees to be paid as a guarantee against future expeditions. It is possible, however, that as he does not appear to have taken any immediate steps to recover this sum, the demand was made only in accordance with Marátha policy,

¹ Surat was known as Bab ul makkah or the Gate of Makka on account of its being the starting place of the ship annually conveying the Muhammadan pilgrims of India to the shrine of the Prophet.

and the Maráthas, in consequence of their tributary, and assumed a right to exercise jurisdiction and authority over it by virtue of the conquest, and as such, as before. In 1671 the Maráthas fleet sailed and took up the port and plunder Broach, and it is probable that Sivaji intended at the same time to levy tribute from Surat, but which expedition was interrupted before the ships sailed.

The conduct of the Maráthas authorities in Gujarát with regard to the capture of 1670 was such as to render it highly probable that the Maráthas were in complete sympathy with the Maráthas in every particular, and support of their leader. Shortly before Sivaji's death there had been a large partition in Surat, apparently before the city, and it was expected that some attempt might be made to be made. The partition was withdrawn before Sivaji's death, and not immediately after his departure. The Maráthas were not taken into account. The commanders of the Mughal army in the Dakhn were Jai Singh the Ráhtor chief of Jodhpur and Prince Muráram. Jai Singh had been viceroy of Gujarát from 1660 to 1662, and in 1671 shortly after Sivaji's second expedition was appointed to that post for three years. He had, however, been accused of taking bribes from Sivaji during the operations in the Dakhn. Prince Muráram, again, had every reason for wishing to secure to himself a powerful ally, as Sivaji in the struggle for the imperial crown that took place, as a rule, at every succession. Aurangzeb, relying on his own experiences and on reason, refused to allow a possible heir to his throne to become powerful at court, and accordingly sent him against Sivaji with an army quite inadequate for such operations. It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that if there had not been some previous understanding between Sivaji and the Mughal leaders, the troops that were known to be within easy reach of Surat would have been found strong and numerous enough either to have repulsed him altogether or at least to have prevented the three days' sack of the city.

In A.D. 1672 Sivaji took some of the small forts to the south of Surat, such as Pármari and Bugvada, now in the Párdi sub-division of the Surat district, whilst Moro Trimal got possession of the large fort of Siler in Baglan, which guarded one of the most frequented passes from the Dakhn into Gujarát. The Maráthas were thus able to command the routes along which their expeditions could most conveniently be despatched.

No further incursion was made till 1675, in which year a Maráthas force first crossed the Narbada. On the resumption of hostilities between Sivaji and the Mughals, Hasáji Mohite, who had been made Senapati, with the title of Hambirráv, marched up the North Konkan, and divided his army into two forces near Surat. One portion plundered towards Burhánpur, the other commanded by himself plundered the Broach district. Ten years later a successful expedition was made against Broach itself, either preconcerted or

THE
MARATHAS,
A.D. 1700-1819

Siler Taken,
1672.

The Narbada
Crossed,
1675

Finding himself once more in the Dakhan, Khanderáv Dábháde took the opportunity of rejoining the court at Sátára, from which he had long been absent. He was lucky enough to arrive just as the Senápati Manáji Morár had failed on an important expedition and was consequently in disgrace. Rája Sháhu, pleased with Khanderáv's recent success against the Delhi troops, divested Manáji of the title of Senápati, and bestowed it upon the more fortunate leader.

Khanderáv remained away from Gujarát for three years, accompanying, meanwhile, Báalaji Vishvanáth the Peshwa to Dehli, where the latter was engaged in negotiations for the confirmation of the Maráthha rights to *chauth* and other tribute from certain districts in the Dakhan.

It is evident that at this time there was no definite claim to tribute from Gujarát on the part of the Maráthha government, for in spite of the intrigues of Báalaji and the weakness of the court party at Delhi no concessions were obtained with regard to it, although the Maráthha dues from other parts of the country were fully ratified. The grounds on which Báalaji demanded the tribute from Gujarát were that Sháhu would thereby gain the right to restrain the excesses of Maráthha freebooters from the frontier and would guarantee the whole country against irregular pillage. The argument was a curious one, considering that the most troublesome and notorious freebooter of the whole tribe was at the elbow of the envoy, who was so strenuously pleading for the right to suppress him. It is probable that Báalaji foresaw that Khanderáv's newly acquired rank would take him for a time from Báglán to the court, so that meanwhile an arrangement could be made to prevent the growth of any powerful chief in the Gujarát direction who might interfere with the plans of the central government. The Maráthha statesman was as anxious to ensure the subordination of distant feudatories as the Mughals to secure the freedom of the Ghát roads to the coast.

In the redistribution of authority carried out about this time by Báalaji Vishvanáth, the responsibility of collecting the Maráthha dues from Gujarát and Báglán was assigned to Khanderáv as Senápati or commander-in-chief, but as these dues were not yet settled, at least as regards the country below the Gháts, Khanderáv seems to have remained with the Peshwa in the field.

At the battle of Bálapur, fought against the Nizám-ul-Mulk, one of the officers of Khanderáv, by name Dámáji Gáikwár, so distinguished himself that the Senápati brought his conduct prominently to the notice of Rája Sháhu. The latter promoted Dámáji to be second in command to Khanderáv with the title of Shamsher Bahádúr, which had been formerly borne by one of the Atole family in 1692. This is the first mention of the present ruling family of Baroda. Before many months both Khanderáv and Dámáji died. The former was succeeded by his son Trimbakráv, on whom his father's title was conferred. Piláji, nephew of Dámáji, was confirmed in his uncle's

THE
MARÁTHHAS,
A.D. 1760-1819
Dábháde
Senápati.

The Peshwa's
Negotiations,
1717.

Dámáji Gáikwár,
1720.

¹ *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* as settled in 1699.

grant of the *chauth* north of the Mahi river to Kantáji and of that to the south to Piláji. The chief ground of quarrel seems to have been the relative position of the Gáikwár as agent for the Senápati, who had a right to collect all dues from Gujarát, and of Kantáji, who claimed superior rank as holding his commission direct from Rájá Sháhu. On hearing of this dispute and the consequent partition of the Marátha tribute, Tímbakráv Dábháde himself hastened up to Cambay with an army, but effected nothing, and seems to have retired, leaving Piláji to look after his interests at Ahmedábád. Both the latter, however, and Kantáji soon after withdrew from Gujarát, but were within a short period encouraged to return by the success of a raid made by another leader, Antáji Bháskar, on the north-east district. They both joined Hamíd Khán in his resistance to the new viceroy, but received several checks from the Muhammadan army, and after plundering again returned to their strongholds for the rainy season.

THE
MARÁTHAS,
A.D. 1760-1819.

Next year they returned for the tribute and plundered as usual. The Peshwa Bájiráv then opened for the first time direct negotiations with the viceroy of Gujarát. The rapid increase of the authority of the Bráhman ministers at the Rájá's court in the Dakhan had aroused the jealousy of the Maráthanobles, amongst whom Tímbakráv Dábháde was one of the most influential. Bájiráv, being fully aware of the fact, and having by this time acquired from the Rájá the power of acting with foreign powers independently of the throne, determined to undermine Tímbakráv's authority in Gujarát by aiming at the rights said to have been formally granted to him by Hamíd Khán over the country south of the Mahi. He therefore applied to the viceroy for a confirmation of the right to levy *chauth* and *sardesh-mukhi* over the whole country, on condition that he would protect it from the inroads of Kantáji, Piláji, and other irresponsible freebooters. The viceroy had still some resources left at his disposal and was in hopes that his repeated applications to Dehli for assistance would soon meet with a favourable answer. He declined therefore to accede to Bájiráv's proposals at once, on the grounds that the court at Dehli had repudiated the concessions made to Piláji and Kantáji by his predecessor's deputy. As however the depredations on the frontier caused serious injury both to the revenues and the people, he allowed the Peshwa to send a feudatory, Udáji Pavái, chief of Dhár, through the Mughal territories to operate against Piláji. The latter, who was fully aware of these negotiations, persuaded Kantáji to join him in expelling the agents of the Peshwa party, as it was clear that if Piláji's forces were scattered the way would be open for Udáji to attack Kantáji himself. The two then proceeded to Baroda and after a while drove back Udáji, and occupied Baroda and Dabhoi. Here Piláji remained, and next year Kantáji succeeded in taking Chámpáner, thus advancing his posts nearer the centre of the province. With such an advantage gained these two chiefs instituted raids still more frequently than before. In these straits, and finding himself utterly neglected by the emperor, the viceroy re-opened negotiations with the Peshwa, who lost no time in sending his

The Peshwa,
1726

Cession
of Tribute,
1728

THE
MARATHÁS,
A.D. 1759-1819.

CONQUEST
OF TRIBUTÉ,
1728.

brother Chimnaji Appa with an army through Gujarát Petlad and Dholka were plundered, but Kantaji was left undisturbed, so he took this opportunity of marching to Sorath, where he remained for some time extorting tribute. The viceroy agreed formally to cede the *sardeshmukhi* of the whole revenue, land and customs (with the exception of the port of Surat and the districts attached to it) and the *chauth* of the same district, with five per cent on the revenue from the city of Ahmedábád. Special clauses were inserted in the grant of *chauth* to suit the convenience of both the Peshwa and the viceroy. The latter stipulated that as few collectors as possible should be kept by the Marathás in the districts under tribute, and that no extra demands beyond the one-fourth should be made. He also insisted that the percentage should be calculated on the actual collections and not on the *lamál* or highest sum recorded as having been collected¹. The Marathás were also to support the imperial authority and to keep up a body of horse. The Peshwa agreed (probably at his own request) to prevent all Marátha subjects from joining disaffected chiefs, or other turbulent characters, thus receiving the right to suppress Kantaji and Pilaji, as well as the Bhils and Kolis with whom the latter was on such friendly terms.

After this agreement was executed, Bájiráv made over part of the *sardeshmukhi* to the Dábháde, as well as the *mohása* or three-fourths of the *staraj* as settled by Bálaji Vishvanáth. The consideration as set forth in the preamble of this agreement was the great improvement effected by the Marátha rulers as regards the wealth and tranquillity of the Dakhan provinces. This was inserted either to give the transaction the appearance of having been executed on the part of the emperor (for otherwise the viceroy had no concern in the state of the Dakhan), or simply as an expression of gratitude on the part of this special viceroy towards the Marathás who had just brought to terms the Nizám-ul-Mulk, his former rival and enemy. It is even probable that it was merely intended, as usual with such preambles, to veil the forced nature of the treaty.

The hostile movements of the Pratidinhi in the Southern Marátha Country induced the Peshwa to return to the Dakhan. Kantaji returned from Sorath to Chámpánér, plundering part of the viceroy's camp on his way. Trimbak ráv Dabháde, jealous of the interference of the Peshwa in the affairs of Gujarát, began to intrigue with other chiefs to overturn the power of the Bráhmaṇ minister.

As soon as Nizám-ul-Mulk became aware of this discontent on the part of Trimbakráv, of whose power he was well informed, he proposed to assist him by an attack on the Peshwa from the east, whilst the Marathás operated in another direction. Trimbakráv was successful in his overtures with Pilaji Gankwár, the Binde, the Pávár, and a few other chiefs resident in Khandesh or the north Dakhan. The troops sent by them to join his standard soon amount to

¹ The Marathá government was to have a considerable share in the collection of the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* from the districts attached to the Peshwa's territory. The Marathá government was to have a considerable share in the collection of the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* from the districts attached to the Peshwa's territory.

to 35,000 men, who were collected in Gujarát. He then gave out that he was bent on rescuing the Maráthá Rája from the thralldom in which he was being kept by the Bráhmans. The Peshwa, who had discovered the intercourse between Trimbakíá and the Nízám, proclaimed this treason on the part of the Dábháde as a royal officer, and stated that the malcontents were only planning the partition of the inheritance of Shiváji between the Rája of Kolhápúr and themselves. As soon as he found the Nízám's troops were on the march, he collected his picked men and advanced on the Dábháde in Gujarát.

The Peshwa's army was inferior in numbers but consisted of better trained men. He closed at once with the allies near Dabhoi, and easily defeated the undisciplined forces of the Pavárs and Bande. The Dábháde's army, however, had more experience of regular warfare and made a stand. But a stray shot killed Trimbakíá as he was endeavouring to rally the forces of his allies, and as usual in such engagements, the loss of the leader disheartened the army. Utter confusion ensued, in which many of the nobles fell, others ran away, and the Peshwa, without the necessity of pushing further his advantage, made good his retreat to the Dakhan. The Nízám, who was in pursuit, only managed to capture some of the baggage with the rear guard as it was crossing the Tápti near Surat.¹

THE
MARATHAS,
A.D. 1760-1819.

Defeat of the
Allies,
1731

Safe again in the Dakhan, the Peshwa at once began negotiations with both the Nízám and the adherents of Trimbakíá Dábháde. He recognized the rights of the former to some possessions in Gujarát independent of the viceroy of Ahmedábád, and agreed to further his designs of severing the Dakhan from the possessions of the emperor. He conciliated the Dábháde family by establishing at Poona an annual distribution of food and presents to Bráhmans such as had formerly been the practice in the native village of Khandorá.² This institution was known as Dakshiná.

Bájrá and acquiesced also in the general tendency amongst Maráthás of all offices to become hereditary, and conferred the title of Senápati on Yeshwantíá the minor son of the deceased Trimbakrá. The widow Umábái became guardian, and Piláji Gáikwár deputy or *mutálik* in Gujarát. This latter appointment seems to have been made by the Peshwa and not by the Dábháde, for Piláji received at the same time a new title, namely that of *Sená Khás Khel* or commander of the special band or perhaps the household brigade. He was also bound on behalf of the Senápati to respect the Peshwa's rights in Málwa and Gujarát, and to pay half the collections from the territory he administered to the royal treasury through the minister. A provision was also inserted with regard to future acquisitions. This reciprocal agreement was executed at the special command of the Maráthá Rája Sháhu, who had not yet quite abrogated his authority in favour of the Peshwa. Piláji after these negotiations retired to Gujarát.

¹ At Gala about twelve miles above Surat in the territory of the Gáikwár.

² Tálegaon in the north west of Poona, now a station on the railway to Bombay.

resistance against plundering them. The events of this year have been detailed in full in the history of the Muslimán Period. After getting possession of a great part of the city of Ahmedabad the Maráthas, by their oppressive rule, excited a rising amongst the Muslimán inhabitants. Similar quarrels and subsequent reconciliations took place between 1739 and 1741, the Muslims dominating the Maráthas, yet not daring to attempt to oust them. Damaji on his way back from one of his Sorath expeditions, laid siege to Broach, which was held by a Muhammadan officer direct from the viceroy of the Dákhán.¹ As the latter personage was still regarded by the Maráthi chiefs as a possible ally against the Peshwa, Damaji at once obeyed the request of the Nizám to raise the siege, but probably obtained a promise of future concessions such as he had acquired at Surát.

THE
MARÁTHAS
A.D. 1760-1819

1739,

1741

Rangoji in the absence of Damaji took up his residence in Borá. There he fell into several disputes with the Muhammadan officials, in the course of one of which he was taken prisoner, but escaped the next year (1741). Meanwhile Damaji had joined with Rághoji Bhonslé in attacking the Peshwa. Whilst Rághoji was preparing his army in the east, Damaji made a feint against Malwa, which had the desired effect of withdrawing a large portion of the ministerial army. The Gáikwár's troops retreated without giving battle, but to prevent any future junction between Dámaji and the Bhonslé party in Borá, Bálaji Peshwa confirmed the Pávar family in their claims to Dhár, which had never been acknowledged as their territory since the defection of the Pávars to the Dabháde party in 1731. It is worth remarking that though the rank of Senapati had apparently been made hereditary in the Dabháde family (for the owner of the title was quite unfit for the command of an army), the Ghorpade family applied at this time to have it restored to them on the ground that it once had been held by one of their house. The Peshwa, however, managed to secure their alliance by a grant of land, and their claims to the chief command of the army seem to have been waived.

1742

For the next two years the Maráthas were in Gujarát under Rangoji and Devaji Takpur was employed by the Muslims in their quarrels regarding the vicereignty. The Maráthi practice of appointing deputies gives rise to some confusion as to the negotiations that took place about this time between the Gáikwár's party and the rival candidates for the office of subhedar. For instance, Umabai Dábháde had appointed the Gáikwár family as her agents-in-chief, but the principal members of that house were absent in the Dákhán. Damaji Gáikwár had appointed Rangoji, who in his turn left one Krishnaji in charge of the Maráthi share of the city of Ahmedabád. On the departure, however, of Dámaji from Gujarát, Umabai left Rámaji as her agent. Rámaji, who seems to have

1743-44

¹ Broach was constituted part of the Nizám's personal estate on his resigning the vicereignty in 1722.

succession of Sambhaji to the Sátara kingdom. The Peshwa, aware of Dámaji's ill-will towards himself, did his best to foment disturbances in Gujarát and to extend his own influence there so as to keep Dámaji away from the Dakhan.

The Peshwa accordingly entered into some negotiations with Jawán Mard Khán, then in power at Ahmedabád, but was unable to lend substantial aid in Gujarát against Dámaji's agents, as the whole Marátha power was required in the Dakhan to operate against the son of the late Nizám-ul-Mulk

Next year Dámaji, at the request of Tárábái, guardian of Rám Rája, ascended the Salpi ghát with a strong force, defeated the Peshwa's army, and advanced as far as Sátara. From this position he was forced to retire, and whilst in treaty with the Peshwa was treacherously seized by the latter and put into prison. Bálaji at once demanded arrears of tribute, but Dámaji declined to agree to any payment, on the ground that he was no independent chief but only the agent of the Senápati. He therefore refused to bind his principal or himself on account of what was due from his principal. Bálaji then imprisoned all the members of the Gáikwár and Dábháde family that were at that time in the Dakhan.

The state of Surat was at this time such as to afford a good opportunity to the Peshwa to obtain a footing there independently of the English or of Dámaji. He had recently had dealings with the former in the expeditions against Angria of Kolába, and as the merchants had found him one of the most stable and powerful rulers of the country, they were willing to treat with him for the future security of their buildings and goods in Surat. Taking advantage of Dámaji's confinement, Bálaji sent Ragunáthráv to Gujarát. This leader, afterwards so well known as Rághoba, took possession of a few *tálukas* in the north-east of the province, but was recalled to the Dakhan before he could approach Surat. Jawán Mard Khán also took advantage of Dámaji's absence to make an expedition into Sorath and Káthiávráda where the Gáikwár family had now established themselves permanently.

The news of these two expeditions made Dámaji very eager to return to his province, and as he had full information as to Bálaji's plans with regard to Gujarát, he bribed freely, and in order to regain his liberty consented to much harsher terms than he would otherwise have done. He agreed to maintain an army for defence and collection purposes in Gujarát, as well as to furnish a contingent to the Peshwa's army in the Dakhan, and to contribute towards the support of the Rája, now in reality a state-prisoner dependent upon the wishes of his minister. The Gáikwár was also to furnish the tribute due on account of the Dábháde family, whom the Peshwa was apparently trying to oust from the administration altogether. After deducting the necessary expenses of collection and defence, half the surplus revenue was to be handed over to the Peshwa. Even after acceding to all these proposals, the Gáikwár was not at once released. The Peshwa protracted the negotiations, as he had

THE
MARÁTHAS,
A D 1760-1819.

1750

Dámaji Gáikwár
Arrested,
1761.

The Peshwa
and Surat.

Release of
Dámaji,
1752

THE
MARATHAS -
A.D. 1750-1753

to contend against a factious court party in whose counsels he knew Dāmaji would play a leading part when once set at liberty. At last, however, after agreeing to a final request that he would assist Raghunāthráv against Surát, Dāmaji was allowed to go. There was at this time one Pándurang Pant, levying tribute on behalf of the Peshwa in Cambay and Ahmedābād. The Nawáb of Cambay, not having any reason to like or trust his neighbour the Gáikvár, had persuaded the Peshwa at the time the partition of the Maráthas rights over Gujaráv was being settled at Poona, to take Cambay into his share of the province. The Nawáb bought off the agent of his ally with a present of guns and cash. The ruler of Ahmedābād also came to terms with the Maráthas, so Pándurang was at liberty to go and see if he could find equal good fortune in Surát.

Capture of
Ahmedābād -
1753.

Dāmaji now came back with a fresh army, which was soon reinforced by Raghunāthráv. They marched towards Ahmedābād, and Javán Mard Khán was too late to intercept them before they invested the capital. He managed, however, by a bold movement to enter the town, but after a long siege was obliged to capitulate and march out with the honours of war. The Maráthas conferred on him an estate in the north-west of Gujaráv, which, however, was recovered by them some time afterwards.

1754.

After taking possession of Ahmedābād in April 1753, Raghunāthráv went to Surát, and on his return exacted a large sum as tribute from the Nawáb of Cambay. He left a deputy in Ahmedābād, who marched against the same chief again in 1754, but on this occasion he could levy no tribute. As the Nawáb had firmly established himself and considerably enlarged his dominions, the Peshwa's deputy marched against him in person a second time, but was defeated and taken prisoner. The nominee of Raghunāthráv procured his release, and the Peshwa's deputy continued to demand arrears of tribute for his master till he obtained an agreement to pay at a future date. He then retired to the Dakhan, and the Nawáb, taking advantage of the lull to strengthen his army, captured Ahmedābād from the Maráthá garrison and established himself in the city. After a while Dāmaji and Khanderáv Gáikvár, with an agent sent direct by the Peshwa, arrived before the town and commenced a siege. It was not until April 1757 that the Maráthas again entered the city. The Nawáb surrendered after the Maráthas had fully ranked the conditions he himself had proposed.

1755

1757

1758

Sardār's son of Dāmaji remained in Ahmedābād on behalf of his father and the Peshwa's agent Sadāsib put in a deputy in his turn and went himself to Surát. Here he was soon seized by Sardār, who had to arrange the shares of the tribute in accordance with the partition treaty of 1751. Next year a body of Maráthá troops was sent to the aid of the Ráj of Kachh, who was engaged in an expedition against Tatta in Sindh. Sadāsib lent the Nawáb of Cambay some money on the part of the Peshwa to enable him to liquidate the arrears of pay due to his army, but a year afterwards the Maráthá army appeared at the town gates with a demand for

two years' arrears of tribute in full, amounting to Rs 20,000 The Nawáb managed to raise this sum, and the Maráthás moved south Dámáji was at this time in Poona

THE
MARÁTHÁS,
A.D. 1760-1819.

The Peshwa had supported Syed Achchan of Surat with the view of putting him under an obligation so as to secure some future advantages, and this year lent him some troops as a bodyguard The Nawáb of Cambay, who was also indebted to the ministerial party, left his dominions to pay a visit to the Peshwa at Poona Khanderáv meanwhile plundered Lunávada and Ídar, whilst Sayájiráv was similarly engaged in Soráth

1759

Dámáji Gáikwár accompanied the Peshwa to Delhi, and was one of the few Maráthá leaders that escaped after the defeat at Pánapat On his return to Gujarát he successfully opposed an expedition by the Nawáb of Cambay against Bálásinor and re-took the estates of Jawán Mard Khán He also strengthened his position in Sorath and Káthiávada against the Peshwa's party

1761

The Peshwa, being hard pressed by his rival the Nizám, began in this year to make overtures to the East India Company's officers in Bombay, with a view to getting the aid of European artillery and gunners He at first offered to give up a valuable tract of land in Jámbusar But the English would accept no territory but the island of Sálsette, the town of Bassein, and the small islands in the harbour of Bombay These the Maráthá government declined to give up, so negotiations were broken off

1761

Next year Raghunáthráv, as guardian of the son of Báláji, named Mádhavráv, who was still a minor, conferred the title of Senápati on one of the Jádhav family who had formerly borne it The administration of Gujarát, however, which had always accompanied the title when held by the Dábháde family, was left practically in the hands of Dámáji, and no mention of any transfer of it was made at the time Jádhav was appointed commander-in-chief Discontented with the empty honour thus conferred, Rámchandra, the new Senápati, joined the Nizám's party, and on account of this defection the Peshwa, two years afterwards, cancelled the appointment and restored the office to the Ghorpade family, one of whose members had held it long before This put an end to the connection of Gujarát with the chief military dignity of the Maráthá state

1762.

After Mádhavráv Báláji came of age he had constantly to be on this guard against the plots of his uncle Raghunáthráv, who had refused to accept the share in the government offered him by the young Peshwa Raghunáthráv, perhaps instigated by his wife, had no doubt great hopes of obtaining a share in the whole power of the administration, and suspecting Mádhavráv to be aware of his designs, looked upon all the overtures made by the latter as intended in some way or other to entrap him He therefore collected an army of some 15,000 men in Báglán and Násik, and hoping to be joined on his way by Jánoji Bhonslé, advanced towards Poona. In his army was Govindráv, son of Dámáji Gáikwár, with a detachment of his father's troops The Peshwa, without giving Jánoji time to effect

Intrigues of
Rághoba,
1768

THE
MARÁTHAS,
A.D. 1760-1819.

Death of Dámáji
Gáikwár,
1768.

a junction with Raghunáthráv, even if he had been prepared to do so, defeated his uncle's army at Dhorap, a fort in the Ajunta range, and carried off Rághobá and Govindráv to Poona, where they were placed in confinement.

Not long after this action Dámáji died. He had brought the fortunes of the Gáikwár house to the highest pitch they ever reached and not long after his death the family influence began to decline. It was his personal authority alone that was able to counteract the usual tendency of quasi-independent Marátha states towards disintegration, especially when they were at a distance from the central power. Khanderáv and Sayájráv had shown frequent signs of insubordination (as for instance in their espousal of the cause of Rangoji) and a desire to establish themselves in an independent position, but the sagacity of Dámáji foresaw the advantage such a partition would give an enemy like the Peshwa, and his tact enabled him to preserve unity in his family, at least in resistance to what he showed them to be their common foe.

* Disputed
Succession.

The quarrel for the succession that arose on Dámáji's death was the first step towards the breaking up of the Gáikwár's power. Dámáji had three wives. By the first he had Govindráv, who however was born after Sayájráv, the son by the second wife. His sons by the third wife were Mánáji and Fatesingh. Govindráv was in confinement at Poona near the court, and therefore in a position to offer conditions for the confirmation of his rights without loss of time.

In the Hindu law current amongst Maráthas, there are to be found precedents in favour of the heirship of either Govindráv or Sayájráv. Some authorities support the rights of the son of the first wife whether he be the eldest or not, others again regard simply the age of the claimants, deciding in favour of the first born, of whatever wife he may be the son. Rámráv Shástri, the celebrated advisor of Madhavráv Peshwa, is said to have expressed an opinion in favour of the rights of Sayájráv. Govindráv, however, was on the spot where his influence could be used most extensively. Sayaji, moreover, was an idiot and a puppet in the hands of his half brother Fatesingh. Govindráv applied at once for investiture with the title of Sená-Khas-Khel. A payment of 50½ lakhs of rupees to the Peshwa on account of arrears of tribute and a fine for his conduct in taking part with Rághobá was a strong argument in his favour, and when he agreed to a tribute previously demanded from his father of Rs. 7,79,000 yearly and to maintain a peace contingent at Poona of 3000 horse, to be increased by a thousand more in time of war, there could be little doubt as to the legitimacy of his claim, and he was duly invested with his father's title and estate.

1771.

For reasons not apparent Sayaji's claims were not brought forward till nearly two years later. Govindráv had never been allowed to join his charge in Gujarat, so that he could exercise no interference in that direction, and the court affairs in the Dakhan left perhaps little time for the disposal of Sayájráv's application, even if it had been made. Sayaji had entrusted his interests to Fatesingh, a man

of considerable ability, who came at once to Poona to get a reversal of the recognition of Govindrāv. The Peshwa was glad to have this opportunity of undoing so much of Dāmājī's work and dividing the Gáikwār family against itself, so using the verdict of Rām Shástri as his weapon, he cancelled the former grant in favour of Govindrāv, and appointed Sayājīrāv with Fatesingh as his *mutáhl* or deputy. The latter, by agreeing to pay an extra sum of 6½ lákhs of rupees annually, got permission to retain the Poona contingent of Gáikwār horse in Gujarát, on the pretext that Govindrāv would probably attack his brothers on the earliest opportunity. Thus, whatever happened, all went to the profit of the Peshwa's party and to the injury of the tax-paying Gujarát ríot.

Fatesingh retired in triumph to Baroda, and opened negotiations with the English in Surat, as he had been endeavouring to do for a year past without success. In January 1773, however, he succeeded in getting an agreement from the Chief for Affairs of the British Nation in Surat, that his share in the revenues of the town of Broach, which had been taken by storm in 1772 by the English, should not be affected by the change of masters. In the same year Náráyanrāv Peshwa was murdered, and Rághobá was invested by the titular king at Sátara with the ministerial robe of honour. Govindrāv Gáikwār, still in Poona, reminded the new Peshwa of the good offices of the Gáikwār family at Dhorap and elsewhere, and found means of getting reinstated as Sená-Khás-Khel. In 1774 he set out for Gujarát, and collecting a fair number of adherents on his way, he attacked Fatesingh. After various engagements of little importance, the latter found himself shut into the city of Baroda, which was invested by Govindrāv in January 1775.

In the meantime Rághobá had been driven from power by the intrigues of Bráhmans of a different class from that to which he belonged, headed by the afterwards well-known Nána Phadnis. The ex-Peshwa first betook himself towards Málwa, where he hoped to be joined or at least assisted by Holkar and Sindia. As soon however as he got together some scattered forces he marched down the Tápti and opened negotiations with the English through Mr Gambier, the chief at Surat. The Bombay Government at once demanded the cession of Bassein, Sálsette, and the adjacent islands. Rághobá refused, partly, in all probability, on account of the pride felt by the Marátha soldiery in their achievements before Bassein at the time of the great siege. He however offered valuable territory in Gujarát, yielding a revenue of about eleven lákhs, and to pay six lákhs down and 1½ lákhs monthly for the maintenance of a European contingent with artillery. The English at Bombay were debating whether this offer should not be accepted when news reached them that the Portuguese were about to organise an expedition to re-take Bassein. Negotiations with Rághobá were hastily broken off and a small force sent to forestall the rival Europeans. Before the end of 1774, both Thána and Versova fort in Sálsette had been taken.

Rághobá now heard that Sindia and Holkar had been bought over by the ministerial party and would not come to his assistance.

THE
MARÁTHÁS,
A.D. 1760-1812

1773

1774.

Rághobá
Peshwa,
1774.

Rághobá in
Gujarát,
1775.

THE
MARATHAS,
A.D. 1760-1819

Quickly moving his force down the river he reached Baroda in January 1775 with 10,000 horse and 400 foot. He joined Govindrāv in investing that town, but sent meanwhile an agent to re-open the discussion of his proposals in the Bombay Council. This agent was captured by a party of Fatesingh's horse whilst he was out on an expedition near Párnara on behalf of Govindrāv. On his release he repaired to Surat and took steps to get a treaty of alliance signed as soon as possible.

Rághobá
Defeated.

The ministerial army of 30,000 men under Haripant Phadke entered Gujarāt and obliged Govindrāv and Rághobá to raise the siege of Baroda and to retire towards the Mahi. Fatesingh's force then joined Haripant. An attack on all sides was made (Feb 17th) Rághoba, who was in the centre, was first charged, and before Govindrāv and Khanderāv Gáikwár could come to his assistance his best officers were wounded, some of his Arab mercenaries refused to fight as large arrears of pay were due to them, and he was defeated on both flanks. He fled to Cambay with only 1000 horse, whilst the two Gáikwárs and Manáji Sindia (Phadke) led the rest of the scattered army to Kapadvanj, where it was again set in order. The Nawáb of Cambay, fearing lest the Maráthha army should come in pursuit, shut the town gates on the fugitive and refused to give him shelter. Mr Malet, chief of the English residents, who had been informed of the negotiations in progress between his Government and Rághobá, contrived to get the ex-Peshwa conveyed privately to Bhávnagar and from thence by boat to Surat. Here he arrived on February 23rd.

Reaches Surat

Treaty of Surat,
1775.

The stipulations of the treaty negotiated by Narotamdás, agent of Rághoba, and the Bombay Government were: The English to provide a force of 3000 men, of which 800 were to be Europeans and 1700 natives, together with a due proportion of artillery. In return for this Rághobá, still recognized as Peshwa, was to cede in perpetuity Sálsette, Bassein and the islands, Jámbusar, and Olpád. He also made over an assignment of Rs 75,000 out of the revenues of Anklesvar, the remaining portion of which district, together with Ámod, Hánsot, and Balcan was placed under British management as security for the monthly contribution of 1½ lákhs for the support of the troops in his service. He also promised to procure the cession of the Gáikwár's share in the revenues of Broach. Sundry other provisions (dealing with different parts of the Maráthha dominions) were inserted, Rághobá being treated throughout as the representative of the Maráthha kingdom. This treaty was signed on March 6th, 1775, at Surat, but on the previous day there had been a debate in the Council at Bombay as to the propriety of continuing to support Rághobá, as the news from Gujarāt made the British authorities doubtful whether the contingent they had already sent to Surat was enough to ensure success.

Colonel Keating
in Gujarāt.

Just before the treaty was drawn up, at the end of February Lieut - Colonel Keating had been despatched in command of 350 European infantry 800 sepoys 80 European artillerymen and 60 gun-lascars with others, in all about 1500 men, ready for active service. This force landed at Surat four days after Rághobá had arrived from Bhávnagar.

Before receiving this token of the intention of the British to support Raghobá, the Nawáb had treated the latter simply as a fugitive, but upon finding that the Bombay Government had determined to make the ex-Peshwa their ally, he paid the customary visits and offered presents as to a superior.

When the news reached Surat that Govindráv's troops and the rest had been reorganized at Kapadvanj, it was determined to effect a junction with them by landing Colonel Keating's detachment at Cambay and from thence marching north.

Considerable delay occurred in carrying out the first part of this proposal. First of all Raghobá detained the army at Dumas¹ whilst he paid a visit of ceremony to the frequented temple of Bhimpor in the neighbourhood. Then again, the convoy met with contrary winds the whole way up the gulf, and it was not till March 17th that the contingent landed. The Nawáb, accompanied by the British Resident, paid a visit of ceremony and presented *nazaránás* to Raghobá as a sort of atonement for his previous discourtesy and neglect. The Marathás, however, knowing that this change of tone was entirely due to the presence and alliance of the Europeans, paid much more attention to the latter than to the Muhammadans.

The British contingent encamped at a place called Náráyan-Sarovar, just north of the town. Here they waited until the reinforcement from Bombay arrived, bringing the whole force up to the complement stipulated for in the treaty. Raghobá's army under Govindráv Gáikwár was reported to be moving southwards, and Colonel Keating agreed to let it pass the Sábarmatí river before joining it. Meanwhile the enemy, said to number 40,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry, marched north to intercept Govindráv. The latter, however, by forced marches succeeded in crossing the Sábarmatí before the arrival of the ministerial army, and encamped a few miles north-east of Cambay at a place called Darmaj or Dara. Here Colonel Keating joined him about the middle of April.

Govindráv's army consisted of about 8000 fighting men and nearly 18,000 camp followers. These latter were chiefly Pindháris who used to attach themselves to the camp of one of the Maráthá chiefs, on condition of surrendering to him half their plunder. Each chief had his separate encampment, where he exercised independent authority over his own troops, although bound to general obedience to the commander-in-chief of the whole army. The confusion of this arrangement is described by an eye-witness as utterly destructive of all military discipline. To add to the cumbrousness of such an expedition, most of the Pindháris brought their wives and children with them, the cooking pots and plunder being carried on bullocks and ponies, of which there were altogether nearly 200,000 attached to the troops. In every camp there was a regular

THE
MARATHÁS,
A.D. 1760-1818

Keating's
detachment
with Raghobá
for Cambay.

Raghobá in
Cambay,
1775

Govindráv
Gáikwár's
Army.

¹ At the mouth of the Típti, now belonging to the little Muhammadan state of Eschmu.

THE
MARÁTHAS,
A.D. 1760-1819.

Advance of
the Combined
Forces

bazár where cash payment or barter passed equally current, so that a premium was thus placed on the pilfering of small articles by the Pindháris, whose stipulations as to plunder were confined neither to friend nor enemy.

When all needful preparations had been made, the army, accompanied by a battery of ten guns, besides mortars and howitzers, all of which were manned by Europeans, moved out against the enemy. The latter slowly retreated, burning the crops and forage and destroying the water-supply on its way. On the 20th April the first engagement took place at Usámli, resulting in the repulse of the ministerial troops. On May 1st a similar skirmish on the banks of the Vátrak drove the ministerialists into Kaira. From this post they were driven after a series of slight engagements with the army of Rághobá, which crossed the river at Mátar. Fatesingh now received a reinforcement of 10,000 horse under Khanderáv Gáikwár, but to counterbalance this aid, Sindia and Holkar from some unexplained cause, connected probably with intrigues at Poona, withdrew from further co-operation with him. Colonel Keating was unable to follow up the advantages he had gained owing to the large proportion of cavalry in the enemy's army. He therefore continued his march southwards, after persuading Rághobá to spend the monsoon in Poona, where he would be on the spot to counteract intrigues, instead of at Ahmedábád, as had been at first proposed.

On May 8th the army reached Nadiád, after repulsing on the road two attacks by the enemy's cavalry. This result was obtained chiefly by means of the European light artillery. Nadiád belonged at this time to Khanderáv Gáikwár, and to punish his defection to Fatesingh, Rághobá inflicted a fine of 60,000 rupees on the town. The amount was assessed on the several castes in proportion to their reputed means of payment. The Bháts, a peculiar people of whom more hereafter, objected to being assessed, and slaughtered each other in public so that the guilt of their blood might fall on the oppressor. The Bráhinans, who also claimed exemption from all taxation, more astutely brought two old women of their caste into the market place and there murdered them. Having made this protest, both castes paid their contributions. Rághobá injudiciously wasted seven days over the collection of this fine, and in the end only levied 40,000 rupees.

Defeat of
Fatesingh,
1775

On May 14th the march was resumed, under the usual skirmishing onslaughts of the ministerial party. At Aras, where Rághobá had been defeated shortly before, he was in imminent danger of a second and still more serious discomfiture. An order mistaken by a British company, and the want of discipline on the part of Rághobá's cavalry nearly led to a total defeat with great slaughter. The European infantry and artillery, however, turned the fortunes of the day. The troops of Fatesingh were allowed to approach in pursuit to within a few yards of the batteries, all the guns of which then opened on them with grape, the infantry meanwhile plying their small arms along the whole line. Fatesingh was obliged to withdraw his diminished forces and the army of Rághobá received no further molest-

tions from him on its way to the Mahi. Colonel Keating then ordered a general move to Broach, where he arrived safely on 27th May, after a troublesome march through the robber-infested country between the Dhádhar river and Amód.

Here they remained until June 8th, when Colonel Keating was about to move south again. Luckily, as it turned out for him, the nearest ford was impassable and he had to march to one higher up at a place variously called Bába Píra or Báva Pír. On his way thither he heard that Haripant, the ministerial commander-in-chief, was halting on the north bank by the ford, he therefore pushed on to make an attack on the rear, but owing partly to timely information received and partly to the confusion caused by the irrepressibility of Rághobá's cavalry, Haripant had time to withdraw all his force except some baggage and ammunition, which, with a few guns, he was forced in the hurry of his passage across the river to leave behind. Colonel Keating then marched fourteen miles north from the ford and halted before proceeding to Dabhoi, a town belonging to Fatesingh. The general ignorance of tactics and want of discipline in the native army had determined Colonel Keating not to lead his force as far as Poona, but to spend the monsoon near Baroda.

Rághobá detached one of his generals, Amir Khán, in pursuit of Ganeshpant, whom Hari Pant had left as his deputy in Gujarát. Ganeshpant with a detachment of the ministerial army had separated from Hari at the Bába Píra ford and found his way through the wild country on the north of the Tápti towards Ahmedábád. He was finally caught by Amir Khán.

Dabhoi was at this time in charge of a Bráhmaṇ governor, who submitted on the approach of Rághobá's army. Colonel Keating quartered his force in the town, but Rághobá, after exacting a levy of three lákhs of rupees, encamped at Bhulápur on the Dhádhar, ten miles from Dabhoi. Here he began to negotiate with Fatesingh in Baroda through the mediation of Colonel Keating. Fatesingh was all the more ready to come to definite terms of agreement, as he knew that Govindráv was on the watch to recover Baroda.

It is not certain what the terms proposed and agreed to really were. The only record of them is a copy sent in 1802 to the Resident at Poona by Governor Duncan. According to this document Govindráv was to lose his pension and to occupy the same position as before the accession of Rághobá. Khanderáv was to revert to the situation in which he had been placed by Dámaji. The provision of the treaty of the 6th March regarding the Gáikwár's claims on Broach was ratified, and as a reward for the mediation of the Bombay Government, the Gáikwár ceded to the British in perpetuity the sub-divisions of Chikhli and Variáv near Surat and Koial on the Narbada. Before this treaty could be concluded, Colonel Keating received orders to withdraw his contingent into British territory and to leave Rághobá to manage for himself. This change of policy was due to the disapproval by the Supreme Government of the treaty of 6th March, which they alleged had been

THE
MARÁTHAS,
A.D. 1760 - 1819.

The
Ministerial
General
Retreats

Colonel Keating
at Dabhoi,
1775

Rághobá and
the Gáikwárs

THE
MAPĀTHAS,
D. 1760-1819.

Withdrawal
of the British
Contingent

Negotiations
at Poona

made inconsistently with the negotiations then being carried on with the ruling powers at Poona as well as with the authority of the Calcutta Government. The treaty was therefore declared to be invalid and the troops in the field were ordered by the Supreme Government to be withdrawn at once into British garrisons. A special envoy, Colonel Upton, was sent from Bengal to negotiate a treaty with the Ministers in accordance with the views current in Calcutta.

As soon as the roads were open Colonel Keating moved towards Surat, but at the solicitation of Rāghobā he disobeyed his orders so far as to encamp at Kadod, about twenty miles east of Surat, but not in British territory. Here he awaited the results of the overtures of Colonel Upton. This envoy remained at Poona from the 28th December 1775 till the 1st March 1776, on which date he signed the treaty of Purandhar, in which the office only and not the name of the Peshwa is mentioned. By this compact the Peshwa ceded all claims on the revenue of Broach together with land in the neighbourhood of that town to the British. He also paid twelve lākhs of rupees in compensation for the expenses of the war. Sālsette was to be either retained by the English or restored in exchange for territory yielding three lākhs of rupees annually. The cessions made by Fatesingh Gāikwār were to be restored to him if the Peshwa's Government could prove that he had no right to make them without due authorization from Poona. The treaty of the 6th March was declared null and void. Rāghobā was to disband his army and take a pension. If he resisted, the English were to give him no assistance. If he agreed to the terms proposed, he was to live at Kopargaon¹ on the Godāvari with an ample pension. When he received information as to the terms of the new treaty, he at once declined to accept the pension, and, as he could not understand the position of the Bombay Government with regard to that at Calcutta, he proceeded to offer still more favourable terms for further assistance.

Rāghobā at
Surat,
1776.

Rāghobā was at Māndvi² on the Tāpti when he was finally given to understand that the British could no longer aid him. He thereupon took refuge in Surat with two hundred followers. The rest of his army which had been ordered to disperse, gathered round Surat, on pretence of waiting for the payment of the arrears due to them. As their attitude was suspicious, and there were rumours of an expedition having started from Poona under Haripant to subdue them, the Bombay Government garrisoned Surat and Broach with all the forces it could spare.

Colonel Upton meanwhile offered Rāghobā, on behalf of the ministers, a larger pension with liberty of residing at Benāres. This also was declined, and the ex-Peshwa fled to Bombay, where he lived on a monthly pension allotted him by the Government.

¹ Now in the Ahmednagar district

² In the Surat district some thirty miles east of the city

On 20th August 1776, a despatch of the Court of Directors arrived confirming the treaty of the 6th March 1775. At first the Bombay Government were inclined to take this as authorizing the retention of all the territory ceded, but on further deliberation it was decided that as the treaty of Purandhar had been ratified by the Supreme Government subsequent to the signing of the despatch, which was dated 5th April 1776, it was evident that the Court of Directors did not mean to uphold the previous engagement more than temporarily, or until the final treaty had been concluded.

THE
MARATHIYA,
A.D. 1760-1810.

At the end of 1776, a Bombay officer was sent in place of Colonel Upton to be a resident envoy at Poona for the carrying out of the provisions of the treaty. Mr. Mostyn was the person selected, and he arrived in Poona in March 1777. He soon found that the ministers had little intention of adhering to the treaty, so he at once took up the question that he thought it most important to the Bombay Government to have settled, namely the relations of the Peshwa's Court with Fatesingh Gaikwar as regards the cessions of territory. The ministers asserted that the Gaikwars merely administered Gugarit on the part of the Peshwa and were entirely dependent upon the Poona government, so that they could conclude no agreement with foreign states except with its approbation. Fatesingh did not deny the dependence, but evaded the question of his right to make direct treaties and claimed the restitution of the cessions on the ground that Raghunathrao had failed to perform his part of the stipulations. The point was discussed for some time, and at last the question of dependence seems to have been let drop, for in February 1778 Fatesingh paid up the arrears of tribute, made the usual presents to the ministers and their favourites, and was again invested with the title of Sena-Khas Khel.

Negotiations
at Poona,
1777.

In October a despatch from the Court of Directors reached the Governments of Bengal and Bombay, disapproving of the treaty of Purandhar, but ratifying it on the principle of *factum valet*. It was suggested, however, that in case of evasion on the part of the ministers, a fresh treaty should be concluded with Raghoba on the lines of that of 1775.

In November 1778 it was rumoured that the ministers in Poona were intriguing with the French, so the Bombay Government took this opportunity of entering into a treaty with Raghoba, who was still in Bombay. He confirmed the grants of 1775, and as security for the pay of the British contingent that was to help in placing him on the Peshwa's throne in Poona, he agreed to assign the revenues of Balsar and the remainder of Anklesvar, as he had done before. He stipulated, however, that his own agents should collect the dues from these districts, and that the British should take charge of them only in case of the full sum due not being paid and then merely as a temporary measure.

Fresh Alliance
with Raghoba,
1778.

On the 22nd November 1778 the force moved out of Bombay, and by dint of mismanagement and internal dissension the campaign was brought to an end by the convention of the 16th January 1779.

The Convention
of Bhadgaon,
1779.

THE
MARÁTHÁS,
A.D. 1760-1819.

Negotiation
with the
Gáikwár.

Under this agreement all possessions in Gujarát acquired since the time of Mádhavrát Peshwa were to be restored by the British, together with Sálsette, Uran, and other islands. Rághobá was to be made over to Sindia's charge, and a separate treaty assigned to Sindia the sovereignty of Broach.

The Council at Bombay disavowed the convention and were inclined to adhere only to the clause allotting Broach to Sindia. Mr Hornby proposed to the Supreme Government an alliance with Fatesingh, engaging to free him from dependence on the Poona Government and to reconcile the disputants within the Gáikwár family itself. After the arrival of General Goddard with reinforcements from Bengal the Governor General approved of the alliance proposed with Fatesingh as head of the Baroda state, but specially declined to admit any participation or support in the family disputes. The British were to conquer for themselves the Peshwa's share of Gujarát, if they were able to do so.

Rághobá Escapes
from Sindia,
1779.

Rághobá, meanwhile, who had been given over to Sindia to be conveyed to Bundelkhand, escaped with the connivance of his custodian and fled to Broach. This was evidently a move calculated by Sindia to bring on hostilities between Nána Phadnis, the head of the ministerial party, and the English. General Goddard, who was conducting the negotiations with Poona on the part both of the Supreme Government and of the Government of Bombay, received Rághobá on June 12th, but evaded any proposals for a direct alliance. At the end of the rains of the same year, information was received by the English that a coalition against them had been formed by the Maráthás, the Nizám, and Hyder Ali of Mysor. The rumour was partially confirmed by the demand by Nána Phadnis for the cession of Salsette and the person of Raghoba as preliminaries to any treaty. No answer was given, but reinforcements were called for and the overtures with Fatesingh pushed forward. This chief prevaricated about the terms of the treaty and evidently did not like to enter into any special engagement that might perhaps bring down upon him the Poona army. General Goddard therefore advanced on 1st January 1780 against Dabhoi, which was garrisoned by the Peshwa's troops from the Dakhan, whilst the English in Broach expelled the Maráthá officers from their posts and re-took possession of Anklesvar, Hánsot, and Amod. On January 20th Dabhoi was evacuated by the Maráthás and occupied by General Goddard. Fatesingh now showed himself willing to enter into the proposed treaty, and on the 26th January 1780 signed an offensive and defensive alliance.

League against
the English,
1780

Treaty with
Fatesingh
Gáikwár.

In the re-opening of hostilities there was no mention of Rághobá, but the ground given was simply the non-fulfilment on the part of the Peshwa of his treaty engagement. Rághobá remained under English supervision in the enjoyment of a large allowance. Dabhoi was occupied by an English civil officer with a detachment of irregulars, and General Goddard moved towards Ahmedábád.

By the treaty of 1780 the Peshwa was to be excluded from Gujarāt. To reward former service, the district north of the Mahi was to be given entirely to the share of the Gākār. The English were to occupy the whole district south of the Tāpti, together with the Gākār's share in the revenue of Surat. In return for the support the English gave to place him in withholding tribute from the Peshwa, Fatesingh ceded Smor on the Nerbada and the Gākār's villages round Broach. The cession, however, were not to have effect until Fatesingh was in possession of Ahmedābād. The contingent of 5000 horse was to be fully furnished by the Gākār government.

As soon as the conditions were agreed upon, General Goddard went with his own army and the contingent furnished by Fatesingh to Ahmedābād. After encamping before it for five days, he took the city by storm on 15th February, 1780.

General Goddard
takes Ahmedābād,
1780.

Sindia and Holkar had combined their forces against the English and were marching up Gujarāt, plundering on their way. They were opposed by General Goddard who marched across the Mahi early in March. The allies turned off towards Chāmpūr without risking a pitched battle on the plan Sindia at once opened negotiations with the view of wasting time during the fair season. His first proposal was that Raghobā should be sent to Jhānsi, where Sindia had bestowed him an estate, and that Bāpū, Raghobā's son, should be appointed *deshdar* or manager of the Peshwa Madhārāy, who was a minor. Bāpū himself was under age, so Sindia was, of course, to assume temporarily the reins of government.

Operations
against Sindia
and Holkar

Goddard at once refused to force Raghobā to take any course other than the one he should select of his own free will, for Sindia did not appear to be aware that the English were now at war with the ministers on their own account and not as allies of an ex-Peshwa. Negotiations were broken off and Sindia and Holkar dislodged from place after place without any decisive engagement being fought. General Goddard was preparing monsoon quarters for his army, when he heard that a division of a Marathia force which had been plundering the Konkan in order to cut off supplies from Bombay had attacked parts of the Surat Athāvās. He detached some troops under Lieut. Welsh and sent them to the south, whilst he remained himself on the Nerbada. Lieut. Welsh drove back the marauders and took possession of the forts of Parnera, Indargān, and Bagvād.

After the monsoon of 1780, General Goddard went to besiege Bassem, leaving Major Forbes in charge of the Gujarāt army. This officer posted one body of troops at Ahmedābād for the protection of Fatesingh, another at Surat, and a third at Broach. Two battalions of Bengal infantry were sent to Smor and some few men to Dabhoi.

An attack was made by Sindia on the newly acquired district of Smor, but Major Forbes successfully resisted it and Sindia's position with regard to his own dominions was now such as to prevent him from sending more expeditions against Gujarāt.

1781.

The military necessities of other parts of India were such as to induce General Goddard to apply to Fatesingh for an increase to

THE
MARÁTHAS,
A.D. 1760-1819.

Treaty of Sálbai,
1782.

his contingent, in accordance with the treaty of 1780. After some personal communications with this Chief in Gujarát, General Goddard was able to arrange with the Gáikwár for the defence of part of that province and thus set free some European troops for service elsewhere.

No further attack was made in this direction during the continuance of the war which came to an end on 17th May 1782. The treaty of Sálbai between an envoy of the Governor General on one side and Mahádájí Sindia as plenipotentiary for the Peshwa and minister of Poona on the other, replaced the Marátha territory in Gujarát exactly where it was on the outbreak of hostilities against Raghobá in 1775. It was, however, specially stipulated that no demand for arrears of tribute during the late hostilities should be made against the Gáikwár, a clause that led to misunderstandings many years later. The town of Broach was given over to Sindia in accordance with the secret negotiation of 1779 and the votes of the Bengal and Bombay Councils. The territory round Broach yielding a revenue of three lákhs of rupees, ceded by the Peshwa, was likewise returned. Raghobá was granted a pension of 25,000 rupees a month and allowed to select his own place of residence. He went to Kopargaon and there died a few months after the conclusion of the treaty of Sálbai. Thus came to an end one of the chief sources of disturbance to the Poona government. For the next six years no event of any political importance took place in Gujarát, which province was left almost entirely to the administration of the Gáikwár family.

Death of
Fatesingh,
1789

In 1789, however, Fatesingh died, leaving Sayájíráv without a guardian. Mánáji, a younger brother, at once seized the reins of government and began the usual sort of negotiations to secure his recognition by the Poona government. He paid a nazarána of 3,13,000 rupees and agreed to pay up thirty-six lákhs of rupees as arrears, though it is not clear on what account, unless that sum had accrued since the treaty of Sálbai, or was part of the long standing account left open by Dámáji in 1753. Mánáji, however, was not allowed to succeed to the post of guardian without opposition. Govindráv Gáikwár was living at Poona, and, though he had himself little influence with the Peshwa's immediate adherents, he had managed to secure the then powerful Sindia on his side. This chief, since his recognition as plenipotentiary at the treaty of Sálbai, had been gradually making good his position with the Peshwa and his favourites as well as with the leading Marátha nobles, so as to be able to successfully oppose Nána Phadnis when the time came for a coalition of the outlying chiefs against the ministerial party. Govindráv offered his son Anandráv as husband for the daughter of Sindia, a proposal which it is not probable that he ever intended to carry out. A grant of three lákhs of rupees was also promised, in return for which Sindia allowed his garrison in Broach to assist Govindráv's illegitimate son Kánhoji to reach Baioda. Mánáji applied to the Bombay Government on the grounds that the steps taken by Govindráv were contrary to the provisions of the treaty of 1780. As however this treaty had been abrogated by the later agreement at Sálbai, the Bombay Government declined to interfere. Mánáji's agents at Poona

contrived to get Nāna Phadnis to propose a compromise, to which however Govindrāy, at the instigation probably of Sindia, declined to accede. Before any decision was reached Mānājī died

THE
MARATHAS,
A.D. 1760-1818

Nāna detained Govindrāy in Poona till he had agreed to hold by former stipulations and to cede to the Peshwa the Gáikwār's share in the districts south of the Tápti together with his share of the Surat customs. To this the Government of Bombay demurred as an infraction of the provision of the Salbai treaty whereby the integrity of the Gáikwār's possessions was assured. Nāna Phadnis at once withdrew his proposals. Govindrāy at last joined his brother at Baroda on 19th December, and took up the office of regent

1793

For two years Gujrat remained quiet. In 1796 Bájirāy, son of Raghoba, succeeded to the Peshwa's dignity and at once appointed his younger brother, ten years of age, governor of Gujrat. In accordance with Maráthá custom a deputy was sent to take charge of the province, one A'ba Shelukar, and he too seems to have administered vicariously, for next year (1797) we find him amongst those taken prisoners with Nana Phadnis when that minister was treacherously seized by Daulatāy Sindia in the Dakhan. A'ba was released on promising to pay ten lákhs of rupees as ransom. He then joined his appointment as subhedai in order to take measures to get together the money he required

A'ba Shelukar
Deputy Governor
of Gujrat,
1796

1797

Bájirāy Peshwa was anxious to embroil A'ba with Govindrāy, whom he knew to be favourable to Nāna Phadnis and too powerful to be allowed to acquire influence beyond the reach of head-quarter supervision. A cause of quarrel soon arose. Daulatāy pressed A'ba for part payment of the above ten lákhs, and the latter being unable to squeeze enough out of his own territory, forced contributions from some of the villages administered by the Gáikwār. Govindrāy at once took up arms against him and applied for aid to the English Agent at Surat. In this city Governor Jonathan Duncan had just assumed chief authority in accordance with an agreement between the English and the Nawáb. Duncan was anxious to secure for his government the land round Surat and the Gáikwār's share in the *chauth* of the town and district. Govindrāy, when this demand was made, referred the Governor to Poona, knowing that under the treaty of Salbai the British Government had no more right to acquire a share of the Gáikwār territory than the Poona authorities had when they made a somewhat similar demand in 1793, which was withdrawn as stated above. Before the reference could be made, A'ba was penned up by Govindrāy's own army in Ahmedábád and forced to surrender that city. He was kept in confinement for more than seven years.

Disputes
between A'ba
and Govindrāy
Gáikwār

1793

In the same year (1799) the Peshwa, apparently without formally revoking the appointment of his brother Chimnājī as Subhedai, gave Govindrāy a farm for five years of his whole rights in Gujrat, at the rate of five lákhs of rupees a year. These rights included shares in the Káthiaváda and Sorath tribute, the revenue of Petlád, Nápád, Ranpur, Dhandhuka, and Gogha, together with rights to certain customs dues in Cambay and a share in the revenue of the city of Ahmedábád.

Gujarat farmed
to the Gáikwār,
1799.

Govindrāv unfortunately died a month before this farm was formally made over by the Peshwa.

As had happened at the death of Dámáji, so again now, the heir Anandrāv was all but an idiot and quite incapable of managing his affairs. The disputes as to the guardianship again set the whole state in confusion. Kánhoji, a son of Govindrāv by a Rájputni princess of Dharampor, who had been the first agent of his father in Baroda in 1793, had been put in prison for refusing to give place to Govindrāv when the latter at length joined him at Baroda. At the death of Govindrāv, Kánhoji managed to obtain his liberty and to secure the ascendancy in the counsels of his weak-minded elder brother. He assumed, in fact, the whole government. His arrogant conduct in this new position excited the Arab guard against him and he was again thrown into confinement. His mother Gajrábái, who was a refugee in Surat, endeavoured to get assistance from the English there, and at the same time made overtures to Malhár, son of Khanderāv Gáikwár, who had formerly been one of Govindrāv's bitterest opponents.

1800

Meanwhile the administration of the Gáikwár's affairs passed into the hands of Rájji and Bábaji Appa, two brothers who had been brought to Baroda in 1793 by Govindrāv himself. Rájji took charge of the civil work, whilst Bábaji undertook the military duties, which at that time consisted in great measure in collecting the revenue by show of force. These two ministers, on hearing of the proceedings of Gajrábái, outbid her for the aid of the Bombay Government. In addition to the cessions formerly offered by Govindrāv, they were willing to give up Chikhli also. Matters were precipitated by the successes of Malhárāv in the field. Rájji offered to subsidize five European battalions, and Governor Duncan took upon himself the responsibility of sending an auxiliary force of 1600 men under Major Walker to act with the troops of Rájji and Bábaji north of Ahmedábad. Reinforcements were afterwards sent up, but the campaign was not closed till April 1802, when the fort of Kadi had been taken by storm. Malhárāv surrendered and a residence in Nadiád was assigned him with a liberal pension out of the revenues of that subdivision. The fort of Santheda, which had been held by Ganpatráv Gáikwár for his cousin Malhárāv, was soon after thus reduced and the country for a time pacified.

The British and
Govindrāv's
Part,

The British and
the Gáikwár,
1802.

In March Rájji had an interview at Cambay with Governor Duncan, which was followed on June 6th by a definite treaty, of which the groundwork had been previously sketched in anticipation of the reduction of the revolted Gáikwárs. Two thousand men, besides artillery, were to be subsidized and a *jádád* or assignment for their payment was made on the revenue of Dholka and the part of Nadiád not assigned to Malhárāv. Chikhli was given to the British in reward for their aid in storming Kadi, and Residents were to be appointed reciprocally. A large sum of money was borrowed by Rájji, partly from Bombay partly from Baroda bankers, to pay off the arrears due to about 7000 Arab mercenaries, who had usurped a great deal of objectionable influence in civil affairs at the Gáikwár's

capital Major Walker was appointed Resident and proceeded to Baroda on 5th June .

On the same day was signed a secret compact assuring Rájvi of the support of the British Government and awarding him a village out of the territory ceded by the treaty of June 6th . It was deemed advisable by the British Government to have at the Baroda court some leading personage who might, in the present state of the relations between Bombay and Poona, further the designs of the former government in preventing a recurrence of the coalition of Marátha powers. Rájvi was sure of his reward if he served British interests, whilst in case of the reorganization of a Marátha confederacy the state he was administering would probably play but a very subordinate part in subsequent events.

The treaty of June 6th was disapproved by the Court of Directors as being in direct contravention of the treaty of Sálbai . Before, however, any orders had been issued by the Home authorities to restore to the Gáikwár the territory he had ceded, the Peshwa, out of regard for whom the treaty had been disavowed, was a fugitive before the army of Holkar, and by December had ratified these very concessions at the treaty of Basscin . By this treaty the Peshwa virtually placed his independence in the hands of the British . He ceded his share of Surat, thus giving them sole control over that district . In payment of the subsidiary force required he handed over territory in Gujarat, the revenue of which amounted to 12,28,000 rupees, and finally he constituted the British Government arbiter in the disputes between his government and that of Baroda . The grants made by the Gáikwár for the support of the subsidiary force amounted in 1802 to 7,80,000 rupees.

Major Walker attempted to negotiate with the Arab guard, but the greater part of them flew to arms and released Kánhoji Gáikwár . The latter then tried to collect an army near Baroda, and succeeded in obtaining possession of the person of Anandiáv the titular ruler . The British force then took Baroda by storm, after which most of the Arabs submitted, except a few who joined Kánhoji . The rest took the arrears due to them and left the country . Kánhoji was not subdued till February 1803 . Malháráv meanwhile had broken out in rebellion in Káthiávada and was plundering the Marátha possessions there . Bábaji Appaji and a young officer named Vithal Devaji (or Divánji) led the operations against him, and to the latter belongs the honour of having captured this troublesome member of the ruling family . The estate of Nadiád, which had been assigned to Mudhavráo by Govindráv, was resumed by Rájvi Appaji and made over in its entirety to the British Government . A treaty, supplementary to that of 1802, was drawn up guaranteeing this cession as well as the *mám* or free gift of the fort and district of Kaira, "out of gratitude for the support given in the recent troubles to the Gáikwár's honour and for assistance in securing the good of the State."

THE
MARÁTHAS,
A D 1760 - 1819.

The Gáikwár's
Minister Rájvi

Treaty of Basscin,
31st Dec. 1802

Arabs
Disbanded.

Malháráv
in Revolt,
1803

THE
MARÁTHAS,
A.D. 1760-1819.

Contingent
Strengthened,
1803

Death of Rávjí,
1803.

War with Sindia.

The Revenue
Collecting
Force.

Very soon after this agreement Rávjí applied for an addition to the subsidiary force, in payment of which he assigned Mátar Mahudha and the customs of Kim-Kathodra, a station about seventeen miles north of Surat. His reason for strengthening the subsidiary force appears to have been that owing to the reduction of the Arabs, his own force was not enough to guard even the frontier, and that a great part of that duty fell on the European contingent, which was numerically insufficient for service on so extended a scale. This was the last public act of note on the part of Rávjí Áppa, who died in July 1803, after adopting one Sitarám to succeed to his estate.

Whilst these arrangements were being carried out at Baroda, Bájiráv Peshwa, chafing at the dependence to which his straits of the previous winter had reduced him with regard to the English, was actively propagating dissension between Sindia and the Calcutta Government. Not long after, the war that had been some time imminent broke out, and a contingent of 7352 men from Gujarát was ordered to the field. In August or September Broach and Pávágad¹ both fell to the British.

Under the treaty of Sirjé Anjangaon in December 1803, both Pávágad and Dohad were restored to Sindia, but Broach remained British. By this means one of the rising Maráthá powers was excluded from the centre to the outlying portion of the province. The employment of all the British contingent against Sindia's possessions in Gujarát precluded Major Walker from furnishing any portion of the army that was annually sent to collect the tribute in Káthiávada. Rávjí Áppáji had expressly stipulated that some part of the contingent might be so used when it could be spared from its main duties. The Supreme Government agreed to the proposal when made by Governor Duncan, on the grounds of the advantage both to the Gáikwár and the tributaries of employing on this disagreeable duty a strong and well-disciplined force. Already some of the tributaries had made overtures to Major Walker with a view to obtaining British protection against powerful neighbours. Governor Duncan was in favour of accepting the duty of protection and also of helping the Gáikwár's commander in his expeditions through the peninsula on these grounds. Firstly, the officer in command could exercise a certain supervision over the collections in which the British as part assignees had a direct interest. Secondly, a way could thus be opened for the acquisition of a port on the coast from which the intrigues, supposed to be carried on by agents from the Isle of France, could be watched and counteracted. From such a point, too, the views of the Bombay Government as regards Kachh could be promoted. Thirdly, the commandant could take steps to improve the system of forcible collections, and towards abolishing the barbarous features of this rude method of levying tribute. He could also, perhaps, suggest some system by which the advantages of all three parties concerned would be better secured than by reliance on the uncertainty of temporary expeditions. The fourth and last

¹ A celebrated hill fort south of Chámpáner in the Panch Mahals district.

reason given savours strongly of the Maráthha policy of the time, of which the leading maxim was *Divide et impera*. It was represented that Bábháji, who had successfully collected the tribute during 1802-03 and whose subordinate and companion Vithal Deváji was a person of similar energy and capability, might possibly acquire too great influence if left in a quasi-independent command at such a distance from the Court. It was politic, then, to join with the force under his command a strong foreign body, thus dividing both the power and the responsibility. The war with Sindia caused these proposals to fall into abeyance for some time.

Meanwhile the Resident at Poona was doing his best to secure for the Gáikwár a further lease for ten years of the farm of the Peshwa's dominions in Gujarát, so that the inconveniences of dual government might be avoided. In October 1804 a ten years' farm was granted in the name of Bhagvantráy Gáikwár at an annual rate of 4½ lakhs of rupees.

This grant led to the consolidation of all previous engagements into a single treaty, which was signed in April 1805. Previous agreements were confirmed and the whole brought into consonance with the treaty of Bassem. Districts yielding 11,70,000 rupees per annum were made over for the support of the subsidiary force, and arrangements were also made for the repayment of the cash loan advanced by the British Government in 1802, when the liquidation of the arrears due to the Arabs was a matter of urgent political necessity. The British contingent was to be available in part for service in Káthiáwáda, whenever the British Government thought such an employment of it advisable.

Finally, the British Government was constituted arbiter in all disputes of the Gáikwár, not alone with foreign powers, but also in the adjustment of his financial transactions with the Peshwa his paramount power. These transactions, which ranged back from the capture of Dámáji in 1751, had never been the subject of a formal investigation, and were by this time complicated by the numerous engagements with third parties into which both governments had been obliged to enter at their various moments of distress. Bájráv, who was apparently intriguing for a Maráthha coalition against his new protectors, was careful not to bring before the notice of the chiefs, whose esteem he wished to gain, a provision which exhibited him as in any way dependent upon the arbitration of a foreign power. He therefore granted the farm for ten years to the Gáikwár, as much by way of remanding for a time the proposed inquiries and settlement of their respective claims as for the purpose of diverting the attention of the British to the administration of this new appanage, whilst leaving him free scope for his intrigues in the Dakhan. He used, moreover, every pretext to defer the consideration of the Gáikwár question until he could make use of his claims to further his own designs. His success in preventing a discussion of these transactions is apparent by the fact that in the financial statement of the Gáikwár's affairs made by Colonel Walker in 1804, no mention of the Poona demand is to be found.

THE
MARÁTHÁS,
A.D. 1760-1819.

Renewal of
Farm,
1804

The British and
the Gáikwár,
1805

THE
MAPUTHA,
A L 1799-1819.

No important event took place during the next year or two. Bábaji relinquished the command of the force in Káthiávada in favour of Vithalráv Deváji, whilst he himself took part in the civil administration at Baroda. The Resident, too, seems to have been likewise engaged in internal matters and in securing the country against an invasion by Kánhoji, now a fugitive at the court of Holkar.

1807.

In 1807 the Resident made over Ába Shelukar, late Sar Subhedár of the Peshwa, to the British Government, by whom he could be prevented from engaging in fresh conspiracies. After this Colonel Walker was at last enabled to leave Baroda in order to assist in the settlement of the Káthiávada tribute question, an object he had long had in view, but which the necessity for his continuous presence at the Gáikwár's capital had hitherto prevented him from undertaking.

Káthiávada
Tribute

The changes with regard to the collection of the tribute from the chiefs of Káthiávada that were carried out in 1807 deserve a special description. Firstly, they placed the relations of the tributary to the paramount power on quite a new basis. Secondly, by them the British influence over both parties concerned was much increased and the connection between the governments of Bombay and Baroda drawn closer. Thirdly, they were subsequently, as will be seen hereafter, the subject of much discussion and delay in the settlement of the questions at issue between the Peshwa and the Gáikwár. And lastly, their effect was most beneficial to both the chiefs and their subjects in removing the uncertainty that had hitherto pervaded the whole revenue administration of Káthiávada.

Before entering on the details of the settlement itself, some description is necessary of the social and political state of the peninsula at the time the changes were introduced.

State of
Káthiávada,
1807.

The greater part of the population of Káthiávada consisted of two classes, chiefs and cultivators, called Bhumíás and ryots. The power of the chief ranged from the headship of a single village up to absolute jurisdiction over several score. The ryots were usually tenants long resident in the province. The chiefs were in almost every case foreigners, invaders from the north and north-east; Muhammadan adventurers from the court of Ahmedabád; Kathis animated by the love of plunder and cattle-lifting; and Mánás and Vaghelas who had settled on the coast on account of the facilities it afforded for their favourite pursuits of wrecking and piracy. More numerous than any others were the Rajputs, driven south by the disturbed state of their native kingdoms or by the restless spirit of military adventure to be found in a class where one profession alone is honourable. There is a certain uniformity in the building up of all these chieftainships. A powerful leader, with a sufficient band of followers, oppressed his weaker neighbours till they were glad to come to terms and place themselves under his protection, so as both to escape themselves and to take their chance of sharing in the plunder of others. It frequently happened in the growth of one of these states that the *bláyad* or relations of the chief (who are sure to be numerous in a polygamous society) were influential enough to assume, in their turn, a partial independence and to claim recogni-

as a separate state. As a rule, however, they continued to unite with the head of the family against external foes, and only disagreed as to domestic administration. It is also noticeable that though addicted to the profession of arms, the Rajputs cannot be called a military race, they possess few of the true military virtues—hence the slowness of their advance, and their failure in competition with perhaps less courageous though more compact and pliable races. In Kāthiawāḍ fortified strongholds, formidable enough to an army moving rapidly without siege trains, arose in all directions, and even villages were surrounded by a high mud wall as a protection against cattle-lifters.

The groundwork of these states being itself so unstable, their relation with each other were conducted on no principle but the law of the stronger. General distrust reigned throughout. Each chief well knew that his neighbours had won their position as he had won his own by the gradual absorption of the weaker, and that they were ready enough whenever opportunity offered to subject his dominions to the same process. The administration of his territory consisted merely in levying, within certain limits sanctioned by long usage, as much revenue as would suffice to maintain himself and his forces in their position with regard to the surrounding states. When a foreign enemy appeared there was no co-operation amongst the local chiefs in resistance. It was a point of honour not to yield except to a superior force. Each chief therefore, resisted the demands made upon him until he considered that he had done enough to satisfy the family conscience and then, agreeing to the terms proposed, he allowed the wave of extortion to pass on and deluge the domains of his neighbour. It should be remembered that the peninsula had never been subjugated, though overrun times innumerable. The evil of invasion was thus transitory. To a chief the mere payment of tribute tended in no wise to derogate from his independence. In his capacity of military freebooter he acknowledged the principle as just. His country had been won by the sword and was retained by the sword and not by acquiescence in the payment of tribute, so that if he could avoid this extortion he was justified in doing so. If he weakened his state in resisting foreigners, he knew that his neighbours would certainly take advantage of the favourable juncture and annex his territory. It was his policy therefore, after resistance up to a certain point, to succumb.

Owing to this local peculiarity and to the general want of union in the province, both the Mughals and Marāṭhas found it advantageous to follow a system of successive expeditions rather than to incur the expense of permanently occupying the peninsula with an army which would necessarily have to be a large one. There is every reason to believe that in adopting the raid system the Musalmāns were only pursuing the practice of their predecessors, who used to take tribute from Jodhpur to Dwārka.

Some of the subhedāis of Ahmedābād divided their tributary district into three circuits of collection and personally undertook the

THE
MARATHAS,
A.D. 1760-1830

State of
Kāthiawāḍ,
1807

The Revenue
Raid System

THE
MARATHAS,
1760-1819
The Peshwa
and System

charge of one each year. This was the *mulakgiri* Land-raiding system. Besides this chief expedition, there was the smaller one of the Babu of Junnagadh and the still more minute operations of the Raval of Bhavnagar against some of his weaker neighbours. The great Ahmedabad expedition had long been an annual grievance and was conducted with some show of system and under special rules called the *Raj-ul-Mulak*. Three of these rules are of importance, and seem to have been generally acquiesced in before the great incursions of Babaji and Vithalrav at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The first was that the paramount power (by which was meant the foreign government which was strong enough to enforce tribute from all the chiefs) had authority to interfere in cases of dismemberment, or in proceedings tending to the depreciation of the revenue or to the dismemberment of any tributary state. It was again an acknowledged rule that whilst the *mulakgiri* expedition of the paramount power was in motion no other army should be in the field throughout the whole province. The third provision was not so well established, but it appears to have been understood that the tribute from each state should be regulated by some standard of former date. In practice, however, the measure of the Marátha demand was simply the power to enforce payment.

It is worthy of remark that about the beginning of this century the resistance to the collection of tribute was stronger towards the west than in the east and south of the province. In the Mabi Kántha the lawlessness of the Koli chiefs, who had established themselves in the ravines and on the hills, necessitated the employment of a military force for collections. In the neighbourhood of Bijápur and Kadi, the chiefs would not pay tribute except under the compulsion of a siege or raid, but the *mulakgiri* system only reached its full development west of Dholka.

From these explanatory remarks the system and practice of the Marathás can be clearly understood.

The Marathas
in Sorath

The Marathás found their way to Sorath very early in their Gujarát career. The first raid probably took place about 1711, when the Muhammadans were occupied near Ahmedabad. After this incursions were frequent, and under Dhanaji Gaikwar became, as has been seen above, annual. This leader did more. He took to wife a daughter of the Gohil chief of the small state of Lathi in east central Káthiáwáda, whose dowry in land gave him the standpoint he sought in the heart of the peninsula. He managed also to secure his position in what are known as the Amreli Mahals, probably under the force of circumstances similar to those which caused the other Rajputs to gravitate towards the stronger of their own tribe. His expedition through the peninsula, generally as near the time of harvest as possible, was made regularly every year as soon as he had amassed a sufficient number of troops on the mainland to admit of a force being detached for *mulakgiri*. The object of these incursions was plunder, not conquest, the leaders would readily have entered into negotiations for the payment of the tribute had the chieftains been disposed to treat otherwise than after defeat. The expense

THE
MAHATHAS
A.D. 1700-1810

SCOTT, 18.

Bhāts and
Chātrās,
1-67.

state of society when no man considered himself safe in person or property from government on the one hand and his neighbour on the other. With classes like Kolis and predatory Rajputs, the feeling is intelligible enough, and from these it spread into other branches of the society. To such a pitch was distrust carried in the early part of the nineteenth century, that the Gaikwār himself could find no one to enter into a contract with him without the guarantee of one of his own subjects. The consequences of this practice and the power it threw into the hands of the Arab mercenaries, who were the principal securities for the public debts, are matters that touch the history of the Baroda State rather than that of the province. The chiefs in their dealings employed a special sort of security which owed its validity not to political consideration like that of the Arab Jamādārs but entirely to its religious and traditional character.

A society of the military type like the Rajput has a tendency towards caste and privilege. Without a leader the warlike instincts of the tribe would not carry them beyond petty robberies, whilst with a leader they can achieve greater exploits of valour and destruction. The successful chief then is idolized, and after a certain stage the privileges of the chieftainship become hereditary. Once this system is established, the celebration of ancestors follows, and when circumstances are favourable to the perpetuation of the hereditary position, the genealogy of the chief is a matter of the highest importance, and the person entrusted with the record of this is vested with peculiar sanctity. It is the genealogist's duty to enter in the record, not only the direct line but the names of the more distant relations of the chief by whom he is retained, and also to be the continual chanter of the glorious deeds of their common ancestors. He is therefore a referee of the highest authority in questions of pedigree or of the partition of inheritance. An injury to his person might entail the loss of the pedigree of the ruling family (especially as many of the birds kept no written record) and thus produce a misfortune which would be felt by the whole tribe. The chief, being a warrior, must take his chance in the field with the rest, but the person of the genealogist was sacred and inviolable. Amongst the Rajputs the greatest reverence was paid to purity of pedigree, and each principal family had its Bhāt to record births and deaths amongst its members and to stimulate pride in their lineage by the recital of the wars and exploits of their ancestors.

These Bhāts necessarily multiplied beyond the number of the families that could entertain them, so that many took to banking and some to cultivation. Surrounded as they were by the social system of the Hindus, it was not long before they became differentiated into a distinct caste, and the inviolability of their persons, formerly due only to respect for the pedigree, was now extended to the whole tribe, even though a large proportion of it performed none of the duties of genealogists. Similar to the Bhāts in many respects, notable in that of sacredness of person, were the Chātrās, numerous in Kutch and elsewhere, who had founded villages and lived as ordinary

cultivators This tribe also claimed divine origin like the race whose annals they had the privilege of recording It is said that Ríja Todar Mal, the celebrated minister of the Delhi empire, was the first to introduce the practice of taking these Bháts as securities for the Rajput The assercion is possibly true, but rests merely on tradition, and after ages usually find some great man as a sponsor for all such innovations It is clear however that for many years before 1807 no dealings of Kolis or Rajputs with the state or with each other took place without the security of a Bhát being taken This practice seems to have been as prevalent on the mainland as in the peninsula, the Kolis having doubtless borrowed it from their Rajput neighbours after the Bháts had become a separate caste

Under this system the Bháts acquired considerable wealth, as they usually demanded a percentage on the amount for which they became security There are instances in which they presumed upon the strength of their engagements and sacred character to bully or dictate to their employer Such was the case of the Rával of Bhávnagar in 1808, which is also interesting in another way, as showing how the spirit of industry and commerce tends to sap the old observances which have their roots in superstition This chief engaged in trade, fostered merchants, and increased his revenue When his security, a Bhát, got troublesome and interfering, he applied to the power to whom he paid tribute to have the old security bond cancelled and a fresh one taken on his own personal responsibility In doing this he seems to have been prompted by nothing but his appreciation of the modern code of commercial honour

To return to the *mulakgiri* The tribute for which preliminary security had been taken seems to have fluctuated from year to year, but always with reference to a fixed standard It was one of the Marátha rules never to recede from a former demand lest they should be thereby setting up a precedent for future years They preferred to secure a year or two's arrears at the full rate to the payment of all the arrears due at a reduced rate

In spite of this fiction of a settled *jama* or tribute, the Maráthás, when they had a sufficient force at their back, invariably demanded a larger sum, the excess being called *lhará-ját* or extra distinct from the actual tribute This ingenious plan of increasing the collections originated, it is said, with Shivrám Gárdí, and was carried out scrupulously by both Babáji and Vithalráv in their tours In fact during the last few years of the old system Vithalráv had so good a force with him that the extra demand formed a large proportion of the whole tribute collected and had been paid only under strong protest The British had not long been established in Ránpur, Gogha, and Dhandhuka before a few petty chiefs of Gohilvád and Sorath applied to the Resident at Baroda for protection against the *mulakgiri* of the Nawáb of Júnágadh and the Rával of Bhávnagar, offering to cede the sovereignty of their states to the British on condition that certain rights and privileges were preserved to the chiefs and their families The conditions they named were not such as were likely to meet with the approval of the British Government, and do

THE
MARÁTHÁS,
A D 1760-1819.

Bháts and
Chárans,
1807.

British
Intervention.

reductions in the item of extras or *lharajāt*, for which the later Gáikwár collectors had such prodilection. The engagements were of the following nature.

First, the chief bound himself his heirs and successors to pay at Baroda each year the tribute fixed in perpetuity in 1807. He also procured a counter security for this payment who engaged himself in this capacity for ten years. The Honourable Company's government had then to become security on the part of the Gáikwár for the fixity of the tribute demanded. This participation of the British in the engagement was insisted upon by the chiefs, and in all probability Colonel Walker was not averse from admitting it. Having thus arranged for the payment of the tribute and guaranteed the amount to be demanded, it was proposed to take measures to prevent internal quarrels between the chiefs themselves. The object of a fixed settlement was simply to remove the necessity for overrunning the country from time to time with an irregular army and to protect the chiefs against extortion. It was found that if the army of the paramount power were removed, all means of keeping order in the province would be lost, and the internecine feuds of the chiefs would soon destroy the good effects of the permanent settlement by materially altering the then existing position of the weaker feudatories and rendering them unable to pay the tribute. It was also the wish of the British Government to bring about such a state of things in Káthiáváda that the presence of an army to control the chiefs would be wholly uncalled-for and that the chiefs themselves would co-operate to keep order and maintain the permanent settlement.

A second agreement therefore was called for from each signatory state of the nature of a security for good and peaceful conduct. The counter security to this was usually that of another chief. This bond was perpetual. On the execution of both these engagements the chief received a *paivána* or guarantee that the Gáikwár government would not take from him more than the tribute agreed upon, and to this deed the countersignature of the Resident on behalf of the British Government was affixed. This guarantee, like the promise of the chief himself, was apparently given in perpetuity. It will be noted that the amount of tribute was fixed permanently, but that it was considered advisable to renew the security every ten years. It is also remarkable that, except in the *faizámín* or bond for good behaviour, the name of the Peshwa's government, the rights of which over the tribute had only been temporarily alienated, does not appear. The total amount of the tribute thus settled was Rs 9,79,882.

By means of these engagements the relations of the tributaries to their paramount power were made a matter of contract, instead of as heretofore a series of uncertain and arbitrary exactions dependent upon the respective means of coercion and resistance.

Seven years of the lease granted to the Gáikwár in 1804 by the Peshwa still remained unexpired and during at least six of these

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MARATHAS,
A.D. 1760-1819

Settlement
of 1807
Financial

Political.

Peshwa's Share
in Káthiáváda.

THE
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Peshwa's Share
in Káthiáváda

the arrangements that had been made about the Káthiáváda tribute do not seem to have been officially communicated to the Peshwa's government. It was not until 1815, when the Resident at Poona was trying to procure the renewal of the lease for the Gáikwár, that an account of the settlement was drawn up in a draft agreement which the Resident submitted to Bájiráv. In this draft the curious mistake was made of mentioning the settlement instead of only the security bond as decennial. The Peshwa, whose policy was to protract negotiations, submitted in his turn a second draft which he said he was willing to sign. In this he seized at once on the supposition that the tribute was fixed only for ten years and stipulated for an increase at the expiration of that period. He also demanded that certain extra collections should be refunded by the Gáikwár, and assumed the British Government to have become security for the tribute owed by the chiefs to his own government.

It was evident that no accord would be reached on the lines of either of these draft agreements as they stood. Before others were prepared, Gangádhara Shástri had been murdered and the treaty of June 1817 was a completed act, leaving further negotiations unnecessary.

Later
Arrangements

Meanwhile the tribute since the expiry of the farm of 1804 had been collected by a joint British and Gáikwár expedition, for it was found that partly from their own disputes and partly owing to the instigation of the agents of Bájiráv, the chiefs were little disposed to act up to the engagements of 1807, either with respect to tribute or good conduct. The Peshwa, whose interference in the affairs of the peninsula had been constantly discouraged, declined to trouble himself to collect the tribute, the responsibility of which he asserted rested entirely upon the British and Gáikwár governments. He subsequently ceded the tribute to the British Government on account of military expenses. After his fall in 1819 his territories, including the rights in Gujarát, fell to the British Government, and in 1820 the Gáikwár arranged that the whole of the Káthiáváda tribute, except that due from the districts directly subordinate to Baroda, should be collected by the agency of the British.

The
Mahi Kántha

Turning to the events on the mainland, we find that soon after Colonel Walker's return from the Káthiáváda expedition, he introduced the Káthiáváda tribute system into the Mahi Kántha, in spite of the opposition of Sitárám Ráji and the anti-English party in the Daibár.

Supplementary
Treaty,
1808.

The territory ceded for the payment of the British contingent in 1805 was found to yield less revenue than had been anticipated, so in 1808 a treaty supplementary to the consolidating one of 1805 was drawn up, allotting additional assignments amounting to about 1,76,168 rupees to the British. This revenue was derived partly from alienated villages in Nadiád, Mahudha, Dholka, Mátar, and near the Ranjar Ghát. The *ghásdána* or tribute of Bhávnagar was also made over by this agreement. With regard to this latter

acquisition, it is to be noticed that the agreement is drawn up in the name of the Honourable Company alone, and not in that of the British Government on account of Anandráv Gáikwár. It also differs from other engagements of a similar nature in containing a provision against the contingency of future irregular demands being made by the Peshwa's army. The reason for this distinction is evidently that the Bhávnagar contribution was not part of the Káthiávádá revenue farmed to the Gáikwár by Bájnáv, and was thus not divisible on the expiration of the lease. The right to this tribute rested with the British by virtue of the previous cession of Gogha, of which sub-division the fifty nine villages of the Bhávnagar Bháiyád formed part.

Next year the Okhámandal chiefs, who had not come under the settlement of 1807, were driven to engage not to continue their piratical depredations along the coast, and to admit one Sundarji Shivji as Resident on behalf of the British Government. The Gáikwár government then, too, seems to have become their counter security, an arrangement which led to misunderstandings a short while afterwards.

In 1811, some disturbances in Navánagar and Junágadh and symptoms of discontent in Okhámandal took the Resident from Baroda into the peninsula with part of the British contingent.

The Jám of Navanagar had got involved in pecuniary transactions with the Ráv of Kachh, and the British Government had mediated with a view of arranging for the repayment by gradual instalments. The Jám, however, repudiated all the engagements of 1807 both as regards the debt and the tribute, ejected the Gáikwár's agent from his dominions, and prepared for war. He also began to incite the neighbouring chiefs to join in sweeping out the paramount power from the whole of Káthiávádá. It was not till after a considerable show of force that he laid down his arms and came to terms. Captain Carnac, the Resident, got him to submit the Kachh claims to the arbitration of the English Government, and after fixing them at Rs 4,33,830, Captain Carnac made an arrangement similar to that originally intended.

There remained the question of a disputed succession in Junágadh. Bahádur Khán, son of a slave girl, was put forward in opposition to a younger aspirant, Salábat Khán, reputed to be the son of a lady of the Rádhampur house. The Baroda government with the concurrence of the Resident had admitted the claims of the latter. On a report, however, by the Assistant Resident in Káthiávádá Captain Carnac was induced to alter his opinion and to support Bahádur Khán, on the grounds that Salábat Khán was a spurious child, and that Bahádur was ready to make concessions of value to the Gáikwár government. The Bombay Council, however, disavowed all countenance of the claims of Bahádur Khán, and the matter was let drop.

In the year 1812 the Gáikwár had paid off the pecuniary loan borrowed in 1803 from the British Government, but there still

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Okhámandal,
1809

Disturbances in
Káthiávádá,
1811

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remained the debts for which that government had become *bhandári* or security in place of the ejected *jamádárs* of the Arab force. These claims could not be paid off for at least two years longer, so that for that period the Resident was ordered to maintain the same close supervision of Baroda affairs as heretofore.

1813-14.

The next two years were spent chiefly in discussions with the Poona government about the old claims by the Peshwa on the Gáikwár's estate. There is no doubt that at the time of his death, Dámáji had not paid up nearly all that he had bound himself in 1753 to pay. On the other hand there had been at least six intermediate compacts between the Peshwa and various members of the Gáikwár family. Amongst others was that of 1768 fixing the arrears of the previous three years, that of 1778 and of 1781, by the tenth clause of which Fatehsingh was excused payment of arrears for the time during which he was engaged in hostilities against Rághobá. Then came the agreement with Govindráv in 1797, to which a sort of debit and credit account is appended.

Peshwa Intrigue
in Baroda,
1814

The Peshwa had been content, for reasons that have been shown above, to let these claims lie dormant during the currency of the ten years' farm. But, as the question of the renewal of this agreement became imminent, he gradually opened more frequent communications with the Baroda council using these claims as a pretext for sounding the disposition of the chief officials and ascertaining their feelings especially towards the British Government. When the negotiations for the settlement of these claims were fairly set on foot, he used every possible means to protract them till he had finally decided what he should do in 1814, when the Ahmedábád farm expired.

It was easy for Bájiráv to discover who were the malcontents at the Baroda Court. Sitarám, the adopted son of Ravji Appáji having been found both incompetent and untrustworthy in the management of affairs, had been practically removed from any post of influence in the council, and was moreover chafing at the refusal of the British Government to recognize him in the same way as they had done his father. He had also been superseded as Suba of Káthiáváda by Vithalráv Deváji. Under these circumstances, and finding that he had the support of a large number of the older court party against the authority of the Resident and of his native agent he either himself opened communications with Bájiráv or readily listened to the counsels sent to him direct from Poona. Before long, agents were sent to the Peshwa's Court by Takhtbái, wife of Anandráv, with instructions, it is supposed, to thwart all the proposals and designs of Gangádhár Shástri, who had been recently sent as envoy by the Gáikwár council of administration. The chief obstacle to the settlement of the Peshwa's claims was the counter-demand made by the Baroda government on account of Broach, which had been disposed of without the Gáikwár's consent, and also on account of the damage caused by the inroads of Ába Shelukar, when accredited agent of Bájiráv in Gujarat.

There is no need to detail here the events that took place in Poona during these negotiations. On the expiration of the farm in 1814,

Bájráv appointed Trimbakji Dengle Sarsuba of Ahmedábád. The latter, however, did not leave Poona, where his presence was indispensable to his master, but sent agents with instructions rather of a political than of a fiscal nature. He himself undertook the task of disposing of Gangádhār Shástri, whom he caused to be assassinated at Paudhapur in July 1815.

Meanwhile the Jám of Navánagar had died leaving a disputed succession. The chief's Khavás or family slaves, instigated probably by agents from Ahmedábád, began to usurp the government, and the whole question was submitted by the Darbár to the Peshwa as being lord paramount. The Ahmedábád commander sent a body of two hundred cavalry to Navánagar, but before they could arrive, the Khavás' revolt had been quelled by a British force detached from the contingent. They therefore dispersed through the province inciting discontent and revolt amongst the Játs and Kathis. In Kaira they instigated a tribe of Kolis to attack the British lines by night. Sitáráj Rávj's adherents also collected a force at Dhár, a state well-known for lending itself for such purposes, and kept the frontier in confusion. Severe measures at Poona and Baroda soon put an end to this state of things, and at last Trimbakji Dengle was surrendered to the British Government to answer for his share in the murder of Gangádhār Shástri. The discussion of the Gáikwár's debts, however, was carried on all through the year at Poona, whilst Bájráv was maturing his then vacillating plans for extirpating the British from the west of India.

In 1816 the chiefs of Okhámandal again betook themselves to piracy. Their territory was occupied by a British force. It will be remembered that in 1809 the Gáikwár's government had become counter security for these chiefs, but owing to the distance of the district from a military post, the Baroda authorities found themselves unable to spare troops enough to put a check on the misconduct of their tributaries. In A.D. 1816, at the time of occupation, the Bombay Government informed the Baroda administration that they had no wish to permanently establish themselves at so distant a spot, which contained, moreover, a much frequented shrine of Hindu worship, and that they were willing to put the Gáikwár in possession if he would engage to keep up a sufficient force in the district to protect the neighbouring ports and shores from the pirates and wreckers that infested the island of Dwárá and the adjoining mainland. The Bombay Government made a point of asserting on this occasion, in opposition apparently to some proposal by the Baroda Darbár, that they could not admit that the mere fact of having become security or counter-security gave any preferential right to the possession of the country. Finally, the Gáikwár government agreed to the condition proposed, and the district was made over to them.

In the same year (A.D. 1816) British aid was invoked by the Nawáb of Junágadh who was oppressed by a too powerful minister, backed by the Arab mercenaries. After a settlement of this dispute had been satisfactorily brought about, the Nawáb, in gratitude, waived his rights to tribute over the territories recently ceded to

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A.D. 1760-1819.
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in Baroda,
1814.

Okhámandal
ceded to the
Gáikwár

British Aid at
Junágadh.

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the British in the peninsula, where his family had formerly great influence and considerable property. The escape of Trimbakji Dingle from Thána, and the subsequent attempts of the Peshwa to prevent the re-capture of his favourite and to re-unite the Marátha confederacy, led to the execution of a fresh treaty on June 13th, 1817, in accordance with the orders of the Supreme Government.

Treaty of
Poona,
1817.

It was intended to bind the Peshwa in such a way that he could never again enjoy the ascendancy amongst the Marátha chiefs to which he aspired. The Resident at Poona took this opportunity of also putting an end to the discussions about the mutual claims on each other by the Poona and Baroda governments. The Peshwa agreed to abandon all claims on any territory in possession of the Gáikwár and to accept an annual payment of four lákhs of rupees in satisfaction of all previous debts. The farm of Gujarát was made perpetual to the Gáikwár on the payment of four and a half lákhs annually, but the Káthiáváda tribute was made over to the British Government in liquidation of military expenses. The latter Government, by this treaty, also entered into possession of the Peshwa's revenue in Gujarát, except that of Ulpád, which had been assigned to a favourite officer. All the Peshwa's rights north of the Narbada were also ceded.

Treaty with
the Gáikwár,
1817-18

These conditions necessitated a readjustment of the agreements with the Gáikwár. On November 1817, a definitive treaty, afterwards supplemented by one of November 1818, was executed between the Baroda and British Governments. The force furnished by the former state was found inefficient and the employment of a larger body of British troops was therefore necessary. To pay for these the Gáikwár ceded his share in the fort of Ahmedábád and the districts immediately surrounding that city¹. He also made over some districts near Surat, and the town of Umreth in Kaira with the whole of the rights acquired by the perpetual farm of Ahmedábád. The British remitted the *mughlári* or dues taken by the Nawábs of Surat on the Gáikwár's possessions near that city. Okhámandal having now been pacified, was also given up to the Gáikwár, but revolted four months afterwards and was not again subdued for a considerable time.

1819.

At the final settlement of the dominions of the late Peshwa in 1819, the whole of his rights in Gujarat passed in sovereignty to the British, who remitted the four lakhs due from the Gáikwár in composition of arrears claimed by Bájiráv. The next year a special inquiry was made into the respective shares of the Peshwa and Baroda governments in the Káthiáváda tribute and in the extra allowance levied by the Gáikwár called *ghás-dána* allowance. In the course of this inquiry so many abuses of power and instances of extortion on the part of the Gáikwár's officers were brought to light, that the Bombay Government on these grounds, and on account also of the general deterioration in the province since the

1820.

¹ Known as Daskroi,

Gáikwár's troops were stationed there, prevailed upon Sayajiráv, who had now succeeded to the throne, to let the duty of collection be undertaken and superintended by a British officer stationed in Káthnáiváda, who should, however, employ the Gáikwár's troops on occasions of necessity. A similar arrangement was made with regard to the Mahá Kántha, where the effects of the settlement of 1811 had been much weakened by the disorderly conduct of the Gáikwár's troops stationed there. The administration of nearly the whole of the province passed into the hands of the British and the period of Marátha ascendancy came to an end.

THE
MARÁTHAS,
A.D. 1760-1819.
Close of Marátha
Supremacy,
1819.

It remains to review generally the nature and characteristics of the Marátha connection with Gujarát, the chief events in which have been chronicled above. The most prominent feature has already been indicated at the beginning of this section and is apparent throughout the whole narrative. It is, in fact, the small space in history occupied during this period by the people, compared with the share appropriated to the actions of the government and its delegates. The reasons for this are as easily seen as the fact itself. From first to last the Marátha interests in Gujarát were, except at one or two special junctures, simply pecuniary ones. In comparison with other countries within reach of Marátha arms, Gujarát has always had a very large proportion of inhabitants engaged in commerce and manufacturing industries. It was the object of Śivájí to get as much booty as he could and carry it away then and there, hence the commercial classes and manufacturers presented the most favourable opportunities for pillage, and the agriculturists were at first only mulcted in forage and provisions. Rapidity of action was another of Śivájí's aims, so not only were his visits short and their effects transitory, but all his booty consisted of property that could be carried away by his horsemen. No women or followers accompanied his expeditions, no prisoners were made excepting the few who could afford to pay a heavy ransom. Torture was resorted to only when the captive was suspected of having concealed his treasure. Cows women and cultivators were, according to Śivájí's system, exempted from capture. Assignments on revenue were seldom made by him for fear of weakening his own authority. Subsequently the Marátha demands became more regular and assumed the form of a certain proportion of the revenue. The *sar-deshmukhi* and *chauth* were supposed to be calculated on the standard assessment so as to avoid subsequent claims as tribute or over-collection. In reality, however, they consisted of a fixed share in actual collections together with whatever extras the officer in charge could manage to extort, and which were, of course, kept undefined in any agreement. The expeditions, too, moved more leisurely and in greater force. The passes and roads in their rear were protected by their own comrades, so that the booty could be brought to the Dakhan in carts, and more bulky property therefore was removed than in former times. The times, too, when the demands were likely to be made were known to the headmen of the district and village, so that the cultivators could be pressed beforehand to furnish their share of the

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contributions The extortion by this means passed from the commercial classes down to the agriculturists, the latter having also the burden of supporting a larger and more cumbrous army for a longer period.

When the power of the Dábháde and his deputy the Gáikwár was fairly established, a regular system of administration was introduced. It will be remembered that by the treaty of 1729 as few Maráthas officers were to be employed as possible beyond those necessary to collect the Dábháde's share of the revenue. In consequence, however, of the internal struggles of the Muhammadan chiefs, this minimum quota grew to be a large establishment, with the usual accompaniment of alienations and assignments for the support of the officers and their religious institutions which the weakness of the central power had allowed to become customary. The Dábháde himself was non-resident and his deputy usually being too valuable an assistant to be spared from the arena of Dakhan politics, the collection was left to sub-deputies and their subordinates, who in turn delegated a great part of their duties to village officers and even to strangers. The Dábhádes, who were throughout more interested in the Dakhan than in Gujarát, had, no doubt, an idea of raising up a power in the latter province in opposition to the administration of the Peshwa, which was conducted purely by Bráhman agency. It was soon evident, however, that all that could be done politically with Gujarát was to make it a treasury for the support of schemes that had to be carried out in the Dakhan.

The fertility of the soil and the facilities the country afforded for commerce and manufactures both tended to make it unlikely to become a field for recruiting. The inhabitants of the towns had fixed and lucrative occupations, the cultivators were mostly of a class which on account of the fertility of their land neither Muhammadan nor Maráthas had been able to impoverish. The Maráthas had still to seek for soldiers in the rugged and barren country on the Gháts and in the Konkan, where the people could only look for a hand-to-mouth existence if they remained at home. The warlike tribes of Gujarát were, as has been already seen, too proud by birth and position to engage themselves to fight for any but their own race and interest. The aboriginal races were not likely to prove effective allies even if they had been willing to move from their own woods and fortresses. None of the Maráthas governors of Gujarát seem to have consistently attempted to weld the various interests subordinate to them into a cohesion and unity that they might have made politically useful against the Poona influence. All that they endeavoured to do was to draw from their charge as much revenue as possible and to keep out interlopers. To the taxpayer the result was the same, whether his district was invaded by Kantáji or Piláji. If one anticipated the other in carrying off the harvest, the ryot still had to pay the latter for ejecting the intruder. The only resistance to be feared by the Maráthas was that, not of the cultivators, but of their own race or of the Rajput Girásís. These latter were treated in all districts as mere robbers, probably because the class which bears that name near Rájpipla

where the Marathas first came in contact with it subsisted usually on a feudal basis. In the north, however, the Girmans were landowners of great influence and fixed residence, not likely to be intimidated by the knowledge that the plunder of their country chased them and left such Bhils and Kolis as remained in or outlaws.

In order to relieve the chief officials of direct responsibility for the revenue, the Gwalwar towards the last quarter of the eighteenth century did not before, introduced the system of letting out each revenue subdivision in farm for from one to five years at a fixed annual rate. The Government were often absent in an absence, but the revenue and administration were never entrusted to any one but a Maratha Brahmin. The revenue for the year was settled by comparison of the account of previous years and the crops of each village. The same rate was taken in hand, but the actual distribution of the whole on individual cultivators was left to the headman, who was not to be considered responsible for the amount imposed on his village.

The Government, however, of the time, and other causes had left much unsettled land and a desert. In order to restore the population and encourage settlement and cultivation in such spots leases on favourable terms were granted to desais, who administered the lands as they pleased, and were directly responsible to the head revenue authority of the subdivision for the annual rent. The patil and other village chief also made use of their position with reference to the foreign supervisors in appropriating large tracts of waste land to their own uses. The *hamatsdar* or farmer for the time being was interested only in recouping himself for the amount he had agreed to pay the Maratha government, together with a margin for bribes paid to underlings at head-quarters for good office with regard to the farm. He was ready, therefore, to make use of any agency in collecting his revenue that he found effective, and which saved the cost of a personal establishment. In many parts of the country there were hereditary village headmen accustomed to the duty of extorting money from unwilling ryot. In other places, such for instance as Dholka, it had been customary for certain Muhammadans called *Kasbis*, to become responsible for the revenue of certain villages in return for a discount on the *jama* or amount collected (*manoli*). These *manolidars* were found so useful by the Maratha officials that they gradually acquired an hereditary position and claimed proprietary rights in the villages for which they had been formerly mere agents for collection. They also acted as *desais* or colonists, and succeeded in getting their leases of certain tracts renewed long after they had ceased to actively improve the land, which had in fact been all brought under regular cultivation.

Such was the agency employed in administering the revenue. The *hamatsdar* was also the dispenser of justice both civil and criminal. As his object was to make money and not to improve the condition of his charge, his punishments consisted chiefly in fines, and most offences could be paid for. No record of trials was

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kept except a memorandum of the amount passed at each decision to the credit of the farmer. In civil suits sometimes one-fourth of the amount in dispute was assigned as costs and appropriated by the court. The Girásíás in their own territory exercised somewhat similar jurisdiction, but grave crimes with violence were apparently left to the party injured or his relations to decide after the manner of the offence. Arbitration, too, was a frequent mode of deciding differences of both civil and criminal nature, but the *lamávtádár* or *girásíá* usually managed that the State should not be a loser by such a method of settlement.

The whole system indicates clearly enough the slight hold the Maráthás had on the province and their desire to make the most out of it for the furtherance of court intrigues or political ends above the Ghats. There is nothing to show that they contemplated a permanent colonization of the country until the British Government undertook the task of dividing the Maráthá nation by the establishment of a powerful and independent court at Baroda.

The home of the Maráthás was always the Dakhan, and for many years after they had effected a lodgment in Gujarát, their army regularly returned for the rainy season to the country from whence they originally came. Their leaders were encouraged to be as much as possible near the court by the Dábháde, or the regent on the one side and by the Peshwa on the other the former on account of their weight with the army and the Maráthá chiefs, the latter in order that their influence in a distant dependency might not grow beyond what prudence recommended or might be counteracted if its tendency to increase became manifest. For similar reasons no force was allowed to be maintained in Gujarát sufficient to consolidate the Maráthá acquisitions there into a manageable whole. Dámáji Gáikwár, had he lived, would undoubtedly have done much towards this end by means of his personal influence, but, as it happened, the thin crust of Maráthá domination rapidly disappeared before it either was assimilated into the system of the province or hardened over it. A military occupation of a large and civilised district at a distance from the mother-country, and prevented by the jealousy of the central authority and the short-sightedness of those in charge of its exploitation, from either conforming itself to the elements it found already established, or absorbing the vital forces of the government it dispossessed, a system without the breath of life, without elasticity, without the capacity of self-direction, imposed bodily upon a foreign people, without even the care of preparing a foundation, such seems to have been the Maráthá government, containing within itself all that was necessary to ensure a precarious, but while it lasted, an oppressive existence.

GUJARÁT DISTURBANCES,
1857-1859.

BY

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[CONTRIBUTED MAY 1880.]

GUJARÁT DISTURBANCES.

1857-1859

¹ The rite of passing cakes from village to village or of passing a dog from village to village is in such a degree connected with magical and religious rites practised all over India that it seems hardly possible to accept either as an accident or as accidental the passing of cakes and of a dog from one part of the country to another on the brink of the Mutiny. Knowing how suitable such a rite is to the state of feeling as well as to the phase of belief prevalent among the plotters of rebellion in Northern India it seems difficult to suppose that the passing of the cakes and the passing of the dog were not both sacramental, that is designed to spread over the country a spirit which had by religious or magical rites been housed in the dog and in the cakes. The cake spirit, like the sugar spirit of the Thapas, was doubtless Kâli, the fierce longing for unbridled cruelty, which worked on the partaker of the Phag sugar with such power that he entered with zest and without remorse on any scheme however cowardly and cruel. Like the Thapas those who ate the Mutiny cakes would by partaking become of one spirit, the spirit of the indwelling Kâli, and, in that spirit would be ready to support and to take part in any scheme of blood which the leaders of Mutiny might devise and start. Similarly by religious rites the Central India dog, possibly the dog of Bânza Bân of Gwalior (see text page 437), had been made the home of some fierce war spirit, apparently of the dog-formed Khandoba the Marâtha Sword God and Dog of War. The inspired dog and the inspired dogs meat were passed through the land in the confidence that through them the spirit of unrest would pervade every village of Gujarât. Since the Mutinies, by the

GUJARÁT
DISTURBANCES,
1857-1859

Gold Hoarding

Seditious
Native Press

Maulvi
Sarāj-ud-din

Although Gujarát was apparently tranquil in the hot season of 1857, those who were most familiar with native opinion were aware of the existence of very serious discontent, and indications of the storm which lowered on the horizon were not wanting. When disturbances are impending natives invariably convert their savings into gold, because gold is more portable and more easily concealed than silver. A sudden and unusual demand for gold in the markets, especially by the native troops, had been observed. This fall of the political barometer should never be disregarded. It indicates the approach of a storm with great certainty.

The native press, which had been merely disloyal, now assumed an attitude of decided hostility. Every paper contained the most exaggerated accounts of the massacre of Europeans in the North-West Provinces, and absurd rumours were circulated of the approach of a combined Russian and Persian army, which, it was said, had reached Atok and would shortly invade Hindustán. It is much to be regretted that the measures which were found necessary in 1880 for the suppression of seditious publications were not enforced in 1857. Had this been done much evil would have been averted. The native mind would not have become familiar with the spectacle of the British Government held up to the execration and contempt of its subjects and the vilest motives attributed to every public measure.

The native press was not the only source of sedition. The fall of the British Government was openly predicted in every masjid, and in Ahmedabad a Maulvi named Sarāj-ud-din became especially prominent by preaching a *juhál* in the Jáma Masjid to audiences of native officers and *savás* of the Gujarát Horse and troops from the

magic of letters, Kálí has passed from the wafer into the leaflet, and the paid political propagandist has taken the place of Khandoba's parish dog.

The correctness of the view suggested above is supported if not established by certain passages in Knyce's *Boy War*, I 632-642. Chuni says, 'The circulating of cakes was supposed to foretell disturbance and to imply an invitation to the people to unite for some secret purpose.' According to the king of Delhi's physician (page 636) some charin attached to the cakes. 'The people thought they were made by some adept in the secret arts to keep unpolluted the religion of the country.' Another authority (page 637) says, 'The first circulation of the cakes was on the authority of a pandit who said the people would rise in rebellion if cakes were sent round and that the person in whose name the cakes were sent would rule India.' The secret comes out in Sitarám Báwá's evidence (pages 646-648), 'The cakes in question were a charin or *jadu* which originated with Báwa Báwa the *guru* or teacher of Nána Sáhib. Báwa told Nána Sáhib he would make a charin and as far as the magic cakes should be carried so far should the people be on his side. He then took lotus-seed dough called *makána* and made an idol of it. He reduced the idol to very small pills and having made an immense number of cakes he put a pill in each and said that as far as the cakes were carried so far would the people determine to throw off the Company's yoke.' With this making of a cake as a sacramental home of Durga or Kálí compare the Buddhist of Tibet offering in a human skull to the Máháráni or Queen, that is to Durga or Kálí, a sacramental cake made of black goat's fat, wine, dough, and butter (Waddell's *Buddhism in Tibet*, 365). As to the effect of sharing in Durga's mutiny cakes compare the statement of the Thag Faringia (Siceman's *Ramaseena*, page 216), 'The sugar sacrament, *gur lapávan*, changes our nature. Let a man once taste the sacramental sugar and he will remain a Thag however skilful a craftsman, however well-to-do. The Urdu proverb says *Tapauni li dhaunka gur gine káhyá ruh wáid had* Who who eats the sugar of the sacramental Vase as he is so he remains. The Thags are tools in the hand of the god they have eaten (Compare *Ramaseena*, 76).—J.M.C.

Ahmedábád cantonment The Maulvi was expelled from Ahmedábád and found his way to Brioda, where he was afterwards arrested, but the impunity he so long enjoyed brought great discredit upon Government, for it was very naturally supposed that a government which tamely submitted to be publicly reviled was too weak to resent the indignity. Oriental races are so accustomed to violent measures that they seldom appreciate moderation or forbearance. The generation that had known and suffered from the anarchy of the Peshwa had passed away. The seditious language of the native press and the masjid was addressed to a population too ignorant to understand the latent power of the British Government.

GUJARAT
DISORDERANCES,
1857-1859

In 1857 the immense continent of Hindustán was governed by what appeared to the people to be a few Englishmen unsupported by troops, for they knew that the native army was not to be depended on, and the European troops were so few that they were only seen in the larger military cantonments. It must have seemed an easy task to dispose of such a handful of men, and it probably never occurred to those who took part in the insurrection that the overthrow of the British Government would involve more serious operations than the capture or murder of the Europeans who governed the country so easily. They could not perceive that England would never submit to a defeat, and that the handful of men who ruled India were supported by the whole power of the nation. The plotters had no very definite ideas for the future. The Mussalmáns regarded the subversion of a government of Káfirs as a triumph of Islam, and both Muslims and Hindus looked forward to a period of anarchy during which they might indulge that appetite for plunder which had been restrained for so many years. The descendants of the feudal aristocracy of the Peshwa are an ignorant and improvident race deeply involved in debt. They could not fail to see that under the operation of our laws their estates were rapidly passing into the possession of the more intelligent mercantile classes, and they hoped to recover their position in the revolution that was about to ensue.

Apparent
Weakness of
British Rule.

A great change had taken place in the character of the administration. The civilians of the school of Duncan, Malcolm, and Mountstuart Elphinstone, though not deeply learned in the law, were accomplished earnest men, sufficiently acquainted with the unalterable principles of right and wrong to administer substantial justice to a simple people who had not yet learnt the art of lying. The people asked for justice rather than law. They were satisfied with the justice they obtained from the able and upright men who ruled this country during the first half of this century. The writings and official reports of the officers of that period indicate a knowledge of native customs and feelings and a sympathy with the people that is unknown in the present day, for knowledge and sympathy cannot be acquired except by a long and familiar residence amongst the people which is now becoming every year more impossible. When the overland route rendered communication with England more easy and frequent, a reaction set in against patriarchal administration. Concubinage with native women, which had been common, was now declared vulgar, if not immoral, and the

Administrative
Defects

GUJARAT
DISTURBANCES,
1857-1859

The Courts
Declined.

relations between Europeans and Natives soon became less cordial than they had been during the early period of British rule. About this time a considerable immigration of lawyers appeared in India. These briefless gentlemen, envious of the official monopoly of the Civil Service, raised an outcry that justice was being administered by men who had not acquired that knowledge of law which the formality of eating a certain number of dinners at the Temple was supposed to guarantee. They worked the press so industriously to this cry, that in the course of a few years they had succeeded in impressing their views on the Court of Directors in London and on the less intelligent members of the Civil Service in India.

Unfortunately the Sadar Court was then presided over by a succession of feeble old gentlemen who had not sufficient force of character to resist this selfish agitation, and by way of refuting the charge of ignorance of law devoted themselves to the study of those petty technicalities which have so often brought the administration of justice into contempt and which the progress of law reform has not even now removed from the law of England. In 1827 Mountstuart Elphinstone had enacted a Civil and Criminal Code which was still the substantive law of the land. It was simple and admirably suited to the people but justice was administered according to the spirit rather than the letter of the law. A district officer would have incurred severe censure if his decisions were found to be inequitable, however they might have been supported by the letter of the law. The national character for even-handed justice had made the English name respected throughout India and far across the steppes of Central Asia. But the demoralizing example of the Sadar Adalat soon extended to the lower grades of the service. The Civil Service was afflicted with the foolishness which we are told, precedes ruin. Its members diligently searched their law-books for precedents and cases, and rejoiced exceedingly if they could show their knowledge of law by reversing the decision of a lower Court on some long-forgotten ruling of the Courts of Westminster. The first effect of this evil was to fill the courts with corrupt and unprincipled *vulgaris* who perverted the course of justice by perjury, forgery, and fraud of every description. Litigation increased enormously, no cause was too rotten, no claim too fraudulent to deprive it of the chance of success. The grossest injustice was committed in the name of the law and though the Civil Service was above all suspicion of corruption, the evil could hardly have been greater if the Judges had been corrupt. This state of affairs gave rise to great discontent for the administration of justice fell almost entirely into the hands of the *vulgaris*. When men quarrelled they no longer said, "I'll beat or I'll kill you," but "I'd pay a *la' il* Rs. 50 to run you," and too often this was no mere idle threat.

The Inam
Commission

The operations of the Inam Commission and of the Survey Department were also a fruitful cause of alarm and discontent. Many of the estates of the more influential Joghirdars had been acquired by fraud or violence during the period of anarchy which preceded the fall of the Peshwa. The Patels and Desamukhs had also appropriated large areas of lands and had made grants of villages to temples and assignments of revenue to Brahmins, religious mendicants, and dancing

GUJARAT
DISTURBANCES,
1857-1859.

Pársi Riot in
Broach,
June 1857.

of the city which were strongly held by the mutinous regiments. Gujarát was still tranquil. It is true there had been a riot in Broach originating in a long-standing feud between the Pársis and Musalmáns of that town, but it had no political significance and had been promptly suppressed. The ringleaders were arrested, tried, and sentenced to be hanged for the murder of a Pársi, but there is no reason to suppose that this disturbance had any immediate connection with the outbreak in the North-West. It was probably only a coincidence, but the violence of the rioters was no doubt encouraged by the weakness of our position in Gujarát, and the exaggerated rumours which reached them of the massacre of our countrymen.

Mutiny at
Mhow,
July 1857.

On July 1st, 1857, the 23rd Bengal Native Infantry and the 1st Bengal Cavalry stationed at Mhow mutined and murdered Colonel Platt, Captain Fagan, Captain Harris, and a number of European subordinates of the Telegraph Department. The troops of His Highness Holkar fraternized with the mutineers, attacked the Residency, and after a desultory fight drove out Colonel Durand the Resident, who took refuge in Bhopál with the surviving Europeans of Indor. Information of the mutiny at Mhow soon reached Ahmedabád, and treasonable negotiations were at once opened for a simultaneous rising of the Gujarát Horse and of the troops in the cantonment; but they could not agree to combined operations. The Maráthás hoped for the restoration of the dynasty of the Peshwa, while the Pardeshis looked towards Dehli where their brethren were already in arms, without any very definite comprehension of what they were fighting for, but with some vague idea that they would establish a Musalman *Itáq* on the throne of the Great Mughal.

Mutiny at
Ahmedabád,
July 1857.

On July 9th, 1857, seven *savárs* of the Gujarát Horse raised a green flag in their regimental lines in Ahmedabád and attempted to seize the quarter guard in which the ammunition was stored, but the guard made some slight show of resistance, and finding the regiment did not join them the mutineers left the lines in the direction of Sarkhej. They were followed by the Adjutant, Lieutenant Pym, with twelve *savárs*, and Captain Taylor, the commandant, joined them soon after with three men of the Koli Corps, whom he had met on the Dholka road. The *savárs* were overtaken near the village of Tájpúr, and having taken up a strong position between three survey boundary-marks opened fire on their officers and the Kolis, the *savárs* standing aloof. After many shots had been exchanged without result, Captain Taylor advanced to parley, and while endeavouring to reason with his men was shot through the body. The Kolis now re-opened fire and having shot two of the *savárs* the rest laid down their arms. They were tried under Art. XIV. of 1857 and hanged. The *savárs* who followed Lieutenant Pym passively declined to act against their comrades, and if the Kolis had not been present the mutineers would have escaped. Captain Taylor's wound was severe, the bullet passed through his body, but he eventually recovered. The execution of the *savárs* had a good effect on the troops, but it became evident that a serious struggle was impending, and Lord Dalhousie, who was then at the head of the Bombay Government, took all the precautions that were possible under the circumstances.

GUJARAT
DISTURBANCES,
1857-1-59

Disturbance at
Ahmedabad
14th Sept. 1857.

An incident occurred early in September which had an important influence on events. The two Native regiments quartered at Ahmedabad were the 2nd Regiment of Grenadiers and the 7th Native Infantry. The Grenadiers were chiefly Pardeshis from Oudh while the majority of the 7th Regiment were Maráthás. As is often the case, an enmity sprang up between the two regiments. One night Captain Muter of the 2nd Grenadiers was visiting the guards as officer of the day. On approaching the quarter guard of the 7th Regiment, the sentry demanded the password which Captain Muter could not give. The sentry very properly refused to let him pass. Captain Muter returned to his lines, called out a party of Grenadiers and made the sentry a prisoner. Next morning General Roberts put Captain Muter under arrest and released the sentry. This incident intensified the ill-feeling between the two regiments, and prevented their combination when the Grenadiers mutinied a few days later. It had been arranged that the two Native Regiments and the Gollandanz artillery should mutiny at the same time, but there was mutual distrust between them, and the Native officers of the artillery had stipulated that they should make a show of resistance in order to let it appear that they had been overpowered by a superior force. About midnight on the 14th September 1857 the Grenadiers turned out and fell in on their parade ground armed and loaded. The guns were also brought out and loaded on their own parade ground. A Native officer of the Grenadiers was sent with a party to take possession of the guns in accordance with the preconcerted agreement but the Subhedár of the Artillery threatened to fire on them and the Native officer expecting that the guns would be given up without resistance, tho'ight he had been betrayed, and retreated with his party who threw away their arms as they ran across the parade ground. The Grenadiers were under arms on the parade waiting for the guns when seeing the disorder in which the party was retreating from the Artillery lines, they also were seized with a panic and broke up in confusion. Then for the first time the Native officers reported to Colonel Grimes that there had been a slight disturbance in the lines. The mere accident that the Native officer detached to take the guns had not been informed of the show of resistance he was to expect from the Artillery, probably averted the massacre of every European in Gujarat. Twenty-one loaded muskets were found on the parade ground, and though the whole regiment was guilty it was decided to try the owners of those muskets by court martial. They were sentenced to death. As it was doubtful if the Native troops would permit the execution it was considered prudent to await the arrival of the 50th Regiment under Colonel Ferryman and Captain Hatch's battery of Artillery. They had been landed at Gogha during the monsoon with great difficulty, and were compelled to make a wide detour to the north owing to the flooded state of the country. On their arrival the executions were carried out: five of the mutineers were blown from guns, three were shot with musketry, and the rest were hanged in the presence of the whole of the troops. They

met their death with a gentlemanly calmness which won the respect of all who were present

The example thus made, together with the presence of the European troops in Gujrat, restored our prestige and gave us time to attend to affairs on our frontier. The whole country was in a very disturbed state. On the fall of Delhi on September 28th, 1857, a treasonable correspondence was found between the Nawab of Radhanpur in Gujrat and the Emperor of Delhi, which deeply implicated the Nawab. He and his ministers had forwarded *nazaránas* of gold *mohars* to Delhi and asked for orders from the Emperor, offering to attack the British cantonments at Disa and Ahmedabad. The Nawab had been on the most friendly terms with Captain Black the Political Agent, and had been considered perfectly loyal. Preparations were made to depose him for this treacherous conduct. We were then so strong in Gujrat that his estate could have been seized without the least difficulty, but he was considered too contemptible an enemy and his treason was pardoned.

Lieutenant Alban, with a party of Gujrat Horse, was now sent to settle affairs in Sunthi, a petty state in the Rewa Kantha. Mustapha Khan, at the head of a turbulent body of Arabs, had made the Raja a prisoner in his own palace with a view to extort arrears of pay and other claims. Lieutenant Alban's orders were to disarm the Arabs. After some negotiations Mustapha Khan waited on Lieutenant Alban. He was attended by the whole of his armed followers with the matches of their matchlocks alight, thinking no doubt to intimidate Lieutenant Alban. On entering the tent Lieutenant Alban disarmed him, but imprudently placed his sword on the table. While they were conversing Mustapha Khan seized his sword and Lieutenant Alban immediately shot him with a revolver. The Arabs who crowded round the tent now opened fire on Alban and his men, but they were soon overpowered. Mustapha Khan, four Arabs, and one *sardar* of the Gujrat Horse were killed.

Lieutenant Alban, with a party of the 7th Native Infantry under Lieutenant Cunningham then proceeded to Páli. A few months before one Surajmal, a claimant of the Lúnáváda *gádi*, had attacked the Raja of Lúnáváda, but was repulsed with severe loss and had since been harboured in the village of Páli. On the approach of Alban's force, it was attacked by Surajmal's Rajputs and the village was accordingly burnt. Order was then restored in the Panch Maháls, and it was not again disturbed till Tátna Topi entered the Maháls.

In October 1857 a conspiracy was discovered between the Thákór of Samda near Disa and some Native officers of the 2nd Cavalry and 12th Regiment Native Infantry to attack and plunder the camp at Disa and to murder the officers; but the evidence was not very clear, and before the trial could take place the amnesty had been published under which the suspected men were released. The peace of Northern Gujrat was much disturbed at this time by the Thákór of Roza, who plundered the Pálanpur and Sirohi

GUJARAT
DISTURBANCES,
1857-1859

Radhanpur
Disloyal

Arab Outbreak
at Sunthi

Disturbance
in Lúnáváda.

Conspiracy
at Disa.

GUJARAT
DISTURBANCES,
1857-1859.

Conspiracy
at Baroda.

Want of
Combination.

villages at the head of 500 men, and the Thákór of Mandeta was also in arms but was held in check by a detachment of the 50th Regiment and a squadron of cavalry at Ahmednagar near Idar.¹ The two Thákórs were acting in concert with some influential conspirators at Baroda of whom Malhar Rao Gáikwár *alias* Dáda Sáheb was the chief. It was this man who afterwards became Gáikwár of Baroda and was deposed for the attempt to murder Colonel Phayre by poison.

It is very remarkable that the sepoy war did not produce one man who showed any capacity for command. Every native regiment was in a state of mutiny and a large proportion of the civil population was ripe for revolt. If only one honest man had been found who could have secured the confidence and support of his fellow-countrymen, the fertile province of Gujarát would have been at his mercy: but amongst natives conflicting interests and mutual distrust make combination most difficult. In India a conspirator's first impulse is to betray his associates lest they should anticipate him. The failure of every mutinous outbreak in Gujarát was due to this moral defect. This trait may be traced throughout the history of the war and should be studied by those who advocate the independence of India, and the capacity of the native for self-government. It is an apt illustration of native inability to organize combined operations that the most formidable conspiracy for the subversion of our power should have been delayed till October 1857. By this time the arrival of Her Majesty's 89th Regiment and a battery of European artillery at Ahmedábad had rendered a successful revolt impossible. The mutinies of the Gujarát Horse and Grenadiers had been promptly suppressed and severely punished. The termination of the monsoon had opened the ports and reinforcements were daily expected. Had the outbreak occurred simultaneously with the mutiny of the Gujarát Horse, the Artillery and the Second Grenadiers, Gujarát must have been lost for a time and every European would have been murdered.

Malhar
Conspiracy.

For many years Gowardó of the Bápu Gáikwár, a half brother of His Highness the Gáikwár had resided near the Sakhig at Ahmedábad. He had been deposed from Baroda for intriguing against his brother and had been treated as a political refugee. To surn with Mandráo, another brother of His Highness the Gáikwár, Bápu Sáheb Pandé, and a Sardar who called himself the Bháusa Raja, also related to His Highness by marriage, conceived the design to murder the Europeans in Baroda Ahmedábad and Kaira and establish a government in the name of the Rája of Sakra. To Bápu Gáikwár was entrusted the task of tampering with the troops in Ahmedábad, and frequent meetings of the Native officers were held at his house every night. The Bháusa Rája with a man named Jhaveri Nalchand, was deputed to the Kaira district to secure the aid of the Thákórs of Umata, Baidarra, Kera, and Daima and of the Patels of Anand and Parvapur.

¹ Idar is the great bazar of Sakhig. Mandeta is Idar in the Mar. History. D. P. R. and E. P. R. and Agent Malhar Rao.

These landholders assured Bápu of their support and the Thákôr of Umeta mounted some iron guns and put his fort in a state of defence. An agent named Maganlál was sent into the Gáikwar's Kadi Pargana, where he enlisted a body of 2000 foot and 150 horse, which he encamped near the village of Lodra. The followers of the Kaira Thákôrs assembled in the strong country on the banks of the Mahi near the village of Partábpur with a detachment and advanced to the Chauk Taláv within five miles of Baroda. The massacre at Baroda was fixed for the night of October 16th. The native troops in Baroda had been tampered with and had promised in the event of their being called out that they would fire blank ammunition only.

The Thákôrs had been encamped at Partábpur for several days, but owing partly to the sympathy of the people and partly to the terror which they inspired, no report was made to any British officers till the 15th October, when Mr Ashburner, who was encamped at Thásia, marched to attack them with his new levies and a party of the Kaira police. There was, as usual, disunion in the ranks of the insurgents, they had no leaders they could depend upon, and they dispersed on hearing of the approach of Ashburner's force without firing a shot. Ninety-nine men who had taken refuge in the ravines of the Mahi were captured and a commission under Act XIV of 1857 was issued to Mr Ashburner and Captain Buckle, the Political Agent in the Rewa Kántha, to try them. Ten of the ringleaders were found guilty of treason and blown from guns at Kanvárí, nine were transported for life, and the remainder were pardoned. The turbulent villages of Partábpur and Angar in Kaira were destroyed and the inhabitants removed to more accessible ground in the open country. Their strong position in the ravines of the Mahi river had on several occasions enabled the people of Partábpur and Angar to set Government at defiance, and this was considered a favourable opportunity of making an example of them and breaking up their stronghold.

In the meantime information of the gathering at Lodra had reached Major Agar, the Superintendent of Police, Ahmedábád. He marched to attack them with the Koli Corps and a squadron of the Gujarát Horse. Maganlál fled to the north after a slight skirmish in which two men were killed and four wounded, and was captured a few days afterwards by the *Thandâr* of Sammu with eleven followers. They were tried by General Roberts and Mr Hadow, the Collector of Ahmedábád, under Act XIV of 1857. Three of them were blown from guns at Waizápur, three were hanged, and the rest were transported for life.

It is much to be regretted that Malhárráo Gáikwar and the Bhonsla Rája were allowed to escape punishment. There was very clear evidence of the guilt of the Bhonsla Rája, but His Highness the Gáikwár interceded for him, and Sir Richmond Shakespeare, the Resident, weakly consented that his life should be spared on condition that he should be imprisoned for life at Baroda, a sentence which, it is hardly necessary to say, was never carried out.

GUJARÁT
DISTURBANCES,
1857 - 1859

Marátha
Conspiracy.

Gathering at
Partábpur,

And at Lodra.

GUJARAT
DISTURBANCES,
1857-1859

Partial
Disarming

On the suppression of this abortive insurrection it was determined to disarm Gujarát, and in January 1858 strong detachments of the 72nd Highlanders and of Her Majesty's 86th Regiment with the 8th Regiment Native Infantry, two guns under Captain Conyhere, and a squadron of Gujarát Horse were placed at the disposal of Mr Ashburner to carry out this measure. His Highness the Gáikwár had consented to a simultaneous disarmament of his country, but he evaded the performance of his promise. In the Kaira district and in the Jambusar táluka of Broach the disarmament was very strictly enforced, every male adult of the fighting classes was required to produce an arm of some kind. The town of Ahmedábád was relieved of 20,000 arms in the first two days, but the Highlanders and 86th Regiment were required for operations in Rajputána, and after their departure from Gujarát it was deemed prudent to postpone this very unpopular measure.

Náikda
Revolt,
Oct. 1858

After these events Gujarát remained tranquil for nearly a year till, in October 1858, the Náikda Bhils of Narakot revolted under Rupa and Keval Náiks, and a few months later Tátia Topi's scattered force being hard-pressed by Colonel Park's column, plundered several villages of the Panch Maháls during its rapid march through that district.

Tátia Topi,
1858

In 1858, after his defeat at Gwálor, at the close of the mutinies in Northern India, Tátia Topi moved rapidly towards the Dakhan. The chiefs of Jamkhandi and Nargund had been in treasonable correspondence with the rebel chiefs in the North-West and had invoked their aid. It is more than probable that if Tátia Topi had entered the Dakhan in force, there would have been a general insurrection of the Marátha population. Tátia's march to the Dakhan soon assumed the character of a flight. He was closely pressed by two columns under Generals Somerset and Mitchell, and a very compact and enterprising little field force commanded by Colonel Park. Colonel Park's own regiment, the 72nd Highlanders, many of the men mounted on camels, formed the main fighting power of this force. His indefatigable energy in the pursuit of the enemy allowed them no rest, and eventually brought them to bay at Chhota Udepur. Tearing to face the open country of Berár with such an uncompromising enemy in pursuit, Tátia recrossed the Nerbada at Chikalda and marched towards Baroda. He had, by means of an agent named Gánpatráo, for some time been in communication with the Bháu Sálich Pavár, a brother-in-law of His Highness the Gáikwár, and had been led to expect aid from the Baroda Sardárs and the Thákors of the Kaira and Rewa Kántha districts. Immediately it became known that Tátia had crossed the Nerbada, troops were put in motion from Kaira, Ahmedábád, and Dasa for the protection of the eastern frontier of Gujarát. Captain Thatcher, who had succeeded to the command of the irregular levies raised by Mr Ashburner in Kaira, was ordered to hold Sinhadra with the irregulars and two of the Gáikwár's guns. He was afterwards reinforced by Captain Collier's detachment of the 7th Regiment N. I., which fell back from Chhota Udepur on the approach of the enemy.

Tátia Topi at this time commanded a formidable force composed of fragments of many mutinous Bengal regiments. He had also been joined by a mixed rabble of Villayatis, Rohillás, and Rujputs, who followed his fortune in hopes of plunder. Ferozsha Nawáb of Kunora and a Marátha Sardar who was known as the Rao Sáheb, held subordinate commands. Each fighting man was followed by one or more ponies laden with plunder which greatly impeded their movements. It was chiefly owing to this that Colonel Park was enabled to overtake the rebels and to force them into action. On reaching Chhota Udepur the troops of the Rípa fraternised with the enemy, and Captain Collier having evacuated the town, Tátia Topi was allowed to occupy it without opposition. He had intended to halt at Chhota Udepur to recruit his men and to develop his intrigues with the Baroda Sardárs, but Park gave him no respite. On the 1st December 1858, he fell upon Tátia's rebel force and defeated it with great slaughter, his own loss being trifling. After this defeat there was great confusion in the ranks of the insurgents. Tátia Topi abandoned his army and did not rejoin it till it had reached the forest lands of Párona. Discipline which had always been lax, was now entirely thrown aside. The muster roll of one of Tátia's cavalry regiments was picked up and showed that out of a strength of 300 sabres only sixteen were present for duty. The rebel force separated into two bodies, one doubled back and plundered Park's baggage which had fallen far to the rear, the other under Ferozsha entered the Panch Mahals and looted Barva, Jhulad, Landri, and other villages, Godhria being covered by Muter's force was not attacked. Park's force was so disabled by the plunder of its baggage and by long continued forced marches, that it was compelled to halt at Chhota Udepur, but General Somerset took up the pursuit and rapidly drove Tátia from the Panch Mahals. He fled in the direction of Salumba. The Thakor of that place was in arms, and Tátia no doubt expected support from him, but the Thákori was too cautious to join what was then evidently a hopeless cause. On reaching Naigad on the 20th February 1859, Ferozsha made overtures of surrender, and a week later 300 cavalry and a mixed force of 1500 men under Zahur Ali and the Maulvi Vazir Khán laid down their arms to General Mitchell. They were admitted to the benefit of the amnesty. The remnant of Tátia's force fled to the north-east.

In October 1858, instigated by the intrigues of the Bháu Sáheb Pavári, the Sankheda Naikdas, a very wild forest tribe, took up arms under Rupa and Koval Náiks, and after having plundered the outpost, *thana*, at Nárukot, attacked a detachment of the 8th Regiment N I under Captain Bates at Jambughoda. They were repulsed with considerable loss after a desultory fight during the greater part of two days. On the arrest of Ganpatráo, the Bháu Sáheb's agent, this troublesome insurrection would probably have collapsed, but the Naikdas were joined by a number of Villayatis, matchlock-men, the fragments of Tátia's broken force, who encouraged them to hold out. They occupied the very strong country between Chámpáner and Nárukot, and kept up a harassing warfare, plundering the villages as far north as Godhria.

GUJARAT
DISTURBANCES,
1857-1869

Tátia Topi's
Defeat at
Chhota Udepur,
Dec 1858

Náikda
Disturbances,
1858

GUJARAT
DISTURBANCES,
1857-1859

Náikda
Disturbance,
1858

A field force commanded by the Political Agent of the Rewa Kantha, Colonel Wallace, was employed against the Náikdás during the cold weather of 1858, and in one of the frequent skirmishes with the insurgents Captain Hayward of the 17th Regiment N I was severely wounded by a matchlock bullet on the 28th January 1859. The only success obtained by the Náikdás was the surprise of Ha-san Ali's company of Hussein Khán's levy. The Subhedár had been ordered to protect the labourers who were employed in opening the pass near the village of Sivrájpur, but the duty was very distasteful to him, and his son deserted with twenty-four men on the march to Sivrájpur. They were suddenly attacked by a mixed force of Makránis and Náikdás. Seven men including the Subhedár were killed and eleven wounded without any loss to the enemy. The Subhedár neglected to protect his camp by the most ordinary precautions and his men appear to have behaved badly. They fled without firing a shot directly they were attacked. But little progress had been made in pacifying the Náikdás till Captain Richard Bonner was employed to raise and organize a corps composed chiefly of Bhils with their head-quarters at Dohad in the Panch Mahals. Captain Bonner's untiring energy and moral influence soon reduced the Náikdás to submission. Rupa Náik laid down his arms and accepted the amnesty of the 10th March 1859, and Keval Náik followed his example soon after.

Wágher
Outbreak,
1859

In July 1859 the Wághers of Okhamandal, a mahál in Káthiáváda belonging to His Highness the Gáikwár, suddenly seized and plundered Dwárka, Barvála, and Bet. They were led by a Wágher chief named Todí Manik, who alleged that he had been compelled to take up arms by the oppression of the Gáikwár's *lám lárs*, but it is probable that he was encouraged to throw off allegiance by the weakness of the Baroda administration and the belief that he would have to deal with the troops of the Darbár only. He soon found he was in error. Major Christie with 200 sabres of the Gujarat Horse and a wing of the 17th Regiment Native Infantry from Rajkot marched to Maudána on the Ran to cut off the communication between Okhamandal and the Káthiáváda peninsula. The cantonment of Rajkot was reinforced from Ahmedábád by six guns of Aytoun's battery, a wing of the 33rd Regiment and a detachment of the 14th Regiment Native Infantry under Captain Hall, and a naval and military force was at the same time prepared in Bombay for the recovery of Bet and Dwárka as soon as the close of the monsoon should render naval operations on the western coast possible.

Expedition
against Bet,
1859

On the 29th September 1859, the following force embarked in the transports *South Humilities* and *Empress of India*, towed by Her Majesty's steam-ships *Zenobia* and *Victoria*, and followed by the frigate *Firoz*, the gunboat *Clyde*, and the schooner *Constance*

Her Majesty's 25th Regiment	500 Men
Her Majesty's 6th Regiment Native Infantry	600 "
Marine Battalion	200 "
Royal Artillery	60 "
Sappers and Miners	90 "

The expedition was under the command of Colonel Donovan

of Her Majesty's 28th Regiment, but it was intended that on arrival at Bet, Colonel Scobie should command the combined naval and military force. Colonel Scobie marched from Rājkot early in October with the wings of Her Majesty's 33rd Regiment and 17th Native Infantry, the 12th Light Field Battery and detachments of the 11th Native Infantry and Gujarāt Horse. Had Colonel Donovan waited for this force he might have effectually invested the fort of Bet, which is situated on an island, and exterminated the rebels, but he was too anxious to distinguish himself before he could be relieved of command. He arrived off Bet on the 4th October 1859, and at sunrise that morning the steam-ships *Firoz*, *Zenobia*, *Clyde*, and *Constance* took up their positions off the fort of Bet and opened fire with shot and shell at 950 yards. The fort replied feebly with a few small guns. Shells effectually scorched the fort and temples occupied by the enemy, but the shot made little impression on the wall which was here thirty feet thick. The bombardment continued throughout the day and at intervals during the night. Next morning Dewa Chabasmī, the Wāgher chief in command of the fort, opened negotiations for surrender, but he would not consent to the unconditional surrender which was demanded, and after an interval of half an hour the artillery fire was resumed and preparations were made to disembark the troops. They landed under a heavy musketry fire from the fort and adjacent buildings, and an attempt was made to escalate. The ladders were placed against the wall but the storming party of Her Majesty's 28th Regiment and 6th Regiment Native Infantry were repulsed with heavy loss. Captain McCormack of Her Majesty's 28th Regiment, Ensign Willaume of the 6th Regiment, and ten European soldiers were killed, and Captain Glasspoole, Lieutenant Grant of the 6th Native Infantry, and thirty-seven men of the 28th Regiment were wounded, many of them severely. One sepoy of the Marine Battalion was killed and five wounded.

During the night which succeeded this disastrous attack the Wāghers evacuated the fort. They reached the mainland, taking with them their women, the children and the plunder of the temple, but Dewa Chabasmī, the Wāgher chief, had been killed the previous day. Considering the large and well-equipped force at Colonel Donovan's disposal and the facilities which the insular position of Bet afforded to a blockading force, the escape of the Wāghers almost with impunity, encumbered with women and plunder, did not enhance Colonel Donovan's military reputation. Captain D. Nasmyth, R. E., Field Engineer of the Okhāmandal Force, was directed to destroy the fort of Bet and carried out his instructions most effectually. Some of the Hindu temples nearest the walls were severely shaken by the explosion of the mines, and a great outcry was raised of the desecration of the temples, but if Hindus will convert their temples into fortified enclosures, they must take the consequence when they are occupied by the enemies of the British Government.

Lieutenant Charles Goodfellow, R. E., greatly distinguished himself on this occasion. He earned the Victoria Cross by carrying

GUJARĀT
DISTURBANCES,
1857-1859

Expedition
against Bet,
1859

Bet Fort
Taken

GUJARAT
DISTURBANCES,
1857 - 1859

Dwarka Fort
Taken

off a wounded man of Her Majesty's 28th Regiment under a very heavy fire. Treasure valued at $3\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of rupees was taken on board the *Firoz* for safe custody. It was eventually restored to the Pujáris of the temples, but most of the temples had been carefully plundered by the Wághers before the entry of the British force.

Many of the fugitives from Bet took refuge in Dwárka, and Colonel Donovan's force having re-embarked proceeded to Dwárka to await the arrival of Colonel Scobie's small brigade. Scobie's force did not reach Dwárka till October 20th. The Naval Brigade under Lieutenant Sedley with sixteen officers and 110 men had already landed under very heavy matchlock fire, and thrown up a slight breastwork of loose stone within 150 yards of the walls. A field piece from the *Zenobia* and afterwards a thirty-two pounder were placed in position in this work. The successful result of the siege was mainly due to the determined bravery of this small naval force. They repulsed repeated sorties from the fort and inflicted severe losses on the enemy. As soon as the stores and ammunition could be landed, Colonel Donovan took up a position to the north-east of the fort, Colonel Scobie to the south-east, and Captain Hall occupied an intermediate position with detachments of Her Majesty's 33rd Regiment, the 11th Native Infantry, and Gujarát Horse under Lieutenant Pym. The garrison made several determined attempts to break through Captain Hall's position, but they were on each occasion driven back with loss.

The first battery opened fire on the northern face of the fort on October 28th, while the *Zenobia* and the *Firoz* poured a well-directed fire of shells on the houses and temples which sheltered the enemy towards the sea. The shells did immense execution and relieved the attack on the Naval Brigade which continued to hold its position with the greatest gallantry though several times surrounded by the enemy. On the night of the 31st October the garrison evacuated the fort and cut its way through a picket of Her Majesty's 28th Regiment, wounding Ensign Hunter and four men. A detachment under Colonel Christie followed the fugitives next morning and overtook them near Vasatrá. A skirmish ensued, but they escaped without much loss and took refuge in the Barda hill. They continued to disturb the peace of Káthiávada for several years. In one of the desultory skirmishes which followed, Lieutenants LaTouche and Hebbert were killed.

Rising in
Nagar Párkar.

While these events were in progress, Karranjí Hatí the Rána of Nagar Párkar on the Sindh frontier of Gujarat, took up arms at the head of a band of Sodhás, plundered the treasury and telegraph office at Nagar Párkar, and released the prisoners in the jail. Colonel Evans commanded the field force which was employed against him for many months without any very definite results. The country is a desert and the Sodhás avoided a collision with the troops. The Rána eventually submitted and peace was restored.

APPENDIX III.

BHINMÁL

BHINMÁL,¹ North Latitude 24° 42' East Longitude 72° 4', the historical Shimal, the capital of the Gurjars from about the sixth to the ninth century, lies about fifty miles west of Abu hill. The site of the city is in a wide plain about fifteen miles west of the last outlier of the Abu range. To the east, between the hills and Bhinmal, except a few widely-separated village sites, the plain is chiefly a grazing ground with brakes of thorn and cassia bushes overtopped by standards of the camel-loved *pilu* *Salvadora persica*. To the south, the west, and the north the plain is smooth and bare passing westwards into sand. From the level of the plain stand out a few isolated blocks of hill, 500 to 800 feet high, of which one peak, about a mile west of the city, is crowned by the shrine of Chámunda the *Sî* of Luck of Bhinmál. From a distance the present Bhinmal shows few traces of being the site of an ancient capital. Its 1500 houses cover the gentle slope of an artificial mound, the level of their roofs broken by the spires of four Jain temples and by the ruined state office at the south end of the mound. Closer at hand the number and size of the old stone-stopped tank and fortification mounds and the large areas honeycombed by diggers for bricks show that the site of the present Bhinmál was once the centre of a great and widespread city. Of its fortifications, which, as late as A.D. 1611, the English merchant Nicholas Ufflet, in a journey from Jhálor to Ahmedábad, describes as enclosing a circuit of thirty-six miles (24 *kos*) containing many fine tanks going to ruin, almost no trace remains.² The names of some of the old gates are remembered, Surya in the north-east, *Sî* Lakshmi in the south-east, Sanchor in the west, and Jhálor in the north. Sites are pointed out.

Appendix III

BHINMÁL

Description

¹ The translations of the inscriptions and the bulk of the history are the work of Mr A. M. T. Jackson of the Indian Civil Service.

² Finch in Kerr's Voyages, VIII 301. Thirty years later the traveller Tavernier (Ball's Edition, II 87) has Bargant (Wangam in Jodhpur?) to Bimál 15 *kos*. Bimál to Modra 15 *kos*. Of Jhálor Ufflet has left the following description. Jhálor is a castle on the top of a steep mountain three *kos* in ascent by a fair stone causeway broad enough for two men. At the end of the first *kos* is a gate and a place of guard where the causeway is enclosed on both sides with walls. At the end of the second *kos* is a double gate strongly fortified, and at the third *kos* is the castle which is entered by three successive gates. The first is very strongly plated with iron, the second not so strong with plates above for throwing down melted lead or boiling oil, and the third is thickly beset with iron spikes. Between each of these gates are spacious places of arms and at the inner gate is a strong portcullis. A bowshot within the castle is a splendid pagoda, built by the founders of the castle and ancestors of Ghazni (Gidney) Khán who were Gentiles. He turned Muhammadan and deprived his elder brother of this castle by the following stratagem. Having invited him and his women to a banquet which his brother required by a similar entertainment he substituted chosen soldiers well armed instead of women, sending them two and two in a *dhuli* or litter who getting in by this device gained possession of the gates and held the place for the Great Mughal to whom it now (A.D. 1611) appertains being one of the strongest situated forts in the world. About half a *kos* within the gate is a goodly square tank cut out of the solid rock said to be fifty fathoms deep and full of excellent water. Quoted by Finch in Kerr's Voyages, VIII 300 301.

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BHINMAL
Description.

as old gateways five to six miles to the east and south-east of the present town and, though their distance and isolation make it hard to believe that there rained mounds were more than outworks, Usler's testimony seems to establish the correctness of the local memory.¹ Besides these outlying gateways traces remain round the foot of the present Bhinmal mound of a smaller and later wall. To the east and south the line of fortification has been so clogged of masonry and is so confused with the lines of tank banks which perhaps were worked into the scheme of defence, that all accurate local knowledge of their position has passed. The Gujarat gate in the south of the town though ruined is well marked. From the Gujarat gateway a line of mounds may be traced south and then west to the ruins of Pipaldurra perhaps the western gateway. The wall seems then to have turned east crossing the watercourse and passing inside that is along the east bank of the watercourse north to the south-west corner of the Jankop or Yaksha lake. From this corner it ran east along the south bank of Jankop to the Jhilor or north gate which still remains in fair preservation its pointed arch showing it to be of Musalman or late (17th-18th century) Rājasth construction. From the Jhilor gate the foundations of the wall may be traced east to the Kanakson or Karāda tank. The area to the east of the town from the Karāda tank to the Gujarat gate has been so quarried for brick to build the present Bhinmal that no sign remains of a line of fortification running from the Karāda tank in the east to the Gujarat gate in the south.

The site of the present town the probable centre of the old city, is a mound stretching for about three-quarters of a mile north and south and swelling twenty to thirty feet out of the plain. On almost all sides its outskirts are protected by well made thorn fences enclosing either garden land or the pens and folds of Rabaris and Bhils. The streets are narrow and winding. The dwellings are of three classes, the flat mud-roofed houses of the Mahijans or traders and of the better-to-do Brāhmins and craftsmen with canopied doors and fronts plastered with white clay. Second the tiled sloping-roofed sheds of the bulk of the craftsmen and gardeners and of the better-off Rabaris and Bhils. and Third the thatched bee-hive huts of the bulk of the Rabaris and Bhils and of some of the poorer craftsmen and husbandmen. Especially to the north-west and west the houses are skirted by a broad belt of garden land. In other parts patches of watered crops are separated by the bare banks of old tanks or by stretches of plain covered with thorn and cassia bushes or roughened by the heaps of old buildings honey-combed by shafts sunk by searchers for bricks. Besides the four spired temples to Pīrasnāth the only outstanding building is the old *kacheri* or state office a mass of ruins which tops the steep south end of the city mound.

People.

Of the 1400 inhabited houses of Bhinmal the details are Mahijans 475, chiefly Oswāl Vānis of many subdivisions, Shrimāl Brahmins, 200. Shevaks 35, Maga Brahmins worshippers of the sun and priests to Oswāls, Sonars, 30, Bindhras or Calico-printers, 35, Kasāras or Brass-smiths 4, Ghīncus or Oilpressers, 30, Mahis or Gardeners, 25, Kuthias or Woodworkers, 12, Bhāts 120 including 80 Gunas or Grain-carriers,

¹ The names of these gateways are Surajpur about six miles (4 kos) east of Bhinmal near Khampur at the site of a temple of Mahadev, Sāvidr about six miles (4 kos) to the south near a temple of Hanumān, Dharamdhar near Vandar about six miles (4 kos) west of Bhinmal at the site of a large well. Kishanbura about six miles (4 kos) to the north near Nātan at the site of a large well and stone. Rattan Lal Pandit.

Appendix III

BHINMAL
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Surroundings

inscription dated S 1342 (A.D. 1266) which apparently has been brought from the same ruined sun temple. In the *lucheri* ruins at the south end of the mound the only object of interest is a small shrine to Māta with two snakes supporting her seat and above in modern characters the words Nāgāne the *lucheri* or tribe guardian of the Rāhtore.

The chief object of interest at Bhinmal is the ruined temple of the Sun on a mound close to the south of the town. Of this temple and its inscriptions details are given below. About fifty yards west of the Sun temple are the remains of a gateway known as the Gujarat gateway. This modern name and the presence near it of blocks of the white quartz-marble of the Sun temple make it probable that the gateway is not older than Muslim or eighteenth century Rāhtore times. Close to the west of the gate is Khari Bava the Salt Well an old step and water bag well with many old stones mixed with brick work. About a hundred yards south of the Gujarat gate in a brick-walled enclosure about sixteen yards by eight and nine feet high topped by a shield parapet is the shrine of Mahādeva Naulākheshwar. An inscription dated S 1699 (A.D. 1744) states that the enclosure marks the site of an old temple to Naulākheshwar. About fifty yards east of the Naulākheshwar shrine is a large brick enclosure about seventy-five yards square with walls about twelve feet high and a pointed-arched gateway in the Muslim wave edged style. On entering, to the left, is a plinth with a large Hanuman and further to the left in domed shrines are a Ganpati and a Māta. A few paces south is Brahma's Pool or Brahmakhund with steep steps on the west and north a rough stone and brick wall to the east and a circular well to the south. The pool walls and steps have been repaired by stones taken from Hindu temples or from former decorations of the pool on some of which are old figures of Matas in good repair. The story is that Som, according to one account the builder of the Sun temple according to another account a restorer of Shrimāl, wandering in search of a cure for leprosy, came to the south gate of Shrimāl. Som's dog which was suffering from mange disappeared and soon after appeared found and clean. The king traced the dog's footmarks to the Brahmakhund bathed in it, and was cured. As a thank-offering he surrounded the pool with masonry walls. To the south of the pool to the right, are an underground *ling* sacred to Pataleshwar the lord of the Under World and south of the *ling* a small domed shrine of Chandī Devi. To the left, at the east side of a small brick enclosure, is a snake-canopied *ling* known as Chandeshwar hung about with strings of *rudāl sh* *Elucaryus ganitrus* beads¹. In front of Chandeshwar's shrine is a small inscribed stone with at its top a cow and calf recording a land grant to Shrimālī Brahmins. About forty yards north-east of the Brahmakhund a large straggling heap of brick and earth now known as Lakshamithala or Lakshmi's settlement, is said to be the site of a temple to Lakshmi built, according to the local

¹ According to a local story there was a hermitage of Jargams near the temple of Jagamdeva the Sun-God and abeymitage of Bhara's near Chandeshwar's shrine. In a fight between the rival ascetics many were slain and the hoard of treasure was stored passed away. When repairs were made in A.D. 1614 (S. 1570) the Bhara's hermitage was cleared. Two large earthen pots were found one of which still stands at the door of Chandeshwar's temple. These pots contained the treasure of the Bhara's. In A.D. 1614 nothing but white dust was found. Most of the dust was thrown away till a Jain ascetic came and examined the white dust. The ascetic called for an iron rod, heated the rod, sprinkled it with the white dust, and the iron became gold.

to end by a Brahmin to whom in return for his devotedness Lakshmi had given her wealth. The hollow to the south-east is known as the Khandafin pool. About fifty yards south-east at the end of a small enclosure is a shrine and eastern of Jageshwar said to be called after a certain Jag who in return for the gift of a cow built the temple. Several old carved and dressed stones are built into the walls of this temple. About seventy-five yards further south-east a large area rough with heaps of brick is said to be the site of an old Vidhya Sāla or Sanskrit College. This college is mentioned in the local Mahāyāna as a famous place of learning the resort of scholars from distant lands.¹ The local account states that as the Bhils grew too poor, the Brahmins were unable to live in the college and retired to Bhilāra in north Gujarat.

The slope and skirts of the town beyond the thorn-fenced enclosures of Bhils and Rahar lie in heaps honeycombed with holes hollowed by earth for bricks. Beyond this fringe of fenced enclosures from a half to a whole mile from the city are the bare white banks of pools and tanks some of the worthy to be called lakes. Of these, working from the north north-east the three chief are the Nimbali or Naimukhsarovar, the Goro Gavadan and the Talbi or Trimbakesarovar. The Nimbali tank about 100 yards south-east of the college site is a large area opening eastwards where it draws its supply of water and enclosed with high bare brick walls with bricks along the south west and north. The lake is said to be named Nimbali after a Vām to whom Mahādeva granted a son and for whom Mahādeva formed the hollow of the lake by ploughing it with his third rib. About half a mile north-east of Nimbali a horseshoe bank fifteen to thirty feet high except to the open east, is the remains of the Gom lake. Banks of stone along the foot of the north-west and north-east banks shew that portions at least of these sides were once lined with masonry. A trace of steps remains at a place known as the Gau Ghat or Cowgate. The lake is said to have been named Gāva after a Brahmin whose parents being eaten by a Rakshas went to hell. For their benefit Gom devoted his life to the worship of Vishnu and built a temple and lake. In reward Vishnu gave to the water of the lake the merit or cleansing virtue of the water of Gāva. In the foreground a row of small *chhatras* or pavilions marks the burying ground of the Mahajan or high Hindu community of Bhinmal. Behind the pavilions are the bare banks of the Talbi lake. At the west end is the Bombiro well and near the south west is the shrine of Trimbakeshvari Mahadev. This lake is said to have been made in connection with a great sacrifice or *yag*, that is *yajna*, held by Brahmins to induce or to compel the god Trimbakeshvari to slay the demon Tripurasi. Beginning close to the south of Talbi lake and stretching north west towards the city is the Karāda Sarovar or Karāda lake said to have been built by Kanaksen or Kanushka the great founder of the Skythian era (A.D. 78). On the western bank of the lake stands an open air *ling* of Karāteshwar.² At the south end of the Karāda

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¹ According to Alberuni (A.D. 1030) the Prahmasiddhanta was composed by Brahmagupta the son of Jishnu from the town of Bhilamāla between Multān and Anhilwāra. Suchan's Translation, I. 153. Another light of the college was the Sanskrit poet Magha, the son of Sramāli parents, who is said to have lived in the time of Bhoj Rāja of Ujjain (A.D. 1010-1040). Mārwar Castes, 68.

² The local account explains the origin of the name Kanak which also means gold by the story of a Bhil who was drowned on the waxing fifth of Bhadarva. The Bhil's wife who was with him failing to drown herself prepared a funeral pyre. Mahādeva pleased with the woman's devotion restored her husband to life and made his body shine like gold. As a thankoffering the Bhil enlarged the tank and built a shrine to Karat Mahādeva.

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lake, which stretches close to the fenced enclosures round the city, are the remains of a modern bastion and of a wall which runs north west to the Jhalor gate. Beyond the site of the bastion is an enclosure and shrine of Maheshwar Mahadev. To the north and north-west of the Karat sea lie four huge tanks. Of these the most eastern, about 300 yards north-west of Kharādā, is Brahmanarovar a large area fed from the north and with high broken banks. Next, about 500 yards north-west, lies the far-stretching Vankund or Forest Pool open to the north east. About 800 yards west is Gantam's tank which holds water throughout the year. The banks, of brick and *lanhar* form nearly a complete circle except at the feeding channels in the east and south. In the centre of the lake is an islet on which are the white-stone foundations (18' x 12') of Gantam's hermitage. On the bank above the east feeding-channel is an image of Hanuman and on the east side of the southern channel at the foot of the bank is a white inscribed stone with letters so worn that nothing but the date S 1106 (A.D. 1049) has been made out. Of the balls of *lanhar* or nodular limestone which are piled into the bank of the tank those which are pierced with holes are lucky and are kept to guard wooden partitions against the attacks of insects. The last and westmost of the north row of tanks is the Jankop properly Jakshikop that is the Yaksha's Pool about 600 yards south-west of the Gantam tank and close to the north-west of the town.¹ This tank holds water throughout the year and supplies most of the town's demand. Along the south bank of the Jankop, where are tombs a shrine to Bhairav and a ruined mosque, the line of the later city walls used to run. At the south east corner of the tank are three square masonry plinths each with a headstone carved with the figure of a man or woman. One of the plinths which is adorned with a pillared canopy has a stone carved with a man on horseback and a standing woman in memory of a Tehsildar of Bhinmal of recent date (S 1869, A.D. 1812) whose wife became *Sati*. About 200 yards south-east is a row of white *pāla* or memorial slabs of which the third from the south end of the row is dated S. 1215 (A.D. 1186). On the south east bank is the shrine of Nimghorra Bhairav at which Shrivats as well as other Hindus worship. In the centre of the shrine is a leaning pillar about five feet high with four fronts, Hanuman on the east, a standing Snake on the south, a Sakti on the west, and Bhairav on the north. To the south of the pillar, about a foot out of the ground rises a five faced *ling* or pillar-horn of the god one facing each quarter of the heaven and one uncarved facing the sky. Close to a well within the circuit of the lake near the south-east corner is a stone inscribed with letters which are too worn to be read. At the east end of the north bank under a *pāla* *Salvadora* persica tree is a massive seated figure still worshipped and still dignified though the features have been broken off, and the left lower arm and leg and both feet have disappeared. This is believed to be the image of the Yaksha king who made the tank. Details are given Below pages 456-458. To the west of the seated statue are the marks of the foundations of a temple, shrine hall and outer hall, which is believed to have originally been the shrine of Yaksh. About a hundred yards west, under a pillared canopy of white quartz, are two Musalmān

¹ The local explanation of the name Yaksha's Pool is that Ravana went to Abaka the city of the great Yaksha Kuvra god of wealth and stole Pushpak Kuvra's *vimān* or carrier. Kuvra in sorrow asked his father what he should do to recover his carrier. The father said Worship in Shrināl. Kuvra came to Shrināl and worshipped Brahma who appeared to him and said When Rāmechandra destroys Ravana he will bring back Pushpak.

graves in honour of Ghazni Khán and Hamál Khán who were killed about 400 years ago at Jhálór fighting for Shrimál. In obedience to their dying request their Bhats brought the champions' bodies to Yaksh's tank. The white quartz, the shape of the pillars, and an inscription on one of them dated S*1333 (A.D. 1276), go to show that the stones have been brought from the Sun temple to the south of the town. To the north of the canopy is a large step-well the Dadehí Well separated into an outer and an inner section by a row of Hindu pillars supporting flat architraves. Some of the stones have figures of goddesses and in a niche is an old goddess' image. The upper part of the well and the parapet are of recent brick work. On a low mound about 150 yards to the north is the shrine of Nílkánth Mahádev, with, about a hundred paces to the south-east, a fine old step-well. The lake was fed from the south-west corner where is a silt trap built of stones in many cases taken from old temples and carved with the *chaitya* or horse-shoe ornament. Some of the stones have apparently been brought from the great white quartz Sun temple. Several of them have a few letters of the fourteenth century character apparently the names of masons or carvers. Some of the blocks are of a rich red sandstone which is said to be found only in the Rupe quarries eight miles south of Bhinmal.

On the right, about half a mile south of the south-west corner of the Jaikop lake, is a ruined heap hid among trees called the Pipal Duára or Gateway perhaps the remains of the western Gateway which may have formed part of the later line of fortifications which can be traced running south along the inner bank of the Jaikop feeding channel. About a mile south of the Pipal Duára are the bare banks of the large lake Bansaovai the Desert Sea. To the north-west north and north-east its great earthen banks remain stripped of their masonry gradually sloping to the west and south the direction of its supply of water. The island in the centre is Lakhára. This lake was made by Gauri or Párvatí when she came from Sunda hill to slay the female demon Uttamýar. When Párvatí killed the demon she piled over her body Shri's hill which she had brought with her to form a burial mound. At the same time Párvatí scooped the tank, and crowned Shri's hill with a tower-like temple. This hill, where lives the *Srí* or Luck of Shrimál, rises 500 feet out of the plain about a mile west of the town. It is approached from the south by a flight of unhewn stones roughly laid as steps. The hill-top is smoothed into a level pavement of brick and cement. The pavement is supported on the east side by a lofty bastion-like wall. It is surrounded by a parapet about two feet high. On the platform two shrines face eastwards. To the left or south is the main temple of Lakshmi and to the right or north the smaller shrine of Sunda Máta. The main shrine has a porch with pillars and shield frieze of white quartz limestone apparently spoils of the great Sun Temple. Three or four bells hang from the roof of the porch and some loose white stones apparently also from the Sun temple are scattered about. In the west wall of the main shrine facing east is the image of the Guardian of Bhinmal covered with red paint and gold leaf. The only trace of ornament on the outside of Lakshmi's shrine is in the north-face portion of a belt of the horse-shoe or *chaitya* pattern and a disc perhaps the disc of the Sun. The smaller shrine of Sunda Máta to the right or north is square and flat-roofed. The ceiling is partly made of carved stones apparently prepared for, perhaps formerly the centre slabs of domes. The door posts and lintels are of white quartz marble. On the right door post are two short inscriptions of A.D. 1612 and 1664 (S. 1669 and 1691). A second pillar bears the date, A.D. 1543.

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(S 1600). The roof is supported by four square central pillars which with eight wall pilasters form four shallow domes with lotus carved roof-stones from some other or some older temple. In a recess in the west wall, surmounted with a stone carved in the *charitya* or horse-shoe pattern, is the Trident or *Trisula* of Sunda Māta the only object of worship.

From the hill-top the mound of Bhinmal hardly seems to stand out of the general level. The mound seems hidden in trees. Only in the south gleam the white pillars of the Sun Temple and to the north rise the high mound of the old offices, and still further north the spires of the four temples of Parasnath. Beyond the town to the south and west spread green gardens fenced with dry thorn hedges. Outside of the garden enclosures to the south-east south and south-west run the lofty bare banks of dry lakes confused in places with the lines of old fortifications. To the north-west and north shine the waters of the Jakop and Gautam tanks. Westwards the plain, dark with thorn brake and green with acacias, stretches to the horizon. On other sides the sea-like level of the plain is broken by groups of hills the Borta range along the north and north-east and to the east the handsomer Ratanāgar, Thur, and Ram Sen rising southwards to the lofty clear-cut ranges of Dodala and Sunda.

Only two objects of interest in Bhinmal require special description, the massive broken statue of the Jaksha or Yaksha on the north bank of the Jakop lake, and the temple to Jagsvami the Sun at the south-east entrance to the city.

Jakop

On the north bank of the Jakop or Yaksha Lake¹ leaning against the stem of a *pīlu* or *jāl* *Salvidora persica* tree, is a massive stone about 4' high by 2' 6" broad and 1' thick. The block is carved with considerable skill into the seated figure of a King. The figure is greatly damaged by the blows of a mace. The nose and mouth are broken off, half of the right hand and the whole of the left hand and leg are gone and the feet and almost the whole of the seat or throne have disappeared. The figure is seated on a narrow lion-supported throne or *sinha* and the right hand resting on the right knee and holding a round ball of stone about six inches in diameter. The left foot was drawn back like the right foot and the left hand apparently lay on the left knee, but, as no trace remains except the fracture on the side of the stone the position of the left hand and of the left leg is uncertain. The head is massive. The hair falls about

¹ No local tradition throws light on the reason why this figure is called a Yaksha. The holding a head in his hand suggests that he may have been a guardian Bhairav in some Buddhist temple and so remembered as a guardian or Yaksha. Or he may have been supposed to be a statue of the builder of the temple and so have been called a Yaksha since that word was used for a race of skilful architects and craftsmen. Troyer's *Bajatarangini*, I. 369. In the Vriji temples in Tirhut which Buddhist accounts make older than Buddhism the objects of worship were ancestral spirits who were called Yakshas. If the Buddhist legends of Śaka settlements in Tirhut during Gautama's lifetime (A.D. 540) have any historical value these Vrijis were Śakas. As (J. As. Ser. VI. Tom. II. page 310) Yaka is a Mongol form of Śaka the ancestral guardians would be Śakas. Compare in Eastern Siberia the Turki tribe called Yakuts by the Russians and Sokhas by themselves, *Encyc. Brit.* XXIV. 725. This would explain why the mythic Yaksha was a guardian, a builder, and a white horseman. It would explain why the name Yaksha was given to the Baktrian Greeks who built stupas and conquered India for Aśoka (J. As. Ser. VII. Vol. VI. page 170, Heeley in *Indian Antiquary*, IV. 101). It further explains how the name came to be applied to the Yuechi or Kushans who like the Yavanas were guardians white horsemen and builders. In Sindh and Kachh the word Yaksha seems to belong to the white Syrian horsemen who formed the strength of Muhammad Kāsim's army, A.D. 712. (Tod's *Western India*, 197, Remond's *Fragments*, 191, Briggs' *Farsihtab*, IV. 404-409).

two feet from the crown of the head in four long lines of curls on to the shoulders, and, over the curls, or what seems more likely the curled wig, is a diadem or *mukut* with a central spike and two upright side ornaments connected by two round bands. The face is broken flat. It seems to have been clean shaved or at least beardless. A heavy ring hangs from each ear. A stiff collar-like band encircles the neck and strings of beads or plates hang on the chest too worn to be distinguished. On both arms are upper armlets, a centre lion-face still showing clear on the left armlet. On the right hand is a bracelet composed of two outer bands and a central row of beads. A light belt encircles the waist. Lower down are the *landora* or hip girdle and the *khopul* or *dhotar* knot¹. In spite of its featureless face and its broken hands and feet the figure has considerable dignity. The head is well set and the curls and diadem are an effective ornament. The chest and the full rounded belly are carved with skill. The main fault in proportion, the overshortened lower arm and leg and the narrowness of the throne, are due to the want of depth in the stone. The chief details of interest are the figure's head-dress and the ball of stone in its right hand. The head-dress seems to be a wig with a row of *crisp round curls across the brow* and four lines of long curls hanging down to the shoulders and *crisp curls on the top of the head*. The *mukut* or diadem has three upright faces, a front face over the nose and side faces over the ears joined together by two rounded bands. At first sight the stone ball in the right hand seems a cocoanut which the king might hold in dedicating the lake. Examination shows on the left side of the ball an outstanding semicircle very like a human ear. Also that above the ear are three rolls as if turban folds. And that the right ear may be hid either by the end of the turban drawn under the chin or by the fingers of the half-closed hand. That the front of the ball has been wilfully smashed further supports the view that it was its human features that drew upon it the Muslim mace. The local Brahmins contend that the ball is either a round sweetmeat or a handful of mud held in the right hand of the king during the dedication service. But Tappa a Brahman-Bhat, a man of curiously correct information, was urgent that the stone ball is a human head. Tappa gives the following tale to explain why the king should hold a human head in his hand. An evil spirit called Satka had been wasting the Brahmins by carrying off the head of each bridegroom so soon as a wedding ceremony was completed. The king vowed that by the help of his goddess Chamunda he would put a stop to this evil. The marriage of a hundred Brahman couples was arranged for one night. The king sat by. So long as the king remained awake the demon dared not appear. When the hundredth marriage was being performed the king gave way to sleep. Satka dashed in and carried off the last bridegroom's head. The girl-bride awoke the king and said I will curse you. You watched for the others, for me you did not watch. The king said to his Luck Chamunda, What shall I do. Chamunda said Ride after Satka. The king rode after Satka. He overtook her fourteen miles out of Shrinmal and killed her. But before her

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Jaiskop.

¹ The measurements are Height 4'; head round the brow to behind the ear the back of the head not being cut free, 2' 6", height of head dress, 8", length of face, 10", length of ringlets or wig curls from the crown of the head, 2', breadth of face, 9", across the shoulders, 2' 3", throat to waistband, 1', waistband to loose hip belt or *landora*, 1' 3", right shoulder to elbow, 1', elbow to wrist, 9", head in the right hand 5" high 7" across top, hip to broken knee, 1', knee to ankle, 1' 5", foot broken off. Left shoulder to broken upper arm, 5", left leg broken off leaving a fracture which shows it was drawn back like the right leg.

Appendix III

REPLY:

057-275

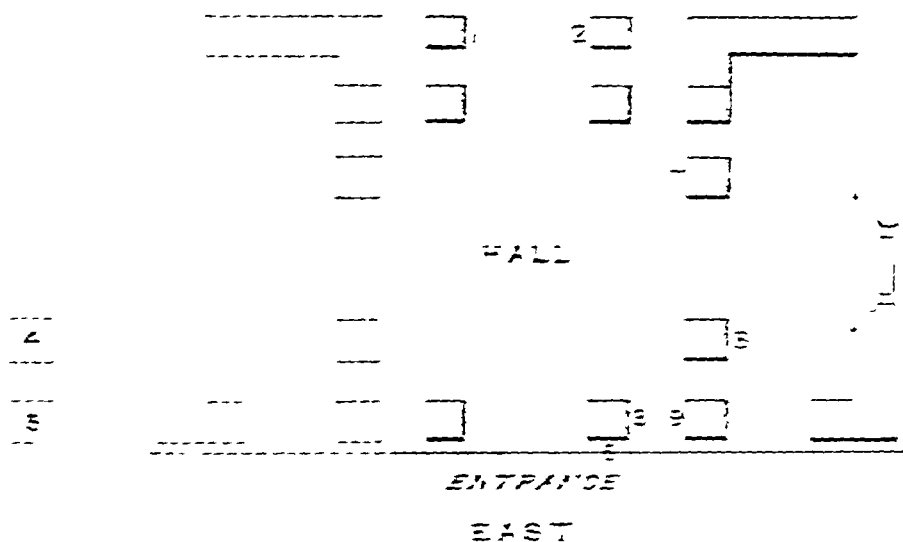
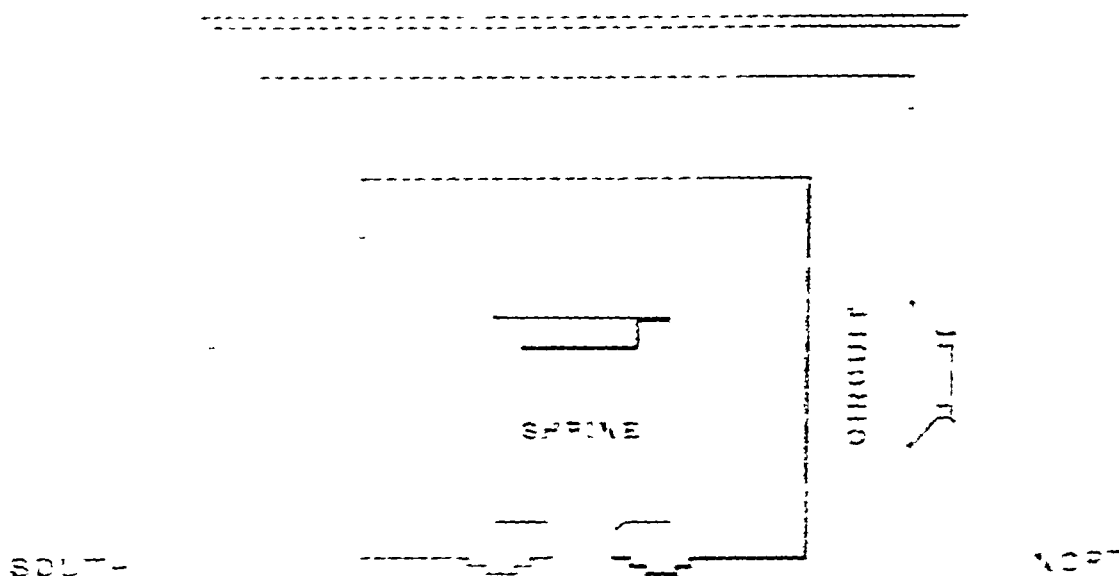
• 6157

death Satia had eaten the bridegroom's head. What is to be done the king asked Channappa. Then he said his guardian (Fasting) rule bade to Sati. As he was entering the city the goddess pointed out to him a gardener or lift, and said Off with his head. The king obeyed. The goddess caught the falling head, stuck it to the bridegroom's neck, and the bridegroom came to life. Thus ends the tale, the local Bhikkhus are known as Sarimil's that is men with gardeners' heads. This meaning-making pun and the blessedness of the stone-fall to a human head may be the origin of this story. On the other hand the story may be older than the image and may be the reason why the king is shown holding a human head in his hand. On the whole it seems likely that the story was made to explain the image and that the image is a Bhikkhu holding the head of a human sacrifice and acting as gatekeeper or guardian of some Buddhist or Sun-worshipping temple. The appearance of the figure, its massive well-proportioned and dignified pose, and the long wig-like curls like the top wig on the figure of Chao on the southwest or marriage compartment of the great Elephant Cave, make it probable that this statue is the oldest relic of Sarimil, belonging like the Elephantia rigged figures to the sixth or early seventh century, the probable date of the founding or refounding of the city by the Gujjars. According to the local story the image stands about twenty paces east of the temple where it was originally enshrined and worshipped. The lie of the ground and traces of foundations seem to show about fifty paces west of the present image the sites of an entrance porch, a central hall or mandapa, and a western shrine. The surface of what seemed the site of the shrine was dug about two feet deep on the chance that the base of the throne might still be in situ. Nothing was found but loose brickwork. Mutilated as he is the Yajna is still worshipped. His high day is the A'dad (July-August) fullmoon when as rain-mediator between them and Indra the villagers lay in front of him *gola* that is wheat boiled in water and milk, butter, fruit, molasses, and sugar.

[illegible]

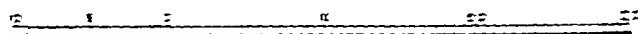
The Egyptians, Greeks and Persians are the three chief wig-wearers. Some of the Persian Kings (e.g., Darius I - Artaxerxes) had long hair, curled and braided beads. In Traill's time (A.D. 186), Indian courtiers and Egyptian Roman names were beardless and provided with wigs. Compare Herodotus Histories II, 70; compare Wagner's Manners, 69. The custom of wearing the Egyptian wig goes as far back as the sixth or early seventh century B.C. In the tomb of Sennedjem and Pashedj in Egypt are several figures with curly wigs. Wagner's Egyptian, page 13; in the marriage panel one figure has his hair curled like a woman's wig. Dario 31; in the Ardabasir vase a companion of Cambyses and two other figures have wigs. Dario 29; the dwarf-dancers on which one of the guardians of the Treasury House has a wig. Dario 14-15; finally in the war-time relief figures up to the thirteenth, Dario 47. Characters in the Behistun Relief carry a kind of hat of the seventh century have curly wigs. Herodotus and Wagner, 400. Wavy curls also come in some of the Elgin Building cases of the sixth or seventh centuries; Dario 50, 51. In Egypt comes I, II and XVIII, of the sixth and seventh centuries are obelisks and grotesques with large wigs. Among the Etruscan earrings and paintings of the sixth or seventh century are a king with a baggy hair if not a wig and small human heads with full wigs. H.S. News. Finally at the Court of Seleucus there is a row of seven the seventh century the jester and other figures have large full bearded wigs curled all over. Indian art, for Aug. 1-76 249-250. On the other hand except the curly haired or Assyrian-capped male boys in Sarcophagi no trace of wigs seems to occur in the Etruscan, Sarcophagi or Etruscan sculptures between the third century onward the fifth century before the Christian era. Compare Cunningham's: Britain and Britain; Maury's Sarcophagi; Ferguson's Trees and Serpent Worshippers.

WEST



TEMPLE OF JAG SYAM
THE SUN
Rising

1000



The second and main object of interest is the ruined Sun temple in the south of the town on a brick mound about eighty yards east of the remains of the Gujarát gateway. The brick mound which is crowned by the white marble pillars and the massive laterite ruins of the temple of Jagsvánu Lord of the World has been so dug into that its true form and size cannot be determined. The size of many of the bricks $1' 16'' \times 1' \times 3'$ suggests that the mound is older even than the massive laterite masonry of the shrine. And that here as at Multán about the sixth century during the supremacy of the sun-worshipping White Húnas a temple of the Sun was raised on the ruins of a Buddhist temple or relic mound. Still except the doubtful evidence of the size of the bricks nothing has been found to support the theory that the Sun temple stands on an earlier Buddhist ruin. The apparent present dimensions of the mound are 42' broad 60' long and 20' high. Of the temple the north side and north-west corner are fairly complete. The east entrance to the hall, the south pillars of the hall, and with them the hall dome and the outer wall of the temple round the south and west of the shrine have disappeared. A confused heap of bricks on the top of the shrine and of the entrance from the hall to the shrine is all that is left of the spire and upper buildings. The materials used are of three kinds. The pillars of the hall are of a white quartzlike marble, the masonry of the shrine walls and of the passage round the north of the shrine is of a reddish yellow laterite, and the interior of the spire and apparently some other roof buildings are of brick. Beginning from the original east entrance the ground has been cut away so close to the temple and so many of the pillars have fallen that almost no trace of the entrance is left. The first masonry, entering from the east, are the two eastern pillars of the hall dome and to the north of this central pair the pillar that supported the north-eastern corner of the dome. Except the lowest rim, on the east side, all trace of the dome and of the roof over the dome are gone. The centre of the hall is open to the sky. The south side is even more ruined than the east side. The whole outer wall has fallen and been removed. The south-east corner the two south pillars of the dome and the south west corner pillars are gone. The north side is better preserved. The masonry that rounds off the corners from which the dome sprung remains and along the rim of the north face runs a belt of finely carved female figures. The north-east corner pillar, the two north pillars of the dome, and the north-west corner pillar all remain. Outside of the pillars runs a passage about four feet broad and eleven feet high, and, beyond the passage, stands the north wall of the temple with an outstanding deep-eaved window balcony with white marble seats and backs and massive pillars whose six feet shafts are in three sections square eightsided and round and on whose double-disc capitals rest brackets which support a shallow cross-cornered dome. At its west end the north passage is ornamented with a rich *gohla* or recess $3\frac{1}{2}$ broad with side pillars $3\frac{1}{4}$ feet high. On the west side of the dome the central pair of dome pillars and as has been noticed the north corner pillar remain. About three feet west of the west pair of dome pillars a second pair support the domed entrance to the shrine. The richly carved side pillars, a goddess with fly-flap banners, and the lintel of the shrine door remain but the bare square chamber of the shrine is open to the sky. To the south of the shrine the entire basis of the south side of the spire, the outer circling or *pradakshana* passage and the outer wall of the temple have disappeared. The north side is much less ruinous. There remain

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the massive blocks of yellow and red trap which formed the basis of the spire built in horizontal bands of deep cut cushions and in the centre of the north wall a niche with outstanding pillared frame, the circling passage with walls of plain trap and roof of single slabs laid across and the outer wall of the temple with bracket capitaled pillars and a central deep-eaved and pillared hanging window of white marble. The circling passage and the outer wall of the temple end at the north-west corner. Of the western outer wall all trace is gone. The pillars of the temple are massive and handsome with pleasantly broken outline a pedestal a square an eightsided band a sixteensided band a round belt a narrow band of horned faces the capital a pair of discs and above the discs outstanding brackets each ending in a crouching four-armed male or female human figure upholding the roof. The six central dome pillars resemble the rest except that instead of the sixteensided band the inner face is carved into an urn from whose mouth overhang rich leafy festoons and which stand on a roll of cloth or a ring of cane such as women set between the head and the waterpot.¹ On the roof piles of bricks show that besides the spire some building rose over the central dome and eastern entrance but of its structure nothing can now be traced.

History.

According to a local legend this temple of the Sun was built by Yayati the son of king Nahush² of the Chandravansi or Moon stock. Yayati came to Shrimāl accompanied by his two queens Sharmistha and Devyani and began to perform severe austerities at one of the places sacred to Surya the Sun. Surya was so pleased by the fervour of Yayati's devotion that he appeared before him and asked Yayati to name a boon. Yayati said May I with god-like vision see thee in thy true form. The Sun granted this wish and told Yayati to name a second boon. Yayati said I am weary of ruling and of the pleasures of life. My one wish is that for the good of Shrimālpur you may be present here in your true form. The Sun agreed. An image was set up in the Sun's true form (apparently meaning in a human form) and a Hariya Brāhman was set over it.³ The God said Call me Jagat-Svāmi the Lord of the World for I am its only protector. According to a local Brāhman account the original image of the Sun was of wood and is still preserved in Lakshmi's temple at Pātan in North Gujarāt.⁴ Another account makes the builder of the temple Shripunj or Jagsom. According to one legend Jagsom's true name was Kanak who came from Kashmir. According to the Brāhman Bhāt Tappa Jagsom was a king of Kashmir of the Jamāwal tribe who established himself in Bhinmal about 500 years before Kumārāpāla. As Kumārāpāla's date is A.D. 1156, Jagsom's date would be A.D. 650.

¹ The ten feet of the pillars are thus divided: pedestal 2' square block 2' eightsided belt 18", sixteensided belt 18", round band 2' horned face belt 6", double disc capital 6".

² This according to another account is Nāsik town.

³ Hariya Brāhman is said to mean a descendant of Hariyaji, a well known Brāhman of Shrimāl, so rich that he gave every member of his caste a present of brass vessels.

⁴ This tradition seems correct. In the temple of Lakshmi near the Tripolia or Triple gateway in Pātan are two standing images of *Champa Michela champaca* wood one a man the other a woman black and dressed. The male image which is about three feet high and fourteen inches across the shoulders is of the Sun Jagat Svām that is Jagat Svām the World Lord, the female image, about 2' 6" high and 9" across the shoulders is Raudhavi or Raudal the Sun's wife. Neither image has any writing. They are believed to be about 1000 years old and to have been secretly brought from Bhinmal by Shrimāl Brāhmans about A.D. 1400. Also Bahādur Hamāliā, Dhārājāl. Compare (Rajputāna Gazetteer, II, 282) in the temple of Bālārikh at Balmer about a hundred miles south-west of Jodāpur a wooden image of the sun.

According to the common local story Jagsom was tormented by the presence of a live snake in his belly. When Jagsom halted at the south gate of Bhinmál in the course of a pilgrimage from Káshmir to Dwarka, he fell asleep and the snake came out at his mouth. At the same time a snake issued from a hole close to the city gate and said to the king's belly snake 'You should depart and cease to afflict the king.' 'There is a fine treasure in your hole,' said the belly snake. 'How would you like to leave it? Why then ask me to leave my home?' The gate snake said 'If any servant of the king is near let him hearken. If some leaves of the *hir* *Opparis* *aphylla* tree are plucked and mixed with the flowers of a creeper that grows under it and boiled and given to the king the snake inside him will be killed.' 'If any servant of the king is near,' retorted the king's snake 'let him hearken. If boiling oil is poured down the hole of the gate-snake the snake will perish and great treasure will be found.' A clever Kayasth of the king's retinue was near and took notes. He found the *hir* tree and the creeper growing under it he prepared the medicine and gave it to the king. The writhing of the snake caused the king so much agony that he ordered the Kayasth to be killed. Presently the king became sick and the dead snake was thrown up through the king's mouth. The king mourned for the dead Kayasth. So clever a man, he said, must have made other good notes. They examined the Kayasth's note book, poured the boiling oil down the hole, killed the gate-snake, and found the treasure. To appease the Kayasths and the two snakes lakhs were spent in feeding Brahmins. With the rest a magnificent temple was built to the Sun and an image duly enshrined. Nine upper stories were afterwards added by Vishvakarma.

Appendix III.

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Sun Temple.

The legends of Bhinmál are collected in the *Shrímál Mahátmya* of the *Skanda Purána* a work supposed to be about 400 years old. According to the *Mahátmya* the city has been known by a different name in each of the chief cycles or Yugs. In the *Satyayug* it was *Shrímál*, in the *Tretayug* *Ratanmál*, in the *Dwaparyug* *Pushpamal*, and in the *Kaliyug* *Bhinmál*. In the *Satyayug* *Shrimal* or *Shrinagar* had 84 *Chandis*, 336 *Kshetrapáls*, 27 *Varahas*, 101 *Suryás*, 51 *Mátás*, 21 *Brehispatis*, 300 to 11,000 *Ingas*, 88,000 *Rushis*; 999 Wells and Tanks, and 3¼ krons of *tirthas* or holy places. At first the plain of Bhinmál was sea and *Bhaghurashi* called on *Surya* and the sun dried the water and made it land. Then *Braghu* started a hermitage and the saints *Kashyáp*, *Atri*, *Barádwaj*, *Gautam*, *Jamdagni*, *Vishvamitra*, and *Vashista* came from *A'bu* to interview *Braghu*. *Gautam* was pleased with the land to the north of *Braghu's* hermitage and pryed *Trimbakeshwar* that the place might combine the holiness of all holy places and that he and his wife *Ahilya* might live there in happiness. The God granted the sage's prayer. A lake was formed and in the centre an island was raised on which *Gautam* built his hermitage the foundations of which may still be seen. The channel which feeds *Gautam's* lake from the north-east was cut by an ascetic *Bráhmaṇ* named *Yajanasila* and in the channel a stone is set with writing none of which but the date S 1117 (A D 1060) is legible. Some years after *Gautam* had settled at *Shrímál* a daughter named *Lakshmi* was born in the house of the sage *Braghu*. When the girl came of age *Braghu* consulted *Naradji* about a husband. When *Naradji* saw *Lakshmi*, he said, This girl can be the wife of no one but of *Vishnu*. *Naradji* went to *Vishnu* and said that in consequence of the curse of *Durvasarashi* *Lakshmi* could not be born anywhere except in *Braghu's* house and that *Vishnu* ought to marry her. *Vishnu* agreed. After the

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marriage the bride and bridegroom bathed together in the holy Trimbak pond about half a mile east of Gautam's island. The holy water cleared the veil of forgetfulness and Lakshmi remembered her former life. The *devtas* or guardians came to worship her. They asked her what she would wish. Lakshmi replied, May the country be decked with the houses of Brahmans as the sky is decked with their carriers the stars. Bhagwan that is Vishnu, pleased with this wish sent messengers to fetch Brahmans and called Vishvakarma the divine architect to build a town. Vishvakarma built the town. He received golden bangles and a garland of gold lotus flowers and the promise that his work would meet with the praise of men and that his descendants would rule the art of building. This town said the Gods has been decked as it were with the garlands or *mala* of Sri or Lakshmi. So it shall be called Shrimala. When the houses were ready Brahmans began to gather from all parts.¹ When the Brahmans were gathered Lakshmi asked Vishnu to which among the Brahmans worship was first due. The Brahmans agreed that Gautam's claim was the highest. The Brahmans from Sindh objected and withdrew in anger. Then Vishnu and Lakshmi made presents of clothes money and jewels to the Brahmans and they, because they had settled in the town of Shrimala came to be known as Shrimali Brahmans.

The angry Sindh Brahmans in their own country worshipped the Sea. And at their request Samudra sent the demon Sarika to ruin Shrimali. Sarika carried off the marriageable Brahman girls. And the Brahmans finding no one to protect them withdrew to Abu. Shrimali became waste and the dwellings ruins.² When Shrimali had long lain waste a king named Shripunj according to one account suffering from worms according to another account stricken with leprosy came to the Brahmakund to the south of the city and was cleansed.³ Thankful at heart Shripunj collected Brahmans and restored Shrimali and at the Brahmakund built a temple of Chandish Mahadev. When they heard that the Shrimali Brahmans had returned to their old city and were prospering the

¹ The details are: From Kanika 500, from the Ganges 10,000 from Gaya 500, from Kalinjar 700 from Mahendra 300, from Kanad 10,000 from Vani 500, from Surparak 800, from Gohara 1000, from Godaram 100, from Prathas 122, from the hill Ujjayan or Gurnar 115, from the Nartada 100 from Gomen 79, and from Nandivardhan 1000.

² According to one account (Marwar Cases 61) the Sindh Brahmans are represented by the present Pushkar Brahmans. In proof the Pushkars are said to worship Sarika as Uktadevi riding on a camel. This must be a mistake. The Pushkars are almost certainly Gujars.

³ Details are given above under Objects. The local legends confuse Shripunj and Jagson. It seems probable that Jagson was not the name of a king but is a contraction of Jaratsami the title of the Sun. This Shripunj or at least the restorer or founder of Shrimali is also called Kanak, who according to some accounts came from the east and according to others came from Kashmir. Kanak is said also to have founded a town Kanikhat near the site of the present village of Chitrala about eleven miles (7 *loes*) east of Bhinmal. This recollection of Kanak or Kanakhat is perhaps a trace of the possession of Marwar and north Gujarat by the generals or successors of the great Kushan or Saka emperor Kanak or Kanishka the founder of the Saka era of A.D. 78. According to the local Bhats this Kanak was of the Janghmal caste and the Pradiya branch. This caste is said still to hold 360 villages in Kashmir. According to local accounts the Shrimali Brahmans and the Derals and Derri Rajputs all came from Kashmir with Kanak. Tod (Western India, 213) notices that the Annals of Meru all trace to Kanakson of the Sun race whose invasion is put at A.D. 100. As the Shrimalis and most of the present Rajput chiefs are of the Gujjar stock which entered India about A.D. 450 this tracing to Kanishka is a case of the Hindu law that the conqueror assimilates the traditions of the conquered that with the tradition he may bind to his own family the Sri or Luck of his predecessors.

Brahmans of Sindh once more sent Sarika to carry away their marriageable daughters. One girl as she was being haled away called on her house goddess and Sarika was spell-bound to the spot. King Shripunj came up and was about to slay Sarika with an arrow when Sarika said Do not kill me. Make some provision for my food and I will henceforth guard your Brahmans. The king asked her what she required. Sarika said Let your Brahmans at their weddings give a dinner in my honour and let them also marry their daughters in unwashed clothes. If they follow these two rules I will protect them. The king agreed and gave Sarika leave to go. Sarika could not move. While the king wondered the home goddess of the maiden appeared and told the king she had stopped the fiend. Truly said the king you are the rightful guardian. But Sarika is not ill disposed let her go. On this Sarika fled to Sindh. And in her honour the people both of Shrimul and of Jodhpur still marry their daughters in unwashed clothes.¹ The Brāhman girls whom Sarika had carried off had been placed in charge of the snake Kankal lord of the under world. The Brahmans found this out and Kankal agreed to restore the girls if the Brahmans would worship snakes or *nags* at the beginning of their *shradh* or after-death ceremonies. Since that time the Shrimul set up the image of a Nag when they perform death rites. Other legends relating to the building of the Jageswami or Sun temple, to the temple of Chandish Mahidev near the Brahmakund² and to the making of the Jaiskop lake are given above. The dates preserved by local tradition are S. 222 (A.D. 166) the building of the first temple of the Sun, S. 265 (A.D. 209) a destructive attack on the city, S. 494 (A.D. 438) a second sack by a Rakshasa, S. 700 (A.D. 644) a re-building, S. 900 (A.D. 844) a third destruction, S. 955 (A.D. 899) a new restoration followed by a period of prosperity which lasted till the beginning of the fourteenth century.

That Shrimul was once the capital of the Gurjjaras seems to explain the local saying that Jagatsen the son of the builder of the Sun temple gave Shrimul to Gujarat Brahmans where Gujarat is a natural alteration of the forgotten Gurjjaras or Gurjjara Brahmans. That Shrimul was once a centre of population is shown by the Shrimuli subdivisions of the Brāhman and Vani castes who are widely scattered over north Gujarat and Kathiavāda. Most Shrimuli Vānis are Shrivaks. It seems probable that their history closely resembles the history of the Osval Shrivaks or Jains who take their name from the ancient city of Osra about fifteen miles south of Jodhpur to which they still go to pay vows. The bulk of these Osval Vānis, who are Jains by religion, were Solanki Rajputs before their change of faith which according to Jain records took place about A.D. 743 (S. 800).³ The present Bhinmal

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¹ According to a local tradition the people in despair at the ravages of Sarika turned for help to Devi. The goddess said Kill buffaloes, eat their flesh, and wear their hides and Sarika will not touch you. The people obeyed and were saved. Since then a dough buffalo has taken the place of the flesh buffalo and unwashed cloth of the bleeding hide. Another version sounds like a reminiscence of the Tartar origin of Krishna. The goddess Khamangiri persuaded the Lord Krishna to celebrate his marriage clad in the raw hide of a cow. In the present era unwashed cloth has taken the place of leather. MS. Note from Mr. Ratan Lal Pandit.

² The tradition recorded by Tod (Western India, 209) that the Gurjjaras are descended from the Solankis of Anahilavāda, taken with the evidence noted in the section on History that the Chāvādās or Chāpas and the Paribhāras are also Gurjjaras makes it probable that the Chohāns are of the same origin and therefore that the whole of the Agnikulas were northern conquerors who adopting Hinduism were given a place among Rajputs or Kshatriyas.

³ Epigraphia Indica, II 40-41.

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bards claim the Oswáls as originally people of Shrimál Lakshmi they say when she was being married to Vishnu at Shrimál looked into her bosom and the Jariya goldsmiths came forth she looked north and the Oswáls appeared, east and from her look were born the Porwals¹ From her lucky necklace of flowers sprang the Shrimáli Bráhmans According to other accounts the Shrimáli Bráhmans and Vánis were of Kashmír origin of the Jamawála caste and were brought to south Máiwár by Jag Som by which name apparently Kanaksen that is the Kushán or Kshatrpa (A.D. 78-250) dynasty is meant. They say that in S. 759 (A.D. 703) Bugra an Arab laid the country waste and that from fear of him the Shrimáli Bráhmans and Vánis fled south Another account giving the date A.D. 744 (S. 800) says the assailants were Songara Rajputs The Shrimáls were brought back to Bhinmál by Abhai Singh Ráhtor when viceroy of Gujarát in A.D. 1694 (S. 1750)

The memory of the Gurjjaras, who they say are descended from Garab Rishi, lingers among the Bháts or bards of Shrimál They say the Gurjjaras moved from Shrimál to Pushkar about ten miles north-west of Ajmir and there dug the great lake. They are aware that Gurjjaras have a very sacred burning ground at Pushkar or Pokarn and also that the Savitri or wife of Brahma at Pokarn was a Gurjjara maiden.

But as the leading Gurjjaras have dropped their tribe name in becoming Kshatriyas or Rajputs the bards naturally do not know of the Gurjjaras as a ruling race The ordinary Gurjjara they say is the same as the Rehbári, the Bad or High Gujjars to whom Krishna belonged the Rajputs The bards further say that the Sompuras who live near Pushkar (Pokarn north of Ajmir) and are the best builders who alone know the names of all ornamental patterns are of Gurjjara descent and of Shrimál origin They do not admit that the Cháyadás were Gurjjaras In their opinion Cháyadás are the same as Bharods and came north into Márwár from Danta in Jhálávada in north-east Káthiávada The Choháns they say came from Sámbar to Ajmir, from Ajmir to Delhi, from Delhi to Nagor north of Jodhpur, from Nagor to Jodhpur, from Jodhpur to Bhadgaon thirty miles south of Bhinmál and from Bhadgaon to Sirohi According to a local Jaghirdár of the Devra caste the Chohans' original seat was at Jhálor forty miles north of Shrimál They say that in the eighteenth century the Solankis came north from Patan in north Gujarát to Hiya in Pálanpur where they have still a settlement, and that from Hiya they went to Bhinmal

In connection with the Sun temple and the traces of sun worship among the Jains, whose *gurus* or religious guides have a sun face which they say was given them by the Rána of Chitor, the existence in Bhinmál of so many (thirty-five) houses of Shevaks is interesting These Shevaks are the religious dependents of the Oswál Shrávaks They are strange high-nosed hatchet-faced men with long lank hair and long beards and whiskers They were originally Magha Bráhmans and still are Vaishnavas worshipping the sun. They know that their story is told in the Námagranth of the Surya Purána. The Bhinmál Shevaks know of sixteen

¹ According to Katta, a Bráhma Bhát of remarkable intelligence, the Oswáls include Rajputs of a large number of tribes, Aadas, Bháts, Boránas, Burads, Chováns, Gehlots, Gohils, Jádvas, Makvánas, Mohils, Parmars, Ráhtors, Shálas, Tilars. They are said to have been converted to the Jain religion in Osianagara in Samvat Bia Varsh 22 that is in A.D. 165.

branches of it, but remember the number of ten only. Abot, Bhinmāla, Deva, Hara, Ka, Kiwara, Lalar, Multaraya, Mundhara, Saparkhila, and Shandā. The story of the Mahā in the Surya and Bhavishya Purāṇas, how they were brought by Garuda from the land of the Sakas and were fixed in a temple, gave the C. Shavats a special interest. The Devālas are believed to have come from Kaḥmar with Jaga Svami who is said to have been a Yādū of the Rājasth division of Parthiv Rājputa. The other day, son of Parthiv was a descendant of Abu who in virtue of the friendship of the Ajnakud became Kshatriya. The Devālas are supposed to get their name from the fact they built Jaga Som's temple at Bhinmal. The Deva Rājput here head is the Suchi chief and who according to the history of Chohan descent came at the same time and marry with the Devālas. With the origin from Kanul on it is natural to associate the Devālas and Devālas with the Devaputras of the Samudragupta (A.D. 370-415) meeting at Of Hūna or of Jayla, the tribe name of the great Hūna conqueror Teremina and Mihudula (A.D. 450-480), few of them have been traced. The Jaḥardas of Devāla know the name Hūna. They are a Rājasth people. He mentions Honots or Sonots who are the tribes of Hūnas and Hūndas in Kachayala and a Hūna subdivision among the Kūdas of Marwar. Jayla he does not know as a caste name.

The historical interest of Shāmāl centres in the fact that it was long the capital of the main branch of the great northern race of Gurjaras. It is well known the many mentions of the Gurjaras and their country in inscriptions and historical works refer to the Chaulukya or Solanki kingdom of Anahilavada (A.D. 961-1242) or to its successor the Vaghela principality (A.D. 1219-1401). But the name Gurjara occurs also in many documents older than the tenth century and has been most variously and inconsequently explained. Some take the name to denote the Chyādras of Anahilavada (A.D. 749-912), some the Gurjaras of Broach (A.D. 580-808) and some among them Dr. Bhagvānīlal Indrapr even the Valabhis (A.D. 509-766), but not one of these identifications can be made to apply to all cases. As regards the Valabhis even if they were of Gurjara origin they are not known to have at any time called themselves Gurjars or to have been known by that name to their neighbours. The identification with the Gurjaras of Broach is at first sight more plausible, as they admitted their Gurjara origin as late as the middle of the seventh century, but there are strong reasons against the identification of the Broach branch as the leading family of Gurjaras. Pulakēśi II in his Ashoka inscription of A.D. 614 (S. 556)¹ claims to have subdued by his prowess the Lāta Māhās and Gurjaras, which shows that the land of the Gurjaras was distinct from Lāta, the province in which Broach stood. Similarly Huen Tsang (c. 640 A.D.) speaks of the kingdom of Broach by the name of the city and not as Gurjara or the Gurjara country. In the following century the historians of the Arab raids² notice Bars (Broach) separately from Jurz or Gurjara and the Chālukya grant of 490 that is of A.D. 738-739 mentions the Gurjaras after the Chavotakas (Chāvalās) and the Mauriyas (of Chitor) as the last of the kingdoms attacked by the Arab army. Inter instances occur of a distinction between Lāta and Gurjara, but it seems unnecessary to quote them as the Gurjara kingdom of Broach probably did not survive the Rāshtrakūta conquest of south Gujrat (A.D. 750-760).

The evidence that the name Gurjara was not confined to the Chāvalās

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¹ Indian Antiquary, VIII, 237

² Elliot, I, 432.

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is not less abundant. It will not be disputed that references of earlier date than the foundation of Anahilavāda (A.D. 746) cannot apply to the Chāvadā kingdom, and further we find the Chālukya grant of A.D. 738-739 expressly distinguishing between the Chāvadās and the Gurjjaras and calling the former by their tribal name Chāvotaka. It might be supposed that as the power of the Chāvadās increased, they became known as the rulers of the Gurjjara country, and it must be admitted that some of the references to Gurjjaras in the Rāshtrakūta grants are vague enough to apply to the Chāvadās. Still, if it can be shown that others of these references cannot possibly apply to the Chāvadās, and if we assume, as we must, that the name of Gurjjara was used with the slightest consistency, it will follow that the ninth and tenth century references to the Gurjjaras do not apply to the Chāvadā kingdom of Anahilavāda.

The Van-Dindori and Rādhanpur plates of the great Rāshtrakūta Govinda III¹ state that Govinda's father Dhruva (c. 780-800 A.D.) "quickly caused Vatsarāja intoxicated with the goddess of the sovereignty of Gauda that he had acquired with ease, to enter upon the path of misfortune in the centre of Maru" and took away from him the two umbrellas of Gauda. A comparison of this statement with that in the Baroda grant of Karka II² which is dated A.D. 812-813, to the effect that Karka made his arm "the door-bar of the country of the lord of the Gurjjaras, who had become evilly inflamed by conquering the lord of Gauda and the lord of Vanga" makes it highly probable that Vatsarāja was king of the Gurjjaras at the end of the eighth century. As no such name occurs in the Chāvada lists, it follows that the Gurjjaras referred to in the inscriptions of about A.D. 800 were not Chāvadās.

It is also possible to show that more than a century later the Chāvadās were distinct from the Gurjjaras. The Kānarese poet Pāṇḍya, writing in A.D. 941,³ states that the father of his patron Arkesari vanquished Mahipāla king of the Gurjjaras, who may be identified with the Mahipāla who is named as overlord in the grant of Dhāranivaraha of Wadhwan,⁴ dated A.D. 914. As no Mahipāla occurs in the Chāvadā lists, the Gurjjara kingdom must be sought elsewhere than at Anahilavāda. Since the Gurjjaras of the eighth and ninth century inscriptions cannot be identified either with the Valabhis, the Broach Gurjjaras, or the Anahilavāda Chāvadas they must represent some other family of rulers. A suitable dynasty seems to be supplied by Hsien Tsiang's kingdom of Kiu-che-lo or Gurjjara, the capital of which he calls Pi-lo-mo-lo.⁵ The French translators took Pi-lo-mo-lo to be Balmer in Rajputana. But Dr Bühler following the late Colonel Watson, identifies it, no doubt rightly, with Bhinmal or Bhilmāl.⁶

¹ Indian Antiquary, XI 156 and VI 59.² Indian Antiquary, XII 156³ Jour R. A. S. XIV. 19ff⁴ Indian Antiquary, XII. 190 and XVIII 91.⁵ Beal's Buddhist Records, II 270.

⁶ Indian Antiquary, VI. 63. That the name Bhilmāl should have come into use while the Gurjjaras were still in the height of their power is strange. The explanation may perhaps be that Bhilmāl may mean the Gurjjara's town the name Bhil or bowman being given to the Gurjjaras on account of their skill as archers. So Chāpa the original name of the Chāvadas is Sanskritised into Chapotkatas the strong bowmen. So also, perhaps, the Chāpa or Chaura who gave its name to Chapamr or Chāmpner was according to the local story a Bhil. Several tribes of Mewār Bhils are well enough made to suggest that in their case Bhil may mean Gurjjara. This is specially the case with the Launyah Bhils of Nerwer, the finest of the race, whose name further suggests an origin in the Gurjjara division of Lor. Compare Malcolm's Trans Bombay As Soc I 71.

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A short sketch of the history of the Gurjaras, so far as it can be pieced together from contemporary sources, may help to show the probability of these identifications. The Gujjaras apparently entered India in the fifth century A.D. The earliest notice of them occurs in the Śrī Harshacharita, a work of the early seventh century, in which during the early years of the seventh century Prabhākara-Varādhana the father of Śrī Harsha of Magadha (A.D. 606-641) is said to have conquered the king of Gandhara, the Hunas, the king of Sindh, the Gurjaras, the Lātas, and the king of Mālava.¹ The date of their settlement at Bhinmal is unknown, but as their king was recognised as a Kshatriya in Hiuen Tsiang's time (c. 640 A.D.) it probably was not later than A.D. 550. Towards the end of the sixth century (c. 585) they seem to have conquered northern Gujarāt and Broach and to have forced the Valabhis (A.D. 509-766) to acknowledge their supremacy. (See Above page 465.) They took very kindly to Indian culture, for in A.D. 628 the astronomer Brahmagupta wrote his Siddhānta at Bhinmal under king Vyāghramukha, who, he states, belonged to the Śrī Chāpa dynasty.² This valuable statement not only gives the name of the Gujjar royal house but at the same time proves the Gurjara origin of the Chippotkatas or Chāvotakas, that is the Chāvadas of later times. This Vyāghramukha is probably the same as the Gurjara king whom in his inscription of S. 556 (A.D. 634) Pulakesi II claims to have subdued.³ A few years later (c. 640 A.D.) Hiuen Tsiang describes the king (probably Vyāghramukha's successor) as a devout Buddhist and just twenty years of age. The country was populous and wealthy, but Buddhists were few and unbelievers many. The Gurjaras did not long retain their southern conquests. In Hiuen Tsiang's time both Kara (Kie-cha) and Vadnagar (Ānandapura) belonged to Mālava, while the Broach chiefs probably submitted to the Chālukyas. No further reference to the Bhinmal kingdom has been traced until after the Arab conquest of Sindh when (A.D. 724-750) the Khalifa's governor Junaid sent his plundering bands into all the neighbouring countries and attacked among other places Marwād (Mārwar), Maliba (Malwa), Barus (Broach), Uzain (Ujjain), Al Balamān (Bhilmāl?), and Jurz (Gurjara).⁴ As noticed above the contemporary Chālukya plate of A.D. 738-9 also mentions Gurjara as one of the kingdoms attacked. After these events the Arabs seem to have confined themselves to raiding the coast towns of Kathiāváda without attacking inland states such as Bhinmal. Immediately after the Arab raids ceased the Gurjaras had to meet a new enemy the Rāshtrakutas who after supplanting the Chālukyas in the Dakhan turned their attention northwards. Dantidurga in his Samangad grant of A.D. 753-4⁵ speaks of ploughing the banks of the Mahī and the Revā (Narbada), and in his Elura inscription⁶ of conquering among other countries Mālava, Lāta and Tanka.⁷ A few years later (A.D. 757-58) a branch of the main Rāshtrakūṭa line established its independence in Lāta in the person of Kakka.

¹ The Madhuban Grant. Epigraphia Indica, I, 67.

² Renāud, Mémoire Sur L'Inde, 337, in quoting this reference through Alberuni (A.D. 1031) writes Pohlmal between Multān and Anhalwara.

³ Indian Antiquary, VIII, 237.

⁴ Elliot, I, 440-41.

⁵ Indian Antiquary, XI, 109.

⁶ Arch. Surv. West India, X, 91.

⁷ Tanka may be the northern half of the Broach District. Traces of the name seem to remain in the two Tankāriās, one Sitpore Tankāria in north Broach and the other in Āmod. The name seems also to survive in the better known Tankāri the port of Jambusar on the Dhādhar. This Tankāri is the second port in the district of Broach and was formerly the emporium for the trade with Māliwa. Bombay Gazetteer, II, 413-569.

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The next notice of the Gurjjaras occurs in the Rádhanpur and Vándor grants of Govinda III¹ who states that his father Dhruva (c 780-800 A D) caused "Vatsarāja, intoxicated with the goddess of the sovereignty of Gauda that he had acquired with ease, to enter upon the path of misfortune in the centre of Maru" and took from him the two white umbrellas of Gauda. As already stated, a comparison with the Baroda grant of Karka II² shows that this Vatsarāja was a Gurjara king and that he had made extensive conquests in Upper India as far east as Bengal. Now it is notable that the genealogies of two of the most important Agnikula races, the Paramāras and the Chauhāns, go back to this very time (c 800 A D)³. Taking this fact in connection with the prevalence of the surnames Pavār and Chavār among Gujars in such remote provinces as the Panjāb and Khāndesh, it seems obvious that these two tribes and therefore also the two other Agnikula races, the Parihārs and Solaukis are, if not of Gurjara origin, at all events members of the great horde of northern invaders whom the Gurjjaras led. The agreement between this theory and the Agnikula legends of Abu need only be pointed out to be admitted. The origin of the modern Rajput races has always been one of the puzzles of Indian history. This suggestion seems to offer at least a partial solution.

The Rádhanpur grant (A D 807-8) further states that when the Gurjara saw Govinda III approaching, he fled in fear to some unknown hiding-place. This probably means no more than that Vatsarāja did not oppose Govinda in his march to the Vindhya. The next reference is in the Baroda grant of Karka II of Gujarāt who boasts that his father Indra (c 810 A D) alone caused the leader of the Gurjara lords to flee. Karka adds that he himself, for the purpose of protecting Malava, "who had been struck down," made his arm the door-bar of the country of Gurjaresvara, who "had become evilly inflamed" by the conquest of Gauda and Vanga⁴. It is difficult to avoid supposing that we have here a reference to the Paramāra conquest of Malwa and that Karka checked the southward march of the victorious army. For some years no further mention has been traced of the Gurjjaras. But in A D 851 the Arab merchant Sulaiman states⁵ that the king of Juzr was one of the kings "around" the Ballharā, that is the Rāshtrakūta, and that he was very hostile to the Musalmāns, which is not surprising, considering how his kingdom was exposed to the Arab raids from Sindh. Dhruva III of Broach, in his Bagumrā grant of A D 867⁶ speaks of "the host of the powerful Gurjjaras" as one of the dangerous enemies he had to fear. About A D 890 a Gurjara chief named Alakhāna ceded Takkadesa in the Panjāb to Śankaravarman of Kashmir⁷. But as Alakhāna was a vassal of Lalliya, the Śāhi of Ohind near Swāt, this event did not affect the Bhinmāl empire. To about A D 900 belongs the notice of the Rāshtrakūta Krishna II in the Deoli and Navsārī grants⁸ where he is stated to have frightened the Gurjjaras, destroyed the pride of Lāṭā, and deprived the coast people of sleep. His fights with the Gurjjaras are compared to the storms of the rainy season, implying that while the relations of the two empires continued hostile, neither was able to gain any decisive advantage over the other. To this same period belongs Ibn Khurdādba's (A D. 912) statement⁹ that the king of Juzr was the fourth

¹ Indian Antiquary, VI, 59 and XI, 156.² Indian Antiquary, XII, 156.³ See the Udaipur *prāsaśi* in Ep. Ind. I and the Harsha Inscription in ditto.⁴ See the Baroda grant of A D 812-13. Indian Antiquary, XII, 156.⁵ Elliot, I, 4.⁶ Indian Antiquary, XII, 179.⁷ Rajatarāṅgīnī, 149.⁸ B. B. R. A. Soc. Journ. XVIII, 239.⁹ Elliot, I, 13.

in rank of the kings of India and that the Tatariya *dirhams* were used in his country. In connection with the latter point it is worth noting that the *pottarah* of the Upakesagaccha¹ gives a story which distinctly connects the origin of the Gadhua coinage with Bhinmal.² The grant of Dharamavariha, the Chapa chief of Vadhyán, dated A.D. 914³ gives us the name of his overlord Mahupala, who, as already pointed out, must be identified with the Mahupala who was defeated by the Karnatak king Narasimha.⁴ The fact that Vadhyán was a Chapa dependency implies that Anahilavada was one also. We may in fact conclude that throughout the Chavada period Anahilavada was a mere feudatory of Bhinmal, a fact which would account for the obscurities and contradictions of Chavada history.

The Doshi grant of the Rashtrakuta Krishna III which is dated A.D. 940⁵ describes the king's victories in the south as causing the hope of Kálanjara and Chutrukuta to drop away from the heart of the Gurjara. At this time Kálanjara belonged to the Kalachuris of Central India and Chutrukuta or Chitol to the Gichlots of Mewad and the phrase used by Krishna implies that the Gurjara chief had his eye on these two famous fortresses and had perhaps already besieged them unsuccessfully. In either case this notice is evidence of the great and far reaching power of the Gurjaras. Masudi (A.D. 915) notices that the king of Juzr was frequently at war with the Balhara (Rashtrakuta) and that he had a large army and many horses and camels.⁶

A Chandel stone inscription from Khajuráho describes Yaśovarmman and Lakshavarmman as successful in war against Gandas, Khasas, Kosalas, Kasmiras, Maithilas, Malavas, Chedis, Kurus, and Gurjaras.⁷ And soon after about A.D. 951 during the reign of Bhimmasena a migration of 18,000 Gurjaras from Bhinmal is recorded.⁸ The memory of this movement remains in the traditions of the Gujars of Khándesh into which they passed with their carts in large numbers by way of Málwa.⁹ An important result of this abandonment of Bhinmal was the transfer of overlordship from Bhinmal to Anahilavada whose first Chalukya or Solauka king Mularaja (A.D. 961-996) is, about A.D. 990, described as being accompanied by the chief of Bhinmal as a subordinate ally in his war with Graharipa (see Above page 451). The Gurjara or Bhinmal empire seems to have broken into several sections of which the three leading portions were the Chauhanas of Sambhar, the Paramáras of Malwa, and the Solaukas of Anahilavada.

The inscriptions which follow throw a certain amount of light on the history of Bhinmal during and after the Solauka period. The two earliest

¹ Indian Antiquary, XIX, 233.

² According to Cunningham (Ancient Geography, 313) the coins called Tatariya *dirhams* stretch from the fifth and sixth to the eleventh century. They are frequently found in Kábul probably of the ninth century. In the tenth century Ibn Haukal (A.D. 977) found them current in Gandhara and the Panjáb where the Boar coin has since ousted them. They are rare in Central India east of the Aravali range. They are not uncommon in Rajputána or Gujarát and were once so plentiful in Sindh, that in A.D. 725 the Sindh treasury had eighteen million Tatariya *dirhams*. (See Dowson in Elliot's History, I, 3.) They are the rude silver pieces generally known as Indo-Bassanian because they combine Indian letters with Sassanian types. A worn fire temple is the supposed Ass herd which has given rise to the name Gadhya Pasa or Ass money.

³ Indian Antiquary, XII, 190 and XVIII, 91.

⁴ Jour. R. A. S. XIV, 19.

⁵ B. B. R. A. S. Jour. XVIII, 239.

⁶ Kielhorn in Epig. Indica, I, 122. ⁷ Hearnle in Ind. Antiq. XIX, 233.

⁸ Details given in Khándesh Gazetteer, XII, 39.

Appendix III.

BHIMMAL.
History

Ins. No. 12 shows that Udaynāth had a son named Vāhad-
bhānā who he is given a royal title, probably died before his
father. Udaynāth's successor, or at all events the next king in
whose reign the inscription was set up, who is given the title of
Mahārāj in Ins. Nos. 11 (c. 1277) and 12 (c. 1278)¹. His
successor, Udaynāth's son, does not clearly appear but he was probably
either an elder brother or a title of the Cāyasth for whose benefit
the temple in Ins. No. 12 was made and who seems to be a
prince of Udaynāth's family. One appears to be the Mahāmandirāyā
Cāyasth of Ins. No. 15 in the Bhāvanagara State Collection (Bhān. Pr. I.
13 p. 10) which is stated to have the date Samvat 1252 (c. 1276)
and to be inscribed in pillar in the temple of Pāṇṇathān at Ratnagar
near Jodhpur. It is clear that he was tributary to some greater power
the date is not exact to the whole century. At this period
Mahāmandirāyā's state of dependence under the increasing pressure of the
Rathors is clearly seen after Cāyasth's death (c. 1275) we meet
with the inscription of the Mahārāj in Samvatnāth. He is
mentioned in Ins. Nos. 13 (c. 1277), 14 (c. 1280) and 15 (c.
1280) in the Bhāvanagara State Collection (c. 1276 Bhān.
Pr. I. 13 p. 10). The inscription of Ins. No. 15 is not dated to
have been set up by the family of the previous ruler but he bears
the title of Mahārāj and it is not inferred with probability
that he was a son of Cāyasth. He reigned for at least thirteen years
(c. 1275-1289). He must have died c. 1300 or a little later,
for the Rathors are depicted of Bhimmal by the Rathors and the
line of Udaynāth is extinct.

The Jodhpur temple has the honor of supplying fifteen of eighteen
ancient inscriptions found at Bhimmal. Of the fifteen inscriptions
belonging to the temple none are in place and six have been
removed to other buildings. Of the six which have been moved two
are in the enclosure of the temple and one in the enclosure of Mahā-
deshwari temple in the south of the town. Of the three remaining
inscriptions of one (No. 2) the date S. 1100 (c. 1045) is alone legible.
Of the latter on the two other, one in the bed and the other on the
north end of the Lakṣmī-līlā, no portion can be read. Arranged
according to the six inscriptions of which any portion has been
read come in the following order.

Inscriptions.

I—(S. 950-1000, c. 900-1000 No. 1 of Plan) On the left hand
side of the eastern face of the broken architrave of the porch of the
shrine of Jageswami. The letters show the inscription to be of about the
tenth century.

Śrī Jageswāmdēvāy nāmas
on the day of Śrī Jageswami.

* I read Śrī Jageswami

II—(S. 950-1050, c. 900-1000 No. 2 of Plan) On the south
face of the eight-sided section of the northern pillar of the shrine porch
in the temple of Jageswami. Wrongly described in Bhāvanagara prācīna-
śodhasaṅgraha I under No. 16 of the State Collection, as referring to
a man called Vāmbhārā and dated V. S. 1330. As the letters show,
the inscription is of about the tenth century. It consists of a single

¹ Inscriptions 9 and 10 are not dated in any king's reign.

² Compare Tod's Rajasthan, I.

Appendix III. complete verse .

BHINMAL
Inscriptions.

- 1 Vasumdhari kâri-
- 2 tâu drâu stambhâv t-
- 3 -tâu manôharâu
4. svapituh Santaka-
5. sârthê satatam
6. puṇyavṛiddhaye ||

These two lovely pillars Vasumdhari had made for her father
Santaka's sake for increase of merit for ever.

III.—(S. 1106; A.D. 1049 Not on Plan.) On the east side of the southern water channel into Gautama's lake three-quarters of a mile north of the town Except the date nothing can be deciphered

IV.—(S. 1117, A.D. 1060 Not on Plan) On the lower part of a pillar in the dharmasâla east of the temple of Bârâji on the east of the town. Prose

1. Om Namah sūryāya * | yasyôdayâstasamayâsuramakuta-
nuspî-
- 2 shta-carapa-kamalâ s pi | kurutê s jalâm Trinetrâh sa jayati
dhâmnâ nidhi
3. Sūryah | Samvat 1117 (A.D. 1057) Māgha Sudî 6 Ravâu
Śrī Śrīmāle Paramāravanâs
- 4 dbhavo Maharajādhirājā Śrī Kṛṣṇarājah Śrī Dhamdhu-
kasutah Śrīmad Dēvarā-
5. -ja-pauttrah tasmin kshittikē vijayam | vartamāna-varsha-
vārka-Dharkuta-
- 6 jāti-Kirīṇādityô Jāla-sutô Dēda-Harr Mādhava-sutô Dham-
dha-nākô Dha-
7. ranacanda sutas tathā Thākhāṭa jāti Dharanadityah Sar-
vadēva-sutah | am-
- 8 bhisaturbhis tathā Vānyēna Dharkuta-jātyā Dhamdhalēna
Jelasutēna nija-ku-
- 9 -la-marjanēna dēva-guru vrāhmaṇa suśrūṣhā parēṇa Ravi-
carapa-yuga-dhyānā-
- 10 -vishtēna samsārasyāntyatām(n)urikshya rājāno rājapu-
tramśca vrāhmaṇan (ma-j)
11. -hājana-pauramśca tathā lokān Saura-dharmē pravartitāyā
dravyānu me . (ni)
12. -tya-tejo-nidheh Śrī Jagatsvāmī dēvasya deva-bhavana-
jīrnoddhā
13. (kā)rāpitam bhavanasyopari svarapa kalasam vrāhmaṇena
para-(ma-dhā-)
- 14 -nimikēpa Jējākēna nija-dravyena kāmam iti || Sam 1
- 15 Jyeshṭha Su di 8 somē rātrāu ghatikā 3 pala 25 asmin la-
- 16 (g)nē sarvakarma nishpādya kalasam dhvajam ca dayapi-
tam iti ||
- 17 (Ta)thā puratanavṛttēna parī devasyāsyā Rājā Śrī Kṛṣṇa
rājēna Śrī-
18. ... (pu-)rīya-mandalē grāmam prativa° drā. 20 Sacalyā-
grāmē kshētram ēkam
19. traya rājabhōgāt tu drōna sati lā ..
20. .. || Bāmasi Pōmarapi lā prativa° dra. 1. ..
- 21 vijñāpya camdanena kārāpitam iti || Tathā ālav....
22. ... yā pra da ... likhutam kada
23. kāya

Translation.

Appendix III.

BHINMAL
Inscriptions.

- 1 - 3 Om ! Reverence to the Sun ! Victorious is that sun, the storehouse of brightness, at whose rising and setting the three-eyed (Śiva), even though (his own) lotus feet are touched by the diadems of the gods, folds his hands (in adoration)
- 3 - 5 On Sunday the 6th of the light half of Magha, the year 1113, at holy Śrīmāla the Mahārājādhurāja Śrī Kṛṣṇa-rāja son of Śrī Dhamdhuka and grandson of the glorious Devaraja, of the Paramāra race—in his victorious reign
- 6 - 7 Kīrṇāditya, Jēla's son, of the Dharkuta family, (being office holder) in his turn for the current year, Dada Hari son of Mādhaba, Dhamdhanaka son of Dharanacapda and Dharanāditya son of Sarvadava of the Thākhāṭa race.
- 8 - 12 By these four and by the Vānī (?) Dhamdhaka son of Jēla of the Dharkuṭa race, the ornament of his family, strict in obedience to the gods, to his teachers and to Brāhmapas, and full of devotion to the feet of Ravi (the Sun), observing the perishableness of this world, and urging kings Khatṛiyyas Brāhmanas merchants and townsfolk to worship the sun, repairs were done to the temple of the god Śrī Jagatsvāmī, the everlasting store of light
- 13 The kalāśa of gold above the temple the very righteous Brāhmaṇa Jēḷaka had made at his own charges. In the year 1 .
- 15 on Monday the 5th of the light half of Jyēsthā, in the 25th pala of the 3rd ghatikā of night—at this moment
- 16 all the work being finished the kalāśa and banner were set up (?)
- 17 and after the ancient manner by the king Śrī Krishnarāja of this complaint . . .
18. a village in the Śrī . . . purīya district, yearly 20 drammas. In Sacalyā village a field
19. . . . But from the king's share (of the crop) a drōṇa
- 20 yearly 1 dramma
- 21 . . . by order was caused to be made by Candana || and . .
- 22 . . . written
- 23 kāya.

V—(S 1123, A D 1066. No. 3 of Plan.) On the north face of the upper square section of the more northerly of the two pillars that support the eastern side of the dome of the temple of Jagsvāmī Entirely in prose

- 1 Om. Saṁvat 1123, Jyēsthā Vadi 12 Śanāu n adyēha Śrī Śrīmālē Mahārājādhurāja-Śrī Kṛṣṇarāja-
- 2 ja-rājyē Dēvasricandīśa-Mahādēva dharmādhikāra-cētakaparama Pāśupatācārya-Śrī Jāvalasyē | Sauva-
- 3 rṇika Jasaṇāśa | Śrēsthī Camdanā Kīrṇādityā Stharā varttamāna-varsha-vārika Joga-candra . . .
- 4 Guḡa navāī . . . lōkē ca ēka matibhūtvā
- Śrīmālyā Vra-
5. hmaṇa Vāhaṭēna Śrī Candīśa
- dramma

6-13 Badly damaged only a few letters legible here and there.

Appendix III.

BHINMAL.
Inscriptions.

Translation.

- 1-2 Ōm! On Saturday the 12th of the dark half of Jyēsthā
Sañvat 1123—on this day s^t holy Śrīmāla, in the reign
of the Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Kṛṣṇarāja—of Śrī Jāvala,
the servant of the offices of religion to the god Śrī Camūḍa
Mahadēva, the supreme teacher of the Pāsupatas . . .
3 The goldsmith Jasanāsa, the seth Camūdanā, Kīrāpāditya,
Sinarā, Jogacandra the office-holder in turn for the current
year
4-5 Guḡā . . . and in the world . . . being of one mind . . .
. . . by Vāhaṭa the Śrīmālī Brāhmaṇa . . . Śrī
Camūḍa . . . *dramma*

VI.—(S 1239. A D 1183 No 4 of Plan) On the upper face of the
eightsided section of the fallen pillar on the south side of the dome of
the temple of Jagsvāmi Entirely in prose

- 1 Saṁ 1239 Āśvina Vadi 10 Vadhē
- 2 Adyēha Śrī Śrīmāle Mahārāja-
- 3 -putra Śrī Jayastha-dēva-rajyē
- 4 Guhilo Pramahidāsuta-tra^a arava-
5. sūka Vahiyana Vālāka-dēvaya
6. drava dra. 1 tathā bharyā Malharade-
7. dī kṛta dra. 1 yē kēṣpi pa . . . ati bhava
- 8 mti teshām prut:dra^a vi 1 labhyā yahko(s)
- 9 pi catra-pālō bhavati tena varshāt(u-)
- 10 -varsha(m) dūcē dēvāyā dātavyam [

Translation

1. In the year 1239 (1183 A D) on Wednesday the tenth of the
dark half of Āśvina
- 2 3 On this day here in holy Śrīmāla in the reign of his majesty
Śrī Jayastha the Mahārāj
- 4-6 Aravasata Vahiyana the Guhila, the Tra^a,* son of Prama-
hida (gave) to Valaka-dēva one *dramma* in cash.
- 6-7. And (his) wife Mālharā-dēvī (dēvī) (gave) one *dramma*
Whosoever are . . . , by them for each *dramma* one
vi is to be received. Whosoever
9 is the ruler by him every
10 year on the . . . day it is to be given to the god

* Evident—the name of his office but the abbreviation is not intelligible.

VII —(S 1262, A.D. 1206 No. 5 of Plan) On the upper face of the
lower square section of the fallen pillar which is one of the pair of
three dome pillars. Prose

1. * Ōm Namah Suryāyah Yasyodavāstasamayē sura-
makuta-mṣp-
2. śhita-carana-kamaloppi kurutē Śmjalī(m) tranētra(h) sajayati
dharmām n.dūh(h) surva^a
3. Saṁvat 1262 varshē adyēha Śrī Śrīmāle Mahārājādhirāja Śrī
Uda-
4. -yasthā-dēva kalyāṇa-vijaya-rajyē mahā^a āsvapast-prabh-
rit-pāṁca-kula-
5. pratapat^aan [Kāyastha-jā-tiya-Valamyanavayē mahā^a Yāśō-
pālāśrēyō Ūthamrē (cē^a).
6. -ika-Vihākēna Śrī Jagsvāmi-dēvīya bhāmidagārē kshēpita
dra 40 catra(m).

- 7 Sat Akṣaya māsa śukra(?) Akṣaya Sudi 13
 1 Agni caṭe
 8 Māda 3 pushpamū dra 4 ngura dra
 9 dra 1 pramāḍa kulāṣa dra 1 caṇḍa dra 12 dādaḍa-draṇṇa
 Acamdrārkam prativārahām deva nā lāpa
 10 mā ca tātā ca prāvārahām Mādrā ca(?) deva bhāmadāgare
 kṣaputa dra 15 pāṇḍaḍa draṇṇa Mīgha
 11 vādi 6 dra bahubāmdhi(?) gōdhāma s 2 p d āghṛta pāl
 9 nava dra 32 āngā
 12 bhāḍa prāvārahām acamdrārkam āgāt deva nā lāpālyā
 dū āhāṣa
 13 mī sūdhām/ Bhadrāsv amī sūdhām/ Acamdrārkavat apam
 va(m) lāhṛtam pā Bāmdhavadā su(?)
 14 rā Cāṇḍaprasika nā hīnā śharamādhā 1 śharam pram
 ām .

Translation

- 1 2 On Reverence to the Sun 'Victorious is that sun, the store-
 house of brightness' whose rising and setting the three-
 eyed (Śiva) folds his hands (in adoration), even though
 his lotus feet are touched by the diadems of the gods
 3 5 In the Samvat year 1262 (1066 A.D.), on this day here
 in holy Śrinidya in the prosperous and victorious reign of
 his majesty the Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Udayasimha in the
 term of office of the *janak* (consisting of) Āṣṭapada &c
 6 7 For the (spiritual) benefit of Yasopada in the Vāḍanya
 family of the Kāvastha caste, dra 40, forty *drammas* were
 deposited by Vīhika the Vāṭaka (or Cāṭaka) in the
 treasury of the god Śrī Jāyavāmi
 7. At the vāṭa festival in the month of Āṣvina, on the 13th of
 the light half of Akṣaya . . . , at the building of the
 fire (altar)
 8 . . . for flowers for the garland dra 4, aloewood dra . . .
 9 4 *drammas*, for the band of singing women one *dramma*
 thus dra 12, twelve *drammas* (in all) are to be applied
 yearly by the god so long as sun and moon endure
 10 So also the dra 15, fifteen *drammas* deposited in the treasury
 of the god by Mādraka(?) for (spiritual) benefit
 11 1^o On the sixth of the dark half of Mīgha in the fixed
 ritual of the *bali*, wheat one *ser*, *ghu* nine *palis*, the
nair'dya 32, the *anqabhāga* is to be performed yearly
 by the god so long as sun and moon endure.
 12-13 On the . . . day the *sūdhā* of Abhadrāsvāmī and the
sūdhā of Bhadrāsvāmī is to be given so long as sun and
 moon endure
 13 14. Written by the *pāḍ* Cāṇḍaprasika son of Bāmdhavadā.
 * The letter less or the letter more . . . of authority.

* i e "Errors excepted"

VIII—(S. 1274, A.D. 1218 Not in Plan) In Bārājī's rest-house on
 the west face of the third right hand pillar Prose

- 1 Samvat 1274 varshē Bhādrapada sudi 9 Śukrā dyēba Śrī
 Śrīmā-
 2. 16 Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Udayasimha deva kalyāṇa vijaya-
 rājyē Sa°
 3. Dēphālaprabhīti paṇicakula pratipattāu

Appendix III.

BHINMAL
Inscriptions.

BHINMAL.

[Bany]

4. in the year 1914 AD. on the day of the ...
5. in the year 1914 AD. on the day of the ...
6. in the year 1914 AD. on the day of the ...
7. in the year 1914 AD. on the day of the ...
8. in the year 1914 AD. on the day of the ...

Translation.

1. In the year 1914 AD. on the day of the ...
2. In the year 1914 AD. on the day of the ...
3. In the year 1914 AD. on the day of the ...
4. In the year 1914 AD. on the day of the ...
5. In the year 1914 AD. on the day of the ...

IX. 1915: AD. 1940. On the day of the ...

1. On the day of the ...
2. On the day of the ...
3. On the day of the ...
4. On the day of the ...
5. On the day of the ...
6. On the day of the ...
7. On the day of the ...
8. On the day of the ...
9. On the day of the ...
10. On the day of the ...
11. On the day of the ...
12. On the day of the ...
13. On the day of the ...
14. On the day of the ...
15. On the day of the ...

Translation.

- 1-4. On the day of the ...
5. On the day of the ...
6. On the day of the ...
7. On the day of the ...
8. On the day of the ...
9. On the day of the ...
10. On the day of the ...
11. On the day of the ...
12. On the day of the ...
13. On the day of the ...
14. On the day of the ...
15. On the day of the ...

11. Wheat sars 2 ght karshas (8) mung pā 2, ght
karshas 2

12 15 Illegible

X — (S 1320, v. p. 1261 No 6 of Plan) On the east face of the lower square section of the more northerly of the east pair of dome pillars of Jagasvami's temple First thirteen lines in verse, the rest in prose. No 19 of the Bhuunnagai State Collection (Bhāu Pīā I)

- 1 Ōṇi namo Vighnarājāya namo devāya bhāsvate | namo 3
nanta sva
2. rāpāya Haraye Cakrapāṇavāc || nainahi Śivāya Somāya namahi
para
3. ma-Vrahmanāc | Iti pramecanmanasakurāḥ sarvapāpaprāṇā-
śakāḥ || sarva man-
- 4 gala manigalāḥ sarva saukhya pradāyakaḥ | sarvārtha
siddhi sampannāḥ sam-
5. -tu m' hṛidi sarvadā || Iti jantur janan nityam nityam
āśrayat sukham | ta
- 6 smād asmin japē punyē ratir astu sadaiva me || Iti dhya-
nukunsthātma
- 7 Kāya-śho naigamānyavāc | Tushir āstī purā Sadhunamdano
namdannaḥ satān ||
- 8 Śrīkṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Govinda prandhāna parāyanah | Paut-
ra trayaṇi Śrīmā-
9. n Sadhulhalo Valanāmgajah || Sadaiva datta mishtānna-
toshtāneka vādāyah |
- 10 Ahīra prasaro yaśya pāṇi padmālayālayah || paropakāra
vratin am vaishna
- 11 vadharmanāśvinām || yēna janmātmannaśakrē sādhuāda
vibhūṣitam || tataḥ parama
12. -dharmanātmā sadā viśadamānasah || dāvidatta-varah
Śrīmān Subhato 3 bhūt tadangabhūḥ |
13. Cāgnevas tasya Kēdāra pulah Kāṇhādo 3 bhavāt | Mahā-
dēvasuto yasya bhrātrā Rā-
- 14 -ma Asalō || Tēna Śrīkēdāraputraka Kāṇhādēna svaśrēyasā
Sap 1320 va-
15. rshē Māgha Śu di 9 navamidinē prativarsharū balni-
mittam Śrī Jayasvāmī dē-
16. vīya-bhāṇḍāgārō kshēpita dra 50 pameśān dramṇāḥ || bali-
nibandhē godhūma sō 1½
17. ghrita ka 6 navēdyō mā ½ muga mā ¾ ghṛita ka ½
Abōṭi dra ¾ + 2
18. Vyāsa lō 2 pushpakumkumāguru mūlyō dra. 2 patra pāga-
mā dra | pramadākula
19. dra 1 Śvām prativarsharū dēvaktiyabhāṇḍāgārāt shaḍ
drammā vyayō dēvāna kārā
20. pyamp || Iyārū prasastir Mahā° Subhātēna bhāṇṭā | Dhruva-
Nāgvala suta-Dēdā-
21. -kēna lkhitā || sūtra° Gōgā Suta Bhīmassthēnōtkirā || ५ ||
५ ||

Translation.

1. "Om. Reverence to the lord of obstacles (Gaṇeśa), reverence
to the brilliant god (the Sun), reverence to him of ever
lasting nature,
2. To Hari, wielder of the discus. Reverence to Śiva (and) to
Sōma, reverence

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- 3-5 to the highest Brahma May these five reverences which destroy all sin, the most auspicious of all auspicious (sayings), which grant all happiness, attended with the accomplishment of all objects, be ever in my heart "
- 5-6. The creature that constantly murmurs (these words) resorts to everlasting happiness. Therefore may I for ever take pleasure in this holy murmur
- 6-7 There was formerly in the Naigama family a Kāyastha, Rishi son of Śadhu, the delight of the good, whose mind was solely intent upon (the above) meditation
- 7-9. (He was) devoted to meditation on (the names) Śrī Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa, and Govinda To him was born a grandson, the glorious Sadvibhāva son of Valana, who constantly satisfied numerous Brāhmaṇas with gifts of sweet food,
- 10 whose hand was not stretched out to steal, who was the home of Lakṣmī for the followers of the Vaiṣṇava religion, who are vowed to doing good to others,
- 11-12. who adorned his life with the discussions of saints. From him there was the glorious Subhata, the very righteous, whose mind was ever clear, and to whom Dēvi granted a boon. Born of his body
- 13-14. was Cāgneya His (grandson) was Kānhada son of Kēdāra or Mahādēva and his (Kānhada's) two brothers were Rāma and Āsala
- 14-16 By this Kānhada, son of Kēdāra for his own benefit, fifty *drammas*, dra 50, were deposited in the treasury of Śrī Jayasvāmīdēva for a yearly *balī*, on the ninth (9) of the light half of Māgha, in the Samvat year 1320 (1264 A D)
- 16-18 In the *Balī* endowment wheat $1\frac{1}{2}$ *scers*, ghl 6 *karsahas*, in the *navāḍya* 1 measure, *mung* $\frac{3}{4}$ measure, ghl $\frac{1}{2}$ *karsaha*, Ābūti (?) $\frac{1}{4}$ *dramma* + 2, Bhata 10 (?), for the price of flowers turmeric and aloe wood one *dramma*, for the price of leaves and betelnut one *dramma*, for the band of singing women one *dramma*
19. So let six *drammas* be expended every year by the god from his treasury
- 20-21. This *prāśasti* was spoken (composed) by the Mahā- (ttara?) Subhata. It was written by Dēdāka, son of Nāgvala the Dhruva It is engraved by the carpenter Bhīmasēna son of Gōgā

XI.—(S 1330, A.D 1264 No. 7 of Plan) On the south face of the lower square section of the western side of the north pair of dome pillars First $11\frac{1}{2}$ lines and lines 21 22 and half of 23 in verse, the rest in prose No 47 of the Bhāunagar State Collection (Bhāu. Prā. I. list page 14)

- 1 Namah Śrī Viṅhārājāya namo dēvāya bhāsvatē namo
- 2 Paramāna(m) dadāyīnē cakrapāṇayē | Kāyastha vāmśa pra-
savah purāst
- 3 Śrī Sādha-nāmā puruṣaḥ purāṇah | Rishi . .
4. }
5. } Damaged and illegible
6. }
7. dharmārtha . . . vigāha-
8. -mānē ānandālārah 3 jaṇishta sū
9. nuḥ Subhata saubhāgya sampal-lalitā

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- 10 bhudhānā | trivarga sāmam tanaya svarūpam
sajjanāgryam Rājādli
- 11 Rājōdaya-siha deva nihśroyasō Śrī Subhātēna tēna | dēvasya
kośō . .
- 12 . . . mkshēpitam . || Tēnava Mahā° Subhātēna
sva śrē
13. -yasō Samvat 1330 varshō Āśvina su di 4 caturthidīnē divasa
balī-
14. -pūjā prakṣaṣṭyānakārthina (m) deva Śrī Jayasvāmī bhāndā-
gārē dra 50 pam-
15. -cā'an dramamā mkshēpitāh || Tathā Śrīkaraṇō Mahā°
Gajasthaprabhriti-
16. -pamecakulam upārādhyata (yati) | Bahdinō varshanibam-
dhē kārāpita dra 4 catu-
- 17 -ro dramamāh prativarsham svīya pastalā bhāvya . . pam
cakulēna dātavyāh
- 18 Vali nivanmliē gōdhūma sē 2 ghrita ka 8 nuga mā | cōshātī
mā ½ ghrita ka ½ vjā-
- 19 -sa nirvāpa I Abōtt nirvāpa I Kumkumāguru dra. 2 pushpa
dra 2 patrapūga dra 2
20. Pramadākula dra 2 ēvam ūtat prativarsham ācamārārkam
dēvīna kārāpyam ||
21. Śrīsatya ratna pura-lāṭa hrādādihikārti, Śrīmāladeśavahikā-
dhikṛi |
- 22 to dhurīnab | vyāsēna candanaharnā vidushām varēpa jo 3
dhāpitah sa vi
- 23 dadhō Subhatah praśastam || Dhru° Dēdākēna lkhutā sūtra°
Gōshasthē-
- 24 na utkarṇā || ॐ ||

Translation.

- 1 2 Reverence to the Lord of Obstacles (Gaucēna) Reverence
to the shining god Reverence to (Vishnu) the holder
of the discus who bestows supreme happiness
- 2-3 There was formerly an ancient man named Śrī Sādha
born of the Kāyastha race Rishi
- 4 6 Illegible
- 7-9 for righteousness . entering . giving
pleasure there was born a son Subhata—
- 9-10 (a wife) Lahtā by name, rich in excellence
the summing up of the three objects of human effort
(religious merit, wealth, and pleasure) in the form of a son
the chief of the virtuous—
- 11 By that Śrī Subhata for the spiritual benefit of the king
of kings his majesty Udayastha in the treasury of the
god deposited.
- 12-15 By that same Mahā° Subhata for his own (spiritual)
benefit in the Samvat year 1330 (1274 A D) on the fourth
day of the bright half of Āśvina, for the day's *balī*, worship
and *darsana* dra 50, fifty *drammas* were deposited in the
treasury of the god Śrī Jayasvāmī
- 15-17 And he serves (propitiates?) the *pamca* consisting
of Mahā° Gajastha and the rest at Śrī Karaṇa On the
balī day the four (4) *drammas* given for the *balī* endowment
are to paid every year by the *pamca* from their own . .

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- 18-20 In the *bañ* endowment wheat *śē* 2, *ghī* *la(rśha)* 8, *mung* one measure, *cāśha* $\frac{1}{2}$ measure, *ghī* *la(rśha)* $\frac{1}{2}$, the Bhat's dole 1, the Abōt's dole 1, turmeric and aloe-wood *dra*, 2, flowers *dīa*, 2, leaves and betelnut *dra* 2, the band of singing women *dra*, 2 so is this to be given yearly by the god so long as sun and moon endure.
- 21-23 Snbhata, the officer of Śrī Satyapura Ratnapura and Lāta hrada, the chief set over the *vañikas* of the Śrīmāla country, who was taught by Candā Haṇi the purāṇik, best of the learned, composed the *prāśasti*.
24. Written by Dēdāka the Dhruva and engraved by Gōśhasṭha the carpenter

XII.—(S 1333, A.D 1277 Not in Plan) On the north bank of Jaikop lake on a fallen pillar to the west of Ghazni Khān's tomb Lines 1-4 and half of line 5 and lines 18-22 (and perhaps 23 and 24) in verse, the rest in prose. No. 52 of the Bhāunagar State Collection (Bhān. Prā. I. list pages 15-16)

1. Yaḥ purātra mahāsthānē Śrīmālē susamāgataḥ | sa deva(h)
Śrī
- 2 Mahāvīra . . . bhayatrātā (?) prajñā
3. Yaṁ śaranam gatāḥ | tasya Virajñēndrasya prajārtham
śāsanam navam || 2 Pā-
4. -rāpaddha-mahāgacchē punya-punya-svabhāvinā (?) Śrī
pūrnacandra-sūri-
5. nā prasādāt likhyatē yathā || svasti Samvat 1333 varṣē || Āsvi-
- 6 -na śu di 14 Sōmē | adyēha Śrī Śrīmālē Mahārājakula Śrī
Ca(?)
- 7 -ciga-dēva-kalyāna-vijayi-rājyē tanniyukta-maha°
Gajastha-
8. -prabhṛti-pancakula-pratipattāu Śrī Śrīmāla-dēśa-vañika-
dhikritēna
- 9 Naigamānvaya-kāyastha-mahattama-Subhatēna tathā(ve?)
cētaka Karmasthē-
- 10 -na svaśrēyāsē Āśvinamāstiya-jātrā-mahōtsavē Āśvina śu di
14 ca-
- 11 -turdaśī-dinē Śrī Mahāvīradēvāya prativarṣam pañcō-
pacāra-pūjanam-
- 12 -ttam Śrīkarapṛyapañcakulam sēlahatha - dāst - narapāla-
varakti-pūrnvasambō-
- 13 -dhya-talapa dēhala-sahadī-pada-ma . . . hala-sahadī
- 14 da 5 saptaviśōpakōpē pañcadrammā samā sēlahathā-
bhāvyē ātha
- 15 drā° ma dra 8 ashtāu dramma || ubhayaṁ saptaviśōpa-
kōpēna trayōdaśa dra-
16. -mmā ācamindrārkkam dēvadāyē karāpitāḥ || varttamāna-
pañca-kulēna va-
17. -rttamāna-sēlahathēna dēvadāyē kṛtam idam svaśrēyāsē
pālantiyam ||
18. Yasmān pañcakulō sarvō mañtavyam itī sarvadā | tasya
tasya tadā śrēyo
- 19 Yasya yasya yadā padam || || Śrīsatya-ratna-pura-
Lāta-hradādhikārī Śrī-
20. -māla-dēśa vañikādhikṛto dhurinaḥ | vyāsēna Candaharinā
vidushām va-
21. -rēna yodhyāpitāḥ sa vidadhē Subhataḥ prāśastim || ౮ ||
Iyam Gōganujātē-

22. (ग)रुद्राक्षर मा धिमातः | उत्कर्ण भिमास्थना ॥ ॐ नमः ॥
 23. ...माम् ...माम् ...माम् ...माम् ...माम् ...माम् ...माम् ...माम् ...माम् ...माम्
 24. ...माम् ...माम् ...माम् ...माम् ...माम् ...माम् ...माम् ...माम् ...माम् ...माम्
 2. ...माम् ...माम् ...माम् ...माम् ...माम् ...माम् ...माम् ...माम् ...माम् ...माम्

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Translation

- 1 The god Śrī Mahāvīra who formerly came in (to) this great town Śrīmālā in whom the wise protected from fear take refuge—*ā* new ordinance is written as follows for the people's sake through the favour of that Vīra, chief of the town by Śrī Pārśvacandra Śūri, whose nature is most holy.
- 9 'Good luck' In the Samvat year 1333 (1277 A.D.), on Monday the 14th of the light half of Āśvina—on this day here in holy Śrīmālā in the prosperous and victorious reign of his majesty Śrī Cāciga the Mahārāṭ, in the term of office of the *panca* (consisting of) Mahā' Gajastha and others appointed by him
- 9-11 By Subhata the leading Kāvastha, of the Naigama family, the officer in authority over the *Valukas* of the Śrīmālā country, and by Karmastha the *Cetaka* (servant) (or *vetaka*), for their own (spiritual) benefit, at the great festival of the *patra* of the month of Āśvina on the fourteenth day 14 of the light half of Āśvina, for the worship (consisting of) the five services yearly to the god Śrī Mahāvīra
- 12-15 [These four lines seem to be made up chiefly of Prakṛit words which I am unable to translate. They specify two sums, one of 5 and the other of 8 drammas.]
- 15-17. Both, with the twenty seventh *upakopa* (?), the 13 *drammas* have been given in religious endowment. This which has been made as a religious endowment is to be maintained by the *panca* and by the *Silāhatha* (?) officiating (from time to time) for their own (spiritual) benefit.
- 18-19. Because every *panca* is always to be honoured, the benefit (of maintaining the endowment) belongs to whomsoever at any time (holds) the office
- 19-22 Subhata, the officer of Śrīśatya-pura Ratnapura and Lātāhrada, the chief set over the *valukas* of the Śrīmālā country, who was taught by Candaharī the purāṇik, the best of the learned, composed the *prastāva*. The series of letters of this grant was engraved by the wise carpenter Bhīmasātha the son of Gōga.
- 23-25. This grant was written by that wise one . . . at the time . . . in the term of office of the Abbot Mahēndra and the committeeman Ācamādra (?) who causes to speak . . . Good luck! Bliss for ever! May it be auspicious
 Ends.

XIII—(S 1334, A.D. 1278 No 8 in Plan) On the north face of the lower square section of the eastern of the north pair of dome pillars. All in prose

- 1 Om namah Śūryāya || yasōdayāstasamayā suramukuta-nispṛiṣṭa carana

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- 2 kamalo 3 pi kurutē 3 mjalum trinētra sajayati dhāmnā(m)
nidhi(b) sūryah || | Samvat 1334.
- 3 Varshē Āśvina va di 8 adyēha S'ri Śrīmālē Mahārājakula-
Śrī-Cāciga-Kalyāna-vija
4. -ya-rāyē tanniyukta-maha°. (siha-prabhriti-pañcakula-
pratipattāu | ēvañ kālē pravarttamānē
5. Cāhumānāvayē Mahārāja(ku)la Śrī Samarasīhā'maja-
Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī Udaya||
6. Sihadēvañgaja-S'ri Vāhadhasiha Śrī Cāmuñḍa-
rāja-deva-śrēyasē maha°
- 7 Dēdākēna Śrī Jagasvāmidēviya bhāp'āgāre . . .
bali . . .
8. . . dra. 100 śatañ dramma mikshēpitā Āśvina-yātrāyā(m)
Āśvina vadi 8 ashtami-dinē divasa bali ta-
9. -thā amgabbōga . . prēkshamika Śrīdēviya-
bhām'āgārāt kārāpanīya | bali-nibamdhē
10. gōdhūma sē 3 ghrita ka 1 (navēdyē) . . . cōshā(m)
mā 2, muga sē 1, ghrita ka 1 vyāsaurvāpa 1 Ābōti.
11. -nirvāpa 1 kumkumāgura-mūly(ē) dra 2 tathā pushpha-
mūlyē dra. 2 (?) tathā patrapūga-mūlyē dra. 2 pramadā-
kulē mūlyē dra. 2 ē-
- 12 -vañ ētat Vyāsa-Ābōtika-śrēshti-gcshika . . . kula-pramadā-
kula prabhritinām varsham varsham prati ā-
13. camdrārka-yāvat tathā itī kārāpanīya frī-dévēna
kārāpanīya | pañ kēnāpi na karañ-
14. -yā | lkhitarū dhru° Nāgula suta-Dēdākēna linā-
ksharam adbhikāksaram vā sarvam pramāpa-
- 15 -mūti || mañgalam sadā śrīh || (sātradhārena °) Nānā-suta
Dēpāla Sañ 33 varshē Caitra va di 15 saha.
- 16 Manasihēna (?) ||

Translation

- 1-2. Ōm Reverence to the Sun! Victorious is that sun, the
storehouse of brightness, at whose rising and setting the
three-eyed (Śiva), even though (his own) lotus feet are
touched by the diadems of the gods, folds his hands (in
adoration)
- 2-4. In the *Samvat* year 1334 (1278 A.D) on the 8th of the
dark half of Āśvina—on this day here in holy Śrīmāla in
the prosperous and victorious reign of his majesty the
Mahāraul Śrī Cāciga, in the term of office of the
panca (consisting of) the Maha° . . . Siha and the rest,
appointed by him—at this time
- 5-6 for the (spiritual) benefit of his majesty Śrī Cāmuñḍa-
rāja . . . (son of) Śrī-Vāhadhasiha the son of his
majesty Śrī Udayasiha the Mahārājādhirāja, (who was)
the son of his majesty the Mahāraul Śrī Samarasiha in
the Cāhumāna race
7. By the Maha° Dēdāka . . . in the treasury of the god
Śrī Jagasvāmī bali . . .
8. dra, 100, one hundred *drammas*, were deposited. At the
Āśvina yātrā the day's *bali* on the eighth 8 of the dark
half of Āśvina . . .

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9. and the *anagabhoga darsana* to be expended from the treasury of the god. In the endowment of the *bali*
- 10-11. What is 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ *ku la(rsha)* 1 in the *navadya* Cōshā measure 2, *mungva* 7, $\frac{1}{2}$ *ku la(rsha)* $\frac{1}{2}$, the Bhat's dola 1, the Abbot's dola 1, for buying turmeric and also wood *dra* 1, and for buying flowers *dra* 2 (?), and for buying leaves and betel *dra* 2, for the band of singing women *dra* 2
- 12-13. Thus thus for the Bhat's, Abbots, Committeemen, band of singing women &c. every year so long as sun and moon (endure) is so . . . to be expended, is to be expended by the god. Interruption (?) is to be made by no one
14. Written by Diddāka son of Nūgula the *dhruva* the letter less or the letter more—all is of (no ?) authority
15. Good luck ! Bliss for ever. By the carpenter Dīpāla son of Nūṭa, on the 16th of the dark half of Cāitra in the year 77
16. By Marasīha (r) . .

XIV—(S 1309 and 1283 Not on Plan) In Bhatī's rest-house on the south face of the first right pillar. Prose. No 51 of the Bhānagiri State Collection (Bhān Prā I list page 5)

1. Ōm namah śrībhagavate || vasyōdavasītasamāyō sura mukuta
mappihita carāṇa
2. kamalō pi | Juraṭō 3 mjalim trinetra sa jayati dhārmam
nidhah śrībhagavate samaya
3. t 1777 vārshē Aśvina Śu di | śanāy adyēha śrī Śrīmālō
Maharāja kula śrīsamaya-
4. tāstha deva bhāṣāya vijaya rājya tanniyukta mahā°
stha prabhipiti pāṇcakula
5. pratipattau śrī Jāvālipurāt atriyāta Gululo
Rū
6. drapāla suta śāha° Sahajapālana ātmaśrēyaśc pitṛmātṛpṛō-
jyaśc bali puja
7. anuga bhōga pratyam(gam) śrī Jayasāhmi-dēvāya Sūryadē-
vaya bhāṇmāgāre (k)shēpita dra. 20 vimi
8. śatī drammi | Śvīya Jāyakaśarali Rudrāmarga-
sampe Kathara pānā-
9. ābhidhāna kshētra | Śka pradattah | devāya
dinē pūjā mimi(t) am śāha° Saha
10. -ja pāla bhāryā ātma śrēyaśc mātā pitṛōśreyasō
bhāṇmāgāre (k)shēpita
11. dra. 10 dāsa drammi
drammi Aśvī-
12. -na yātrāyām Aśvina Śu-di | dinē divasa-bali-pujā
bhāṇmāgārāt śrīdēv
13. na kārāpantya | valī nivanudhō gōdhuma sō 2
ghṛita ka 8 navadyō cōshā(nu) pā 2 mu-
14. ga ghṛita ka 3 anagabhōgō
patra puga
15. pratyam(gam) dra | Vyāsanirvāpa . . . pōtt nirvāpa |
pramadā kula dra. 2 śatī samaya śrīdēvīya

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16. kosa dra pramadakulēna
ācamdrā-kālam yāva
17. -t. nūvāpantyaṃ ṃ karāpantyaṃ
nāgula-sutēna maha° Dē
18. dākēna | Guhīlō Sāha° Rudrapāla suta-
sōdha° Harisīhē na (Śrīdē-)
19. vīya-sthītaka dra 4 Sahajapāla-suta sā
sthita-
20. ka dra 4.
21-23 Illegible.

Translation

- 1 2 Ōm Reverence to the sun ' Victorious is that sun, the store-
house of brightness, at whose rising and setting the three-
eyed (Śiva), even though (his own) lotus feet are touched
by the diadems of the gods, folds his hands (in adoration)
3 5 On Saturday the first of the light half of Āśvina in the year
1339 (1283 A.D.) on this day here in holy Śrīmāla, in the
prosperous and victorious reign of his majesty the
Mahāraul Śrī Śāmvatasiha, in the term of office of the
pamca (consisting of) the maha° . . . siha and the
rest, appointed by him.
5 8 Dra 20, twenty drammas, were deposited in the treasury
for the sun god Śrī Jagasvām by Śāha° Sahajapāla son
of Rudrapāla the Guhīla, who came here from Śrī
Javālpura, for every part of the *baḷi*, the worship, and
the *amgabhogā*, for his own (spiritual) benefit and for the
benefit of his father and mother.
8-9 near the Rudrā road 1 one field was given called
Kathara pānā
9 11. To the god on . . . day for worship, the wife of
Śāha° Sahajapāla for her own benefit and for the
benefit of her father and mother . . . deposited
dra 10, ten drammas
11 12. *Drammas* in the Āśvina *Yātrā* on the first day of the
light half of Āśvina are to be expended by the god from
the treasury (for) the day's *baḷi*, worship
13 17. In the *baḷi* endowment wheat sē 2. . . *ghṛī la(rsha)* 8.
in the *vānēdya cōsha* pā 2 mung . . . *ghṛī la(rsha)* ½.
in the *amgabhogā* for every part of the leaves and betel
dra. 1, the Bhat's dole . . . , (the Āb)ōtī's dole 1,
the band of singing women dra 2, all this the god's
treasury dra by the band of singing
women so long as sun and moon
endure is to be doled out, is to be
expended
17-20 By the Maha° Dēdāka son of Nāgula
By Sōdha° Harisīha son of Sāha° Rudrapāla the Guhīla,
four *sthītaka drammas* of the god By
Sā son of Sahajapāla
sthītaka drammas 4.
21-23 Illegible

XV — (S 1342, A D 1286 Not in Plan) In the ground close to the
wall on the right in entering the enclosure of old Mahālakshmi's temple
Prose No. 50 of the Bhānnagai State Collection (Blāu. Prā. I page 15)

Инскрипции

- ## Zur Notion

- 1 3 Our Reverence to the 'Sun' Victorious is that sun, the store-
house of brightness, at whose rising and setting the three-
eyed (Śiva), even though (his own) lotus feet are touched
by the diadems of the gods, folds his hands (in adoration)
- 1 6 Śaṃvat 1742 on Sunday the 10th of the dark half of
Āśvina, on this day here in holy Śrīmlā, in the prosperous
and victorious reign of his majesty the Maharāṭa Śrī Śāmi-
vatsībhāva, in the term of office of the *panca* (consisting
of) Mahā° Pāṇḍya and the rest, appointed by him, he sets
forth the writing of the grant as follows
- 6 11. By Ślā° Allapāṣṭha son of Vāgasa and grandson of Ūti-
nāṭṭha of the Rāṭhīḍa race, for the benefit of his own
mother and father and for his own benefit, 1½ *drammas*
(were) given to the god Śrī Jagasvāmi, for the day's *bali*,
the worship, the *darśana* &c., and the *amṛtabhoga* on the
10th day at the Āśvina vātrā so long as sun and
moon (endure) .
- 12 11 The god's treasure house . . . whosoever is Śēṭahatha,
by him every year it is to be maintained also.

Appendix III

BHINMAL
Inscriptions

14-15 The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, beginning with Sagarā Whosoever the earth is at any time, his is also the fruit thereof.

15-16 In the endowment of the *baṭi* for the 10th of the dark half of Āśvina wheat *śē*. . . *ghaḷa(rshaḥ)* 12 in the *naivēdya cōḥa pā* 4.

17-19 Mung *mā* 1, *ghaḷa* 1 the Bhat's dole 1, the Ābōṭṭ's dole 1, for turmeric and musk each dra. 4 for flowers each dra 4, for the band of singing women each dra 4, for leaves and betel each dra 4.

19-21 All this is to be expended yearly from the god's treasury . Good luck! Bliss for ever Written by Dhraṇṇa Dedāka son of Dhraṇṇa Nāgula. Engraved by Bhinmasiha the carpenter

XVI —(S 1345, A D 1289 No. 9 of Plan) On the south face of the lower square section of the north-east corner pillar of the dome. The first thirteen lines are in verse, the rest in prose No 48 of the Bhāu-nagar State Collection (Bhāu Prā. I. list page 14)

- 1 Svargapavargasukhadam paramātmārūpaṁ dharmasānti saṁ
sukṛtinō hṛdi sa-
2. rradāva tasmāi namaḥ-janahitāya surasurēndra saṁstūya-
māna-caritāya
3. namaḥ Śivāya || 1 Ślāghyaḥ satam sukṛtiḥ sakṛtiḥ manushyōs
mānyō maha-
4. -ttama guṇaiḥ Subhataḥ sa ēva | yacchā jagatṭravagurum guṇjā-
dhanātham devam
5. namasyati natō 3 nudinam mahēsa || 2 Sōmō 3 sī nātha nati-
mattara-kairavē-
6. -shu puṇya Prabhā-a-sarasi sthitum ātītēshu | tasmā . . .
mahābala-
7. -ttirē Śrī Sōmanātha itī siddhigatam smarāmi || 3 Puṇyaḥ Pra-
bhāsaśaśī-bhūsha-
8. na-Kardamāla-pāpa pramōcana runārti vumōcanādyaḥ | ēt
āh Ka-
9. -pardi-kṛpita-sat-tithibhiḥ pradhānais tīrthair alam kṛtam
idam hṛdayam mamastu ||
- 10 4 Itasya puṇya-payasō jaladhēs tathāsya Śārasvata niva-
hasvata
11. Da° || Ōm namaḥ Sūryāya Jaj(ḡ)yōtiḥ prasarati tarām lōla
kṛtyāya n-
12. -tyam | yannāmbuktam sakalakalūshaṁ yāti param payodhē
| sarvasyātmā sugati-
13. -surathō -dhṛāmṭa-mātāṅga-siṁgha | drishta-sūryō
nava(bha) si bhagavān sarvasyāntvāmka-
14. -rōti || Saṁvat 1345 varshē Māgha Vadi 2 86mē 3 dyēha Śrī 2
mālē mahārāja-
15. -kula Śrī Sāmṛata-siṁgha-deva-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyē tan-
nyukta-maha° chaṁdhā-
16. -prabhṛti-paṁcakula-pratipatāu ēvāmkaḥ pravartitamāne
Śrī-Jāvālpuravāstavya-
17. Puskarapusthāntya-rajur-vēda pāthakaya | Padamalasyaḡō-
trāya | Vrahma° na-
- 18 -vaghana-vaṁśotpannādhyava° Vālbāpautra | Jyōti° Mā-
dhava pratidāuhutrā Jyō°

Appendix III

BHINMAL,
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- 19 Tilaka dāhūtrī Sodhala-putra mātū Pānala suta | Vrahma°
Vāgula sameśrasyā
20. Aśratām jñātā | Śrī Jagasvīmīna | Śrīśūryasya mūrtiḥ
prāśādē śūvarūpakā
21 -lāśirūpita | jātāradhū dēvam sampūjya samasta-dēva lōka-
Vrahma lōka prā-
22 -tyaksham | Vamśadvayōdharaga samaksham | Ātmanāfen
Ācamdrārkaśvat sūrya prasāda-prā
23 pta tvārtham | prativarsham | pūjām Śrī Jagasvāmī dēva-
bhānidāgīrē makhupita | rūkma vī
24. sana prī dra. 200 dī lu kātū Amishām drammānām vyā
japadāt Asvina yātrāyām Asvi-
25. -nā vadi || dinē divasa vahī kāyōvalī nīvamdhē gōdhūma sē
4 pakve ghrita ||
26 ka 16 nārvēdyē cōshām mī 1 muga mā 1½ ghrita ka | vīdakē
patra 8 pūga 2 auga-
27 bhōga pratyā° dra. 1 pushpāpratyā° dra 6 patrapūga pra
tyā° dra 4 vyāsa nīrvāpī Ābōttī nīrvā
28 -pa nīvamdhē cōshām sē ½ muga pī 3 ghrita ka 1 dakshinā 16
2 pramadākula dra. 4 cta-
29 t sīrvam prativarsham-icamdrārka yavat Śrīdevasya bhām
dāgīrāt vicanjyam kārīpa-
30 nīvam ca f subham bhavatu sarvadā | Jyoti° Śūguda-sutēna
Camdrādityēna samaksham li
31. -khatam Kava° Nāgula sūtēna Dēdākēna utkīrṇā Sūtra°
Nānā suta Dēpālē-
32 na || mangalam siddhī Śrīh

Translation

- 1-3 Reverence to that Śiva ' the benefactor of those who bow to him, whose actions are praised by the leaders of gods and demons, who gives the happiness of heaven and of salvation, whose form is the supreme soul, whom the wise ever lay hold upon in (their) heart .
- 3 5 Oh Mahāśa, whosoever bowing daily does reverence to the god who is *guru* of the three worlds, the lord of the mountain's daughter (Pārvatī), that man is worthy of praise from the righteous, fortunate, wise, to be honoured for most excellent virtues, a true hero
- 5-7. Oh Lord thou art the moon among the bending lotuses that have found their place in the holy pool of Prabhāsa therefore I make mention (of thee) famous by the name of Śōmanātha on the seashore . . .
- 7 9. May this heart of mine be adorned by these holy chief *tīrthas*, Prabhāsa, the moon's ornament, the Lotus (pool), the Release from Sin, the Release from Debt and Suffering &c, whose lucky days have been fixed by Kapardī (Śiva)
- 10 Of this pool of pure water and . . . of Sarasvatī.
11. Da° Om ! Reverence to the Sun, whose light ever reaches far for the work of mankind, at the mention of whose name all sin goes beyond the ocean the soul of all, whose path and whose car are good, a lion to the trumpeting elephants (of darkness) When the Lord Sun is seen in the sky, he makes the last (?) . . of all.

Appendix III

BHINMAL

Inscriptions

14-16. On Monday the second of the dark half of Magha in the Samvat year 1345 (1259 A.D.), on this day here in holy Śrīmala, in the prosperous and victorious reign of his majesty the Maharaul Śrī Samvata Sūngha in the term of office of the *pamca* (consisting of) the Mahas' Chāmbhā and the rest, appointed by him

16-21 At this time to (read by) Vagada the Brahmana son of Sādhala and grandson of Adhyara' Vaihā, of the Navaghana family, of the Padama's gōtra, student of the Yajurveda, of the town of Pa-kamni and living in Śrī Javaupura, son of his mother Pūnala, and daughter's son of Tilaka the Jōshi, and granddaughter's son of Mādhaba the Joshi—recognizing the impermanence of this world, a golden *kalāśa* was set up on the palace.. of the Sun Jagasvāmi.

21-24. (By him) worshipping the god in faith, before the world of the gods and the world of Brahma, for the purpose (?) of saving his ancestors in both lives, and himself, to gain the favour of the Sun so long as sun and moon (endure), (for) worship every year, 20 *Vīṭalaprī* *drummas* in gold were deposited in the treasury of the god Śrī Jagasvāmi.

24-28 Out of the interest of these *drummas*, in the endowment of the day's *ḍāṭ* and the *lōyḍḍāl* on the 11th of the dark half of Śrāvina at the Śrāvina festival, wheat *ḍāṭ* 4, *ghī* *La(r)ḥas*, 16 in the Nāvādyā *cosha* measure 1, *mung pā* 1½, *ghī* *La(r)ḥa* 1, for *pānṣpāri* leaves 8, betel 2 for the *Amṛtibhōga* severally *ḍāṭ* 4, for flowers severally *ḍāṭ* 6 for leaves and betel severally *ḍāṭ* 4 in the endowment of the Braṭ's *dola* and the Abōṭi's *dola*, *colāśa* 4, *mung pā* 3, *ghī* *La(r)ḥa* 1, *dakṣhinā* 102, the band of singing women *ḍāṭ* 4.

29-32 All this is to be separated and expended from the treasury of the god every year so long as sun and moon (endure) May it always be auspicious. Written by Dadaka son of Kava' Nagula for Camḍraditya son of Jyoti' Sūghada. Engraved by Dīpala son of Nāna the carver Good luck! Bless for ever!

APPENDIX IV.

JAVA AND CAMBODIA

AN incident redeems the early history of Gujarát from provincial narrowness and raises its ruling tribes to a place among the greater conquerors and colonisers. This incident is the tradition that during the sixth and seventh centuries fleets from the coasts of Sindh and Gujarát formed settlements in Java and in Cambodia. The Java legend is that about A.D. 603 Hindus led by Bhruvijaya Savelachála the son of Kasamachitra or Bálya Achá king of Kujiát or Gujariát settled on the west coast of the island¹. The details of the settlement recorded by Sir Stamford Raffles² are that Kasamachitra, ruler of Gujarát, the tenth in descent from Arjun, was warned of the coming destruction of his kingdom. He accordingly started his son Bhruvijaya Savelachála with 5000 followers, among whom were cultivators artisans warriors physicians and writers, in six large and a hundred small vessels for Java. After a voyage of four months the fleet touched at an island they took to be Java. Finding their mistake the pilots put to sea and finally reached Mataram in the island of Java. The prince built the town of Mendang Kumulan. He sent to his father for more men. A reinforcement of 2000 arrived among them carvers in stone and in brass. An extensive commerce sprang up with Gujarát and other countries. The bay of Mataram was filled with strange vessels and temples were built both at the capital, afterwards known as Brambanum, and, during the reign of Bhruvijaya's grandson Ardivijaya that is about A.D. 660, at Boro Buddoi in Kedu³. The remark that an ancestor of the immigrant prince had changed the name of his kingdom to Gujarát is held by Lassen to prove that the tradition is modern. Instead of telling against the truth of the tradition this note is a strong argument in its favour. One of the earliest mentions of the name Gujarát for south Marwá is Hiuen Tsiang's (A.D. 630) Ku-che-lo or Gurjjara. As when Hiuen Tsiang wrote the Gurjjara chief of Bhinnál, fifty miles west of Abu, already ranked as a Kshatriya his family had probably been for some time established perhaps as far back as A.D. 490 a date by which the Mihira or Gurjjara conquest of Valabhi and north Gujarát was completed⁴. The

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¹ Sir Stamford Raffles' Java, II 83. From Java Hindus passed to near Banjar Massin in Borneo probably the most eastern of Hindu settlements (Jour. R. A. Soc. IV 185). Temples of superior workmanship with Hindu figures also occur at Waahoo 400 miles from the coast. Dalton's Diaks of Borneo Jour. Asiatique (N. S.) VII. 163. An instance may be quoted from the extreme west of Hindu influence. In 1873 an Indian architect was found building a palace at Gondar in Abyssinia. Keith Johnson's Africa, 269.

² Raffles' Java, II 65-85. Compare Lassen's Indische Alterthumskunde, II 10, 40, IV 460.

³ Raffles' Java, II 87.

⁴ Compare Tod's Annals of Rájasthán (Third Reprint), I. 87. The thirty nine Chohan successions, working back from about A.D. 1200 with an average reign of eighteen years, lead to A.D. 493.

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details of the help received from Gujarát after the prince's arrival show that the parent state had weathered the storm which threatened to destroy it. This agrees with the position of the Bhīnmál Gurjjaras at the opening of the seventh century, when, in spite of their defeat by Prabhakara-vardhana (A.D. 600-606) the father of Śrī Harsha (A.D. 606-641) of Magadha, they maintained their power at Broach and at Valabhī as well as at Bhīnmál.¹ The close relations between the Gurjjaras and the great seafaring Mīhīras or Meds make it likely that the captains and pilots who guided the fleets to Java belonged to the Med tribe. Perhaps it was in their honour that the new Java capital received the name Mendan, as, at a later period it was called Brambanum or the town of Brahmans. The fact that the Gurjjaras of Broach were sun-worshippers not Buddhists causes no difficulty since the Bhīnmál Gurjjaras whom Huen Tsiang visited in A.D. 630 were Buddhists and since at Valabhī Buddhism Shaivism and sun-worship seem to have secured the equal patronage of the state.

Besides of Gujarát and its king the traditions of both Java and Cambodia contain references to Hastinagara or Hastinapura, to Taxila, and to Rumadesa.² With regard to these names and also with regard to Gandhāra

¹ Compare Note on Bhīnmál page 467.

² According to Cunningham (Ancient Geography, 43 and Beal's Buddhist Records, I, 109 note 92) the site of Hastinagara or the eight cities is on the Swāt river eighteen miles north of Peshāwar. In Vedic and early Mahābhārata times Hastinapura was the capital of Gandhāra (Hewitt Jour. Roy. As. Soc. XXI, 217). In the seventh century it was called Pushkalāvati (Beal's Buddhist Records, I, 109). Taxila, the capital of the country east of the Indus, was situated about forty miles east of Attock at Shāhderi near Kālaka sarai (Cunningham's Ancient Geography, 105). According to Cunningham (Ditto 109), Taxila continued a great city from the time of Alexander till the fifth century after Christ. It was then laid waste apparently by the great White Hūna conqueror Mihirakula (A.D. 500-550). A hundred years later when Huen Tsiang visited it the country was under Kashmir, the royal family were extinct, and the nobles were struggling for power (Beal's Buddhist Records, I, 136). Rumadesa. References to Rumadesa occur in the traditions of Siam and Cambodia as well as in those of Java. Fleets of Rūm are also noted in the traditions of Bengal and Orissa as attacking the coast (Fergusson's Architecture, III, 640). Coupling the mention of Rūm with the tradition that the Cambodian temples were the work of Alexander the Great Colonel Yule (Ency. Brit. Article Cambodia) takes Rūm in its Muslimān sense of Greece or Asia Minor. The variety of references suggested to Fergusson (Architecture, III, 640) that these exploits are a vague memory of Roman commerce in the Bay of Bengal. But the Roman rule was that no fleet should pass east of Ceylon (Renaud Jour. As. Soc. VI, Tom I, page 3-2). This rule may occasionally have been departed from as in A.D. 166 when the emperor Marcus Aurelius sent an ambassador by sea to China. Still it seems unlikely that Roman commerce in the Bay of Bengal was ever active enough to gain a place as settler and coloniser in the traditions of Java and Cambodia. It was with the west not with the east of India that the relations of Rome were close and important. From the time of Mark Antony to the time of Justinian, that is from about B.C. 30 to A.D. 550, their political importance as allies against the Parthians and Sassanians and their commercial importance as controllers of one of the main trade routes between the east and the west made the friendship of the Kushāns or Śakas who held the Indus valley and Baktria a matter of the highest importance to Rome. How close was the friendship is shown in A.D. 60 by the Roman General Corbulo escorting the Hyrkānian ambassadors up the Indus and through the territories of the Kushāns or Indo-Skythians on their return from their embassy to Rome. (Compare Rawlinson's Parthia, 271.) The close connection is shown by the accurate details of the Indus valley and Baktria recorded by Ptolemy (A.D. 166) and about a hundred years later (A.D. 247) by the author of the Periplus and by the special value of the gifts which the Periplus notices were set apart for the rulers of Bīndh. One result of this long continued alliance was the gaining by the Kushān and other rulers of Peshāwar and the Panjāb of a knowledge of Roman coinage astronomy and architecture. Certain Afghān or Baktrian coins bear the word Roma apparently the name of some Afghān city. In spite of this there seems no

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and to Cambodia, all of which places are in the north west of India, the question arises whether the occurrence of these names implies an historical connection with Kabul Peshawar and the west Panjab or whether they assume solely applications and assumptions by foreign settlers and converts of an unknown in the Brahman and Buddhist writings of India.¹ The old name applications of names mentioned in the Mahabharata to places in Java has been made in the Java version of the Mahabharata is shown by Raffles.² Still it is to be noticed that the places mentioned above, Kamboja or Kabul Gandhara Peshawar, Taxila or the west Panjab, and Rumadesa apparently the south Panjab are not like Ayodhya the capital of Surin or the *Takapattipatti* that is Indraprastha or Dehli the later capital of Cambodia, the names of places which either by their special sanctity or by their geographical position would naturally be chosen as their original home by settlers or converts in Java and Cambodia. The ground on which may be claimed for the presumption that the leading places given to Kamboja Gandhara Taxila and Rumadesa in Java and Cambodia by lands and place-names is a trace of an actual and direct historical connection between the north west of India and the Malay Archipelago. This presumption gains probability by the argument from the architectural remains of the three countries which in certain particular features have so marked a resemblance both in design and in details in the judgment of Mr Fergusson to establish a strong and direct connection.³ A third argument in favour of a Gujarati strain in Java are the traditions of settlements and expeditions by the rulers of Malwa which are still current in south Marwar.⁴ Further a proverb

is to suppose that I am tempted to overlook the north west of India still less that any local ruler was permitted to make use of the great name of Rome. It seems probable that the occurrences of the fleet of Rām in the Bay of Bengal refer to the fleets of the Arab Al Rām that is Rām or north west Sumatra apparently the Romania of the Chalcidians in the Mahabharata (Yule & Cathay, I lxxxix. note and Mar & Polo, II 211).

¹ Compare Fergusson's Architecture, III 610, Yule in Index Brit Cambodia

² Java I 411 Compare Fergusson's Architecture, III 649

³ See Yule in Jour Roy As Soc (N S), I 356 Fergusson's Architecture, III 631

⁴ Of the Java remains Mr Fergusson writes (Architecture III 644-645) The style and character of the sculptures of the great temple of Boro Buddor are nearly identical with those of the later caves of Ajanta, on the Western Ghats, and in Salsette. The resemblance in style is almost equally close with the buildings of Pakht Bahi in Gandhara (Duto, 647). Azam (page 637) he says. The Hindu immigrants into Java came from the west coast of India. They came from the valley of the Indus not from the valley of the Ganges. Once more, in describing No XXVI of the Ajanta caves Messrs Fergusson and Burgess (Hoel cut temples, 345 note 1) write The execution of these figures is so nearly the same as in the Boro Buddor temple in Java that both must have been the work of the same artists during the latter half of the seventh century or somewhat later. The Buddhists were not in Java in the fifth century. They must have begun to go soon after since there is a considerable local element in the Boro Buddor.

⁵ Traditions of expeditions by sea to Java remain in Marwar. In April 1895 a hindu of Bhinnal related how Bhograya of Ujjain in anger with his son Chandrabau drove him away. The son went to a Gujarati or Kathiawadi port obtained ships and sailed to Java. He took with him as his Brahman the son of a Magh Pandit. A second tale tells how Vikram the redeemer of evils in a dream saw a Javanese woman weeping, because by an enemy's curse her son had been turned into stone. Vikram sailed to Java found the woman and removed the curse. According to a third legend Chandrabau the grandson of Vir Pramtr saw a beautiful woman in a dream. He travelled everywhere in search of her. At last a Rishi told him the girl lived in Java. He started by sea and after many dangers and wonders found the dream girl in Java. The people of Bhinnal are familiar with the Gujarati proverb referred to below Who goes to Java comes not back. MS. Notes, March 1895

Appendix IV. still well known both in Mārwar and in Gujarāt runs

JAVA.

*Je jāe Jāve te Ladī nahi dōe
A'ce to sūth padhi baithile khāve.*

Who to Java roam ne'er come home.
If they return, through seven lives
Seated at ease their wealth survives¹

Once more the connection with Gujarāt is supported by the detail in the Java account which makes Laut Mira the starting point for the colonising fleet. This Sir S Raffles supposed to be the Red Sea but the Mīhuras' or Meds' sea may be suggested as it seems to correspond to the somewhat doubtful Arab name Baharimad (sea of the Meds²) for a town in western India sacked by Junaid³ Against this evidence two considerations have been urged² (a) The great length of the voyage from Gujarāt to Java compared with the passage to Java from the east coast of India, (b) That no people in India have known enough of navigation to send a fleet fit to make a conquest As regards the length of the voyage it is to be remembered that though Sumatra is more favourably placed for being colonised from Bengal Orissa and the mouths of the Godāvarī and Krishna, in the case either of Java or of Cambodia the distance from the Sindh and Kāthiāwāda ports is not much greater and the navigation is in some respects both safer and simpler than from the coasts of Orissa and Bengal In reply to the second objection that no class of Hindus have shown sufficient skill and enterprise at sea to justify the belief that they could transport armies of settlers from Gujarāt to Java, the answer is that the assumption is erroneous Though the bulk of Hindus have at all times been averse from a seafaring life yet there are notable exceptions During the last two thousand years the record of the Gujarāt coast shows a genius for seafaring fit to ensure the successful planting of north-west India in the Malay Archipelago.³

¹ Another version is -

*Je jāe Jāve te phari na dōe
Jo phari dōe to parya parya khāve
Etale dhan lāve*

Who go to Java stay for aye
If they return they feast and play
Such stores of wealth their risks repay

² Compare Crawford (A.D. 1820) in As Res XIII 157 and Lassen Ind. Alt. II 1045

³ The following details summarise the available evidence of Gujarāt Hindu enterprise by sea According to the Greek writers, though it is difficult to accept their statements as free from exaggeration, when in B.C. 325, Alexander passed down the Indus the river showed no trace of any trade by sea If at that time sea trade at the mouth of the Indus was so scanty as to escape notice it seems fair to suppose that Alexander's ship-building and fleet gave a start to deep-sea sailing which the constant succession of strong and vigorous northern tribes which entered and ruled Western India during the centuries before and after the Christian era continued to develop * According to Vincent (Periplus, I 25, 26, 254) in the time of Agatharides (B.C. 200) the ports of Arabia and Ceylon were entirely in the hands of the people of Gujarāt During the second century after Christ, when, under the great Andradāman (A.D. 143-152), the Śamb or Kshatrapa dynasty of Kāthiāwāda was at the height of its power, Indians of Tientso, that is Sindh, brought presents by sea to China (Journal Royal Asiatic Society for January 1896 page 9) In A.D. 166 (perhaps the same as the preceding) the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius sent by sea to China ambassadors with ivory rhinoceros' horn and other articles apparently the produce of Western India (McGuignies' Huns, I [Part I] 32). In the third century A.D. 247 the Periplus (McCrindle, 17, 52, 64, 96, 109)

* Alexander built his own boats on the Indus (McCrindle's Alexander, 77) He carried (pages 93 and 131) these boats to the Hydaspes on the Jhelum (134 note 1) where he found some country boats he built a flotilla of galleys with thirty oars he made dockyards (pages 120-157) his crews were Phoenicians, Cyprians, Etrurians, and Egyptians

That the Hindu settlement of Sumatra was almost entirely from the

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notices large Hindu ships in the east African Arab and Persian ports and Hindu settlements on the north coast of Sokatra. About a century later occurs the doubtful reference (Wilford in Asiatic Researches, IX 224) to the Divem or pirates of Diu who had to send hostages to Constantine the Great (A.D. 320-340) one of whom was Theophilus afterwards a Christian bishop. Though it seems probable that the Kshatrapas (A.D. 70-400) ruled by sea as well as by land fresh seafaring energy seems to have marked the arrival on the Sindh and Káthiavád coasts of the Juan Juan or Avars (A.D. 390-450) and of the White Huns (A.D. 450-550). During the fifth and sixth centuries the ports of Sindh and Gujarat appear among the chief centres of naval enterprise in the east. How the sea ruled the religion of the newcomers is shown by the fime which gathered round the new or revised gods Siva the Poseidon of Somnāth and Krishna the Apollo or St Nicholas of Dwārka (Compare Tod's Annals of Rájasthan, I 525). In the fifth century (Yule's Cathay, I lxxviii) according to Hamza of Isfahān, at Hira near Kufa on the Euphrates the ships of India and China were constantly moored. In the early sixth century (A.D. 518-519) a Persian ambassador went by sea to China (Ditto, I lxxv) About the same time (A.D. 526) Cosmas (Ditto, I clxxviii) describes Sindh or Debal and Orhota that is Sorntha or Verāval as leading places of trade with Ceylon. In the sixth century, apparently driven out by the White Huns and the Mihirs, the Jats from the Indus and Kachh occupied the islands in the Bahraín gulf, and perhaps manned the fleet with which about A.D. 570 Naushiravān the great Sassanian (A.D. 531-574) is said to have invaded the lower Indus and perhaps Ceylon*. About the same time (Fergusson Architecture, III 612) Amravati at the Krishna mouth was superseded as the port for the Golden Chersonese by the direct voyage from Gujarat and the west coast of India. In A.D. 630 Huen Tsiang (Beal's Buddhist Records, II 269) describes the people of Surāshtra as deriving their livelihood from the sea, engaging in commerce, and exchanging commodities. He further notices that in the chief cities of Persia Hindus were settled enjoying the full practice of their religion (Reinaud's Abulfeda, cccxxxv). That the Jat not the Arab was the moving spirit in the early (A.D. 637-770) Muhammadan sea raids against the Gujarat and Konkan coasts is made probable by the fact that these seafaring ventures began not in Arabia but in the Jat settled shores of the Persian Gulf, that for more than fifty years the Arab heads of the state forbade them, and that in the Mediterranean where they had no Jat element the Arab was powerless at sea (Compare Elliot, I 416, 417). That during the seventh and eighth centuries when the chief migrations by sea from Gujarat to Java and Cambodia seem to have taken place, Chinese fleets visited Diu (Yule's Cathay, lxxix), and that in A.D. 759 Arabs and Persians besieged Canton and pillaged the storehouses going and returning by sea (DeGuignes' Huns, I [Pt II] 503) suggest that the Jats were pilots as well as pirates.† On the Sindh Kachh and Gujarat coasts besides the Jats several of the new come northern tribes showed notable energy at sea. It is to be remembered that as detailed in the Statistical Account of Thāna (Bombay Gazetteer, XIII Part II 433) this remarkable outburst of sea enterprise may have been due not only to the vigour of the new come northerners but to the fact that some of them, perhaps the famous iron working Turks (A.D. 580-680), brought with them the knowledge of the magnet, and that the local Brāhman, with religious skill and secrecy, shaped the bar into a divine fish machine or *maachyantra*, which, floating in a basin of oil, he consulted in some private quarter of the ship and when the stars were hid guided the pilot in what direction to steer. Among new seafaring classes were, on the Makhrān and Sindh

* Reinaud's Mémoire Sur L'Inde, 125. The statement that Naushiravān received Karāchi from the king of Serindip (Elliot's History, I 407. Tabari, II 221) throws doubt on this expedition to Ceylon. At the close of the sixth century Karāchi or Diu Sindh cannot have been in the gift of the king of Ceylon. It was in the possession of the Sāharāī kings of Aror in Upper Sindh perhaps of Shāhī Tegin Deraja shortened to Shahindey (Compare Cunningham Oriental Congress I 243). According to Garrez (J. As. Ser VI Tom XIII 182 note 2) this Serindip is Surandeb that is Syria and Antioch places which Naushiravān is known to have taken. Several other references that seem to imply a close connection between Gujarat and Ceylon are equally doubtful. In the Mahābhārata (A.D. 100-800?) the Sinhālas bring *paiddiyas* (rubies?) elephants' housings and heaps of pearls. The meaning of Sainhalaka in Samadragupta's inscription (A.D. 396) Early Gujarat History page 64 and note 5 is uncertain. Neither Mihirakula's (A.D. 630) nor Lalitāditya's (A.D. 700) conquest of Ceylon can be historical. In A.D. 1045 when Abul Fatha the Carnation ruler of Multān was attacked by Mahmud of Ghazni he retired to Ceylon (Reinaud's Mémoire 226). When Somnāth was taken (A.D. 1025) the people embarked for Ceylon (Ditto, 270).

† Compare at a later period (A.D. 1342) Ibn Batuta's great ship sailing from Kandahār (Gandhār north of Borch) to China with its guard of Abyssinians as a defence against pirates. Reinaud's Abulfeda, cxxxv.

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coasts the Bodhas Kerks and Meds and along the shores of Kachh and Kathiavada the closely connected Meds and Gurjjaras. In the seventh and eighth centuries the Gurjjaras, chiefly of the Chāpa or Chāvādā clan, both in Dwārka and Somnath and also inland, rose to power, a change which, as already noticed, may explain the efforts of the Jats to settle along the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. About A.D. 740 the Chāpas or Chāvādās, who had for a century and a half been in command in Dwārka and Somnath, established themselves at Anahilavada Pattan. According to their tradition king Vanarāja (A.D. 720-780) and his successor Yogarāja (A.D. 806-841) made great efforts to put down piracy. Yogarāja's sons plundered some Bengal or Bot ships which stress of weather forced into Veraval. The king said 'My sons with labour we were raising ourselves to be Chāvādās of princely rank, your greed throws us back on our old nickname of Choras or thieves.' Yogarāja refused to be comforted and mounted the funeral pyre. Dr. Bhagvanlal's History, 154. This tale seems to be a parable. Yogarāja's efforts to put down piracy seem to have driven large bodies of Jats from the Gujarat coasts. In A.D. 834-35, according to Ibn Alathyr (A.D. 834), a fleet manned by Djaths or Jats made a descent on the Tigris. The whole strength of the Khulāfat had to be set in motion to stop them. Those who fell into the hands of the Moslems were sent to Anararbo on the borders of the Greek empire (Reinaud's Fragments, 201-2). As in the legend, the Chāvādā king's sons, that is the Chauras Mers and Gurjjaras, proved not less dangerous pirates than the Jats whom they had driven out.* About fifty years later, in A.D. 892, Al Bilāduri describes as pirates who scoured the seas the Meds and the people of Saurashtra that is Dexpatan or Somnath who were Choras or Gurjjaras † Bilāduri (Reinaud Sur L'Inde, 169) further notices that the Jats and other Indians had formed the same type of settlement in Persia which the Persians and Arabs had formed in India. During the ninth and tenth centuries the Gujarat kingdom which had been established in Java was at the height of its power. (Ditto, Abulfeda, cccxxxviii.) Early in the tenth century (A.D. 915-930) Masudi (Yule's Marco Polo, II 344, Elliot, I 65) describes Sokotra as a noted haunt of the Indian corsairs called Bawārij which chase Arab ships bound for India and China. The merchant fleets of the early tenth century were not Arab alone. The Chauras of Anahilavada sent fleets to Bhot and Chin (Rās Māla, I 11). Nor were Mers and Chauras the only pirates. Towards the end of the tenth century (A.D. 980) Grahāri the Chudāsama, known in story as Graharipu the Alur of Sorath and Gurnār, so passed and repassed the ocean that no one was safe (Ditto, I 11). In the eleventh century (A.D. 1021) Alberuni (Sachau, II 104) notes that the Bawārij, who take their name from their boats called *behra* or *bera*, were Meds a seafaring people of Kachh and of Somnath a great place of call for merchants trading between Sofala in east Africa and China. About the same time (A.D. 1025) when they despaired of withstanding Māhmud of Ghuzni the defenders of Somnath prepared to escape by sea, ‡ and after his victory Māhmud is said to have planned an expedition by sea to conquer Ceylon (Tod's Rajasthan, I 108). In the twelfth century Idrisi (A.D. 1135) notices that Tataria dirhams, that is the Gupta (A.D. 319-500) and White Hūna (A.D. 500-580) coinage of Sindh and Gujarat, were in use both in Madagascar and in the Malaya islands (Reinaud's Mémoires, 236), and that the merchants of Java could understand the people of Madagascar (Ditto, Abulfeda, cdxvii). ¶ With the decline of the power of Anahilavada (A.D. 1250-1300) its fleet ceased to keep order at sea. In A.D. 1290 Marco Polo (Yule's Ed. II 325, 328, 341) found the people of Gujarat the most desperate

* As an example of the readiness with which an inland race of northerners conquer seafaring people compare the Franks of the Pontus who about A.D. 279 passed in a few years from the Pontus to the Mediterranean ports and leaving behind them Malta the limit of Greek voyages sailed through Gibraltar to the Battle of Gibbon I 491-495.

† Reinaud's Mémoires Sur L'Inde, 200. The traders of Chorwar that is of the old Chauras or Chāpa country near Veraval and Mangral, are now known in Bombay as Chāpādās. The feeble explanation of Chāpādā as the roofed men it is said in derisive allusion to their large and heavy head-dresses. But as the Portland head-dress is neither specially large nor ungraceful the common explanation can be hardly more than a pun. This suggests that the name Chāpādā is a trace of the early Chāpa tribe of Gurjjaras who all gave their name to Chāpanir. Tod's (Western India, 250, 256) description of the Chauras race with traditions of having come from the Red Sea and as a nautical Arabia is the result of taking for Sokotra Sankodvāra that is Bet to the north of Dwārka.

‡ According to Abulfeda A.D. 1331 (Reinaud's Abulfeda, cccxlix) some of the beleaguered fled to Ceylon. Fariestah (Briggs Muhammadan Powers, I 76) records that after the fall of Somnath Māhmud intended to fit out a fleet to conquer Ceylon and Pegu. According to Bird (Mirat-ul-Ahmed, 149) Ceylon or Srilanka remained a dependency of Somnath till A.D. 1290 when the king Vijayabāhu became independent.

¶ The common element in the two languages may have been the result of Gujarat settlements in Madagascar as well as in Java and Cambodia. This is however doubtful as the common element may be either Arabic or Polynesian.

share in colonising both Java and Cambodia cannot be doubted¹

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pirates in existence. More than a hundred corsair vessels went forth every year taking their wives and children with them and staying out the whole summer. They joined in fleets of twenty to thirty and made a sea cordon five or six miles apart. Sokotra was infested by multitudes of Hindu pirates who encamped there and put up their plunder to sale. Ibn Batuta (in Elliot, I 344-345) fifty years later makes the same complaint. Musalmán ascendancy had driven Rájput chiefs to the coast and turned them into pirates. The most notable addition was the Gohils who under Mokheráj Gohil, from his castle on Piramísland, ruled the sea till his power was broken by Muhammad Tughlak in A.D. 1315 (Rás Mála, I 318). Before their overthrow by the Muhammadans what large vessels the Rájput sailors of Gujarát managed is shown by Friar Oleric, who about A.D. 1321 (Stevenson in Kerr's Voyages, XVIII 324) crossed the Indian ocean in a ship that carried 700 people. How far the Rájputs went is shown by the mention in A.D. 1270 (Yule's Cathay, 57 in Howorth's Mongols, I 247) of ships sailing between Sumatra or Somnath and China. Till the arrival of the Portuguese (A.D. 1500-1508) the Ahmedábad Sultáns maintained their position as lords of the sea*. In the fifteenth century Java appears in the state list of foreign bandars which paid tribute (Bird's Gujarát, 131), the tribute probably being a cess or ship tax paid by Gujarát traders with Java in return for the protection of the royal navy†. In east Africa, in A.D. 1498 (J. As. Soc. of Bengal, V 784) Vasco da Gama found sailors from Cambay and other parts of India who guided themselves by the help of the stars in the north and south and had nautical instruments of their own. In A.D. 1510 Albuquerque found a strong Hindu element in Java and Malacca. Sumatra was ruled by Parameshwara a Hindu whose son by a Chinese mother was called Rajput (Commentaries, II 63, III 73-79). After the rule of the sea had passed to the European, Gujarát Hindus continued to show marked courage and skill as merchants seamen and pirates. In the seventeenth century the French traveller Mandelslo (A.D. 1638, Travels 101, 108) found Achin in north Sumatra a great centre of trade with Gujarát. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Sangamans or Sangar Rájputs of Mándvi in Kachh and of Navánagar in north Káthiáwáda were much dreaded. In A.D. 1750 Grose describes the small cruisers of the Sangamans troubling boats going to the Persian Gulf, though they seldom attacked large ships. Between A.D. 1803 and 1808 (Low's Indian Navy, I 274) pirates from Bet established themselves in the ruined temple at Somnath. In 1820, when the English took Bet and Dwarka from the Wághels, among the pirates besides Wághels were Badhels a branch of Ráhtors, Bhattis, Khárvás, Lohánás, Makwánás, Ráhtors, and Wagháris. A trace of the Chauras remained in the neighbouring chief of Aramra‡. Nor had the old love of seafaring deserted the Káthiáwáda chiefs. In the beginning of the present century (A.D. 1825) Tod (Western India, 452, compare Rás Mála, I 245) tells how with Biji Singh of Bhávnagar his port was his grand hobby and shipbuilding his chief interest and pleasure, also how Ráo Ghor of Kachh (A.D. 1760-1778) built equipped and manned a ship at Mándvi which without European or other outside assistance safely made the voyage to England and back to the Malabar Coast where arriving during the south-west monsoon the vessel seems to have been wrecked§.

¹ Crawford (A.D. 1820) held that all Hindu influence in Java came from Kalinga or north east Madras. Fergusson (Ind Arch 103, Ed 1876) says: The splendid remains at Amrávatí show that from the mouths of the Krishna and Godávári the Buddhist of north and north west India colonised Pegu, Cambodia, and eventually the Island of Java. Compare Tavernier (A.D. 1666 Ball's Translation, I, 174) Masulpatam is the

* When in A.D. 1535 he secured Bahádur's splendid jewelled belt Humayun said: These are the trappings of the lord of the sea. Bayley's Gujarát, 386.

† Compare in Bombay Public Diary 10 pages 197-207 of 1738-37, the revenue headings Surat and Cambay with entries of two per cent on all goods imported and exported from either of these places by traders under the Honourable Company's protection.

‡ These Badhels seem to be Hamilton's (A.D. 1720) Wares of Chance (New Account, I 141). This Chance is Chákh near Diu apparently the place from which the Bhattis got their Bombay name of Chákhias. Towards the close of the eighteenth century Bhattis from Chákh seem to have formed a pirate settlement near Dahanu on the Thurna coast. Major Price (Memoirs of a Field Officer, 322) notes (A.D. 1792 June) the cautionary speed with which in travelling from Surat to Bombay by land they passed Dahanu through the Chánsiáh jungle the district of a piratical community of that name.

§ According to Sir A. Burnes (Jl. Bombay Geog. Soc. VI (1835) 27, 28) the special skill of the people of Kachh in navigation and ship-building was due to a young Rajput of Kachh Rámésingh Málani, who about a century earlier had gone to Holland and learned those arts. See Bombay Gazetteer, V 110 note 2.

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Reasons have been given in support of the settlement in Java of large bodies of men from the north-west coasts of India and evidence has been offered to show that the objections taken to such a migration have little practical force. It remains to consider the time and the conditions of the Gajmāt conquest and settlement of Java and Cambodia. The Javan date S 525 that is A. D. 603 may be accepted as marking some central event in a process which continued for at least half a century before and after the beginning of the seventh century. Reasons have been given for holding that neither the commercial nor the political ascendancy of Rome makes it probable that to Rome the Rūm of the legends refers. The notable Roman element in the architecture of Java and Cambodia may suggest that the memory of great Roman builders kept for Rome a place in the local legends. But the Roman element seems not to have come direct into the buildings of Java or Cambodia; as at Amrāvati at the Krishna mouth, the classic characteristics came by way of the Panjāb (Tukha) only, in the case of Jambhadr, not by the personal taste and study of a prince, but as an incident of conquest and settlement.¹ Who then was the ruler of Rūm near Taxila, who led a great settlement of Hindus from the Panjāb to Java. Names in appearance like Rome, occur in north-west India. None are of enough importance to explain the prince's title.² There remains the word *raum* or *rum* applied to salt land in the south Panjāb, in Mārūr, and in north Sindh.³ The great battle of Kārur, about sixty miles south-east of Multān, in which apparently about A. D. 530 Yaśodhanman of Mālwa defeated the famous White Hūna conqueror Mihirakula (A. D. 500-550) is described as fought in the land of Rūm.⁴ This great White Hūna defeat is apparently the origin of the legend of the prince of Rūm who retired by sea to Java. At the time of the battle of Kārur the south Panjāb, together with the north of Sindh, was under the Sāharās of Aror in north Sindh, whose coins show them to have been not only White Hūnas, but of the same Jāvla family which the great conquerors Toramāna

¹ Compare Huen Tsiang in Beal's Buddhist Records, II 222 note 102. *Tdhu* may be Tochara that is Baktria, but the Panjab seems more likely. Compare Beal's Life of Huen Tsiang, 136 note 2.

² Idrisi A.D. 1135 (Elhot, I 92) has a Romala a middling town on the borders of the desert between Multán and Seistán. Cunningham (Ancient Geog. 252) has a Romaka Bazaar near where the Nára the old Indus enters the Ran of Kachh.

³ Cunningham's Num Chron 3rd Ser VIII 241 The Mahābhārata Romakas (Wilson's Works, VII. 176 Cunningham's Anc Geog 187) may have taken their name from one of these salt stretches. Ibn Khurdādhbih (A D 912) mentions Rumala (Elliot, I 14, 87, 92, 93) as one of the countries of Sindh In connection with the town Romala Al Idrisi A D 1163 (Elliot, I. 74, 93) has a district three days' journey from Kalhata

⁴ Cunningham's Numismatic Chronicle, 3rd Ser. VIII, 236. The date of Kārur is uncertain. Fergusson (Arch. III, 746) puts it at A.D. 544. It was apparently earlier as in an inscription of A.D. 532 Yasodharman king of Mithra claims to hold lands which were never held by either Guptas or Hūṇas. Cunningham Num. Chron., 3rd Ser. VIII, 236. Compare History Text, 76, 77.

and Mihirakula adorned. So close a connection with Mihirakula makes it probable that the chief in charge of the north of the Aror dominions shared in the defeat and disgrace of Kārun. Seeing that the power of the Saba-lis of Aror spread as far south as the Kathiāwāda ports of Somnāth and Diu, and probably also of Diu at the Indus mouth, if the defeated chief of the south Panjāb was unable or unwilling to remain as a vassal to his conqueror, no serious difficulty would stand in the way of his passage to the seaboard of Aror or of his finding in Diu and other Sindh and Gujārat ports sufficient transport to convey him and his followers by sea to Java¹. This then may be the chief whom the Cambodian story names Phra Tong or Thom apparently Great Lord that is Mahārāja².

The success of the Javan enterprise would tempt others to follow especially as during the latter half of the sixth and almost the whole of the seventh centuries, the state of North India favoured migration. Their defeats by Sassanians and Turks between A.D. 550 and 600 would close to the White Hūnas the way of retreat northwards by either the Indus or the Kābul valleys. If hard pressed the alternative was a retreat to Kashmir or an advance south or east to the sea. When, in the early years of the seventh century (A.D. 600-606), Prabhakaravardhana the father of Śrī Harsha of Magadha (A.D. 610-642) defeated the king of Gandhāra, the Hūnas, the king of Sindh, the Gurjars, the Lātas, and the king of Malwa,³ and when, about twenty years later, further defeats were inflicted by Śrī Harsha himself numbers of refugees would gather to the Gujārat ports eager to escape further attack and to share the prosperity of Java. It is worthy of note that the details of Prabhakaravardhana's conquests explain how Gandhara and Lāta are both mentioned in the Java legends, how northcrners from the Panjāb were able to pass to the coast, how the Mārwar stories give the king of Malwa a share in the migrations, how the fleets may have started from any Sindh or Gujārat port, and how with emigrants may have sailed artists and sculptors acquainted both with the monasteries and stupas of the Kābul valley and Peshāwar and with the carvings of the Ajanta caves. During the second half of the seventh century the advance of the Turks from the north and of the Arabs both by sea (A.D. 637) and through Persia (A.D. 650-660),⁴ the conquering progress of a Chinese army from Magadha to Bamian in A.D. 645-650⁵, the overthrow (A.D. 642) of

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¹ Jour As Soc Bl VII (Plate I) 298, Burnes' Bokhāra, III 76, Elliot's History, I 405. Diu which is specially mentioned as a Sāharā port was during the seventh and eighth centuries a place of call for China ships. Yule's Cathay, I lxxix.

² Phra like the Panjāb Porus of the embassy to Augustus in B.C. 30 (though this Porus may be so called merely because he ruled the lands of Alexander's Porus) may seem to be the favourite Parthian name Phraates. But no instance of the name Phraates is noted among White Huna chiefs and the use of Phra as in Phra Bot or Lord Buddha seems ground for holding that the Phra Thong of the Cambodia legend means Great Lord. ³ Epigraphia Indica, I 67.

⁴ In A.D. 637 raiders attacked Thāna from Oman and Broach and Sindh from Bahrein. Renaud's Mémoire Sur L'Inde, 170, 176.

⁵ The passage of a Chinese army from Magadha to the Gandhāra river about A.D. 650 seems beyond question. The emperor sent an ambassador Ouang h wuentse to Śrī Harsha. Before Ouang h wuentse arrived Śrī Harsha was dead (died A.D. 642), and his place taken by an usurping minister (Se-na fu ti) Alana-chun. The usurper drove off the envoy, who retired to Tibet then under the great Tongtsan. With help from Tibet and from the Rāja of Nepāl Ouang returned, defeated Alana, and pursued him to the Gandhāra river (Khuen-to wei). The passage was forced, the army captured, the king queen and king's sons were led prisoners to China, and 580 cities surrendered, the magistrates proclaimed the victory in the temple of the ancients and the emperor raised Ouang to the rank of Tch'ao san ta fore. Journal Asiatique Ser

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the Buddhist Sāharāis by their usurping Brāhmanist minister Cbach and his persecution of the Jats must have resulted in a fairly constant movement of northern Indians southwards from the ports of Sindh and Gujrat.¹ In the leading migrations though fear may have moved the followers enterprise and tidings of Java's prosperity would stir the leaders. The same longing that tempted Alexander to put to sea from the Indus mouth: Trajan (A.D. 116) from the mouth of the Tigris; and Mahmūd of Ghazni from Somnāth must have drawn Śaka Hūna and Gurjjara chiefs to lead their men south to the land of rubies and of gold.²

Of the appearance and condition of the Hīndūs who settled in Java during the seventh and eighth centuries the Arab travellers Sulaimān A.D. 850 and Masūdi A.D. 915 have left the following details. The people near the volcanoes have white skins pierced ears and shaved heads: their religion is both Brāhmanic and Buddhist; their trade is in the costliest articles camphor aloes cloves and sandalwood.³

CAMBODIA.

CAMBODIA.

The close connection between Java and Cambodia, the alternate supremacy of Cambodia in Java and of Java in Cambodia, the likelihood of settlers passing from Java to Cambodia explain, to a considerable extent, why the traditions and the buildings of Java and Cambodia should point to a common origin in north-west India. The question remains: Do the people and buildings of Cambodia contain a distinct north Hindu element which worked its way south and east not by sea but by land across the Himalayas and Tibet and down the valley of the Yang-tse-Kiang to Yunnan and Angkor? Whether the name Cambodia proves an actual race or historical connection with Kamboja or the Kābul valley is a point

IV. Tom. X. pages 61-121. The translator thinks the whole war was in the east of India and that the mention of the Gaudhara river is a mistake. The correctness of this view is doubtful. It is to be remembered that this was a time of the widest spread of Chinese power. They held Bali and probably Bantam. Yule's *Catalan*, I. liviii. Compare Julien in *Journ. As. Soc. Ind.* IV. Tom. X. 269-291.

¹ Regarding the differences between Bea's *Life of Hsuen Tsang*, 155, Max Müller's *India*, 156. The Arab writers (A.D. 713) do not see what a divided state China had reduced the Jats. In comparing the relative importance of the western and eastern Indian strands in Java it is to be remembered that the western strand has been overlaid by a late Bengali and European layer of fugitives from the Tibetan empire of Bengal in the eighth century, the Barmans, the Gaudians, the Śakas, and during the ninth and later centuries by waves of Buddhist wandering from a land where their religion was no longer honored.

² In A.D. 116 after the capture of Babylon and Crete then Hadron sailed down the Tigris and the Persian Gulf, he learned of the riches of the Indian Sea, made inquiries about India and regretted he was too old to go there. *Baron de Anvers Monarchist*, VI. 313.

³ Bernard's *Arab India*, cxxxv.

⁴ The origin of the name Kāmbōja seems to be Kāmboja, from an old name of Kāmbu, preserved almost in its proper form in *Robert's* (A.D. 120), *Kāmbu*. The origin does not lie in the name of the Arakanese *Kāmbōja* (p. 329-331), the *Kāmbōja* of the *Bambara* description. In the fifth of the *Arakanese* (p. 240), *Kāmbōja* is the middle distance between *Gardāra* or *Pešāwar* and *Yam* or *Bakura*. According to *Yaska*, whose uncertain dates range from B.C. 500 to B.C. 200, the *Kāmbōja* is the *Kāmbu* (Müller's *Samhitā* Text II 235 note 145). In the last letter of the *Madhātara*, A.D. 100 to 100 (Jl. *Rev. As. Soc.* [1847] VII. 139-140), apparently from near *Bam* in the *Kāmbōja*, is named as *Mile* and *hā* with *Sams* *Dardas* and *Hūnas*. One ancient *Persepolis*, III. 633, places the eastern side of the *Kāmbōja* as the country round *Taxila* east of the *Indus*. This is probably correct. A trace of the *Kāmbōja* in their original seat seems to remain in the *Kāmbōja* of the *Hindu* *Paul*.

on which authoritative dissent. Sir H. Yule held that the connection was purely literary and that as in the case of *Indraprastha*-*pura* or *Indraprastha* (Delhi) the later capital of Cambodia and of *Avodhya* or *Oudh* the capital of Avam no connection existed beyond the application to a new settlement of a creditable Indian place-name. The objection to applying the rule to Cambodia is that except to immigrants from the Khab valley the name is of too distant and also of too scanty a reputation to be chosen in preference to place in the nearer and holier lands of *Tchint* and *Madag*. For this reason and because the view is supported by the probable connection between the two styles of architecture it seems advisable to accept Mr. Fergusson's decision that the name Cambodia was given to a portion of Cochin China by immigrants from Kamboja the people from the Khab valley. There remain of more than one migration from India to Indo China. The earliest is the mythic account of the conversion of Indo China to Buddhism before the time of Asoka (B.C. 240). A migration in the first century A.D. of *Yavana*s or *Sakas*, from *Tamil* or *Rattavata* on the *Indus* is in agreement with the large number of Indian place-names recorded by *Ptolemy* (c. 160).¹ Of this migration *Hsuen Tsang* speaks as *Yavana* (*Yen-mo-na*) for Cambodia may be a trace.² A *Saka* invasion further explains *Pan-nam*s (A.D. 170) name *Sakava* for Cochin China and his description of the people as *Skaythians* mixed with Indians.³ During the fifth and sixth centuries a fresh migration seems to have set in. Cambodia was divided into shore and inland and the name *Camb* applied to both.⁴ Chinese records notice an embassy from the King of Cambodia in A.D. 617.⁵ Among the deciphered Cambodian inscriptions a considerable share belong to a *Brâhmanic* dynasty whose local initial date is in the early years of the seventh century,⁶ and one of whose Kings *Soma-varman* (A.D. 610) is recorded to have held daily *Mahâbhârata* readings in the temples.⁷ Of a fresh wave of Buddhists, who seem to have belonged to the northern branch, the earliest deciphered inscription is A.D. 953 (S. 875) that is about 350 years later.⁸ Meanwhile though, so far as information goes, the new capital of Angkor on the north bank of lake *Tale Sap* about 200 miles up the *Mekong* river was not founded till A.D. 1078 (S. 1000),⁹ the neighbourhood of the holy lake was already sacred and the series of temples of which the *Nakhonwat* or *Naga's Shrine*¹⁰ is one of the latest and finest examples, was begun at least as early as A.D. 825 (S. 750), and

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¹ See *Hunter's Oriens*, I. 310.

² *Yavana* to the south west of Siam. *Bell's List of Hsuen Tsang*, xxxii.

³ Quoted in *Bunbury's Ancient Geography*, II. 659. *Bunbury* suggests that *Pannam*s may have gained his information from *Marcus Aurelius*'s (A.D. 166) ambassador to China.

⁴ *Jour. Bengal Soc.* VII (1) 217.

⁵ *Reinusat Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*, I. 77 in *Jour. Asiatique Series*, VI. Tom XIX, page 199 note 1; *Fergusson's Architecture*, III. 678.

⁶ *Birth in Journal Asiatique Ser. VI. Tom XIX, page 150.*

⁷ *Birth in Journal Asiatique*, X. 57.

⁸ *Birth in Jour. As. Ser. VI. Tom XIX, page 190, Journal Royal Asiatic Society, XIV (1882) col.*

⁹ *Birth in Journal Asiatique Ser. VI. Tom XIX, pages 181, 186.*

¹⁰ Mr. *Fergusson* (*Architecture* page 666) and *Colonel Yule* (*Ency. Brit. Cambodia*) accept the local Buddhist rendering of *Nakhonwat* as the City Settlement. Against this it is to be noted (*Ditto ditto*) that *nagara* city corrupts locally into *Angkor*. *Nagam* therefore can hardly also be the origin of the local *Nakhon*. Further as the local Buddhists claim the temple for Buddha they were bound to find in *Nakhon* some source other than its original meaning of Snake. The change finds a close parallel in the *Nâga* that is snake or *Skaythian* now *Nâgara* or city *Brâhman* of *Gujarât*.

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Nakhonwat itself seems to have been completed and was being embellished in A.D. 950 (S. 875)¹ During the ninth and tenth centuries by conquest and otherwise considerable interchange took place between Java and Cambodia² As many of the inscriptions are written in two Indian characters a northern and a southern³ two migrations by sea seem to have taken place, one from the Orissa and Masulipatam coasts and the other, with the same legend of the prince of Rûm land, from the ports of Sindh and Gujarât⁴ The question remains how far there is trace of such a distinct migration as would explain the close resemblance noted by Fergusson between the architecture of Kashmir and Cambodia as well as the northern element which Fergusson recognises in the religion and art of Cambodia⁵ The people by whom this Panjâb and Kashmir influence may have been introduced from the north are the people who still call themselves Khmers to whose skill as builders the magnificence of Cambodian temples lakes and bridges is apparently due.⁶ Of these people, who, by the beginning of the eleventh century had already given their name to the whole of Cambodia, Alberuni (A.D. 1031) says The Kumairs are whitish of short stature and Turk-like build. They follow the religion of the Hindus and have the practice of piercing their ears.⁷ It will be noticed that so far as information is available the apparent holiness of the neighbourhood of Angkor had lasted for at least 250 years before A.D. 1078 when it was chosen as a capital. This point is in agreement with Mr. Fergusson's view that the details of Nakhonwat and other temples of that series show that the builders came neither by sea nor down the Ganges valley but by way of Kashmir and the back of the Himalayas.⁸ Though the evidence is incomplete and to some extent speculative the following considerations suggest a route and a medium through which the Roman and Greek elements in the early (A.D. 100-500) architecture of the Kabul valley and Peshâwar may have been carried inland to Cambodia. It may perhaps be accepted that the Ephthalites or White Hûnas and a share of the Kedarites, that is of the later Little Yuechi from Gandhâra the Peshâwar country, retreated to Kashmir before the father of Sri Harsha (A.D. 590-606) and afterwards (A.D. 606-642) before Sri Harsha himself.⁹ Further it seems fair to assume that from

¹ Barth in *Journal Asiatique* Ser. VI Tom XIX 190

² Yule's *Marco Polo*, II. 108, Reinaud's *Abulfeda*, edxyi

³ Barth in *Journal Asiatique* Ser. VI Tom. XIX 174.

⁴ Mr. Fergusson at first suggested the fourth century as the period of migration to Cambodia. He afterwards came to the conclusion that the settlers must have been much the same as the Gujarat conquerors of Java. *Architecture*, III. 665-678

⁵ Fergusson *Architecture*, 665 Compare Tree and Serpent Worship, 49, 50. The people of Cambodia seem Indian serpent worshippers they seem to have come from Taxila

⁶ The name Khmer has been adopted as the technical term for the early literature and art of the peninsula. Compare Barth *J. As. Ser. VI Tom XIX 193*, Renan in ditto page 75 note 3 and Ser. VII Tom. VIII page 68, Yule in *Encyclopædia Britannica Art. Cambodia* The resemblance of Cambodian and Kabul valley work recalls the praise by Chinese writers of the Han (n.c. 206-A.D. 24) and Wei (A.D. 386-556) dynasties of the craftsmen of Kipin, that is Kophene or Kamboja the Kabul valley, whose skill was not less remarkable in sculpturing and chiselling stone than in working gold silver copper and tin into vases and other articles. Specht in *Journal Asiatique*, II (1883), 333 and note 3 A ninth century inscription mentions the architect Achyuta son of Râma of Kâmbôja. *Epigraphia Indica*, I. 243

⁷ Reinaud's *Abulfeda*, edxyi., Sachau's *Alberuni*, I 210

⁸ Fergusson's *Architecture*, III 666.

⁹ For the joint Kedarite-Ephthalite rule in Kashmir see Cunningham's *Ninth Oriental Congress*, I. 231-2. The sameness of names, if not an identity of rulers, shows how close was the union between the Ephthalites and the Kedarites. The coins preserve one difference depicting the Yuechi or Kedarite ruler with bushy and the White Hunn or Ephthalite ruler with cropped hair.

Kachars then moved into Tibet and were the western Turks by whose aid in the second half of the ninth century Srangtsan or Srangdzan gambo (A.D. 640-698), the founder of Tibetan power and civilization, overran the Tarim valley and western China.¹ During the first years of the eighth century (A.D. 703) a revolt in Nepal and the country of the Brahmans was crushed by Srangtsan's successor Donrong,² and the supremacy of Tibet was firmly established in Bengal that, for over 200 years, the Bay of Bengal was known as the sea of Tibet.³ In A.D. 709 a Chinese advance across the Pamirs is said to have been checked by the great Arab soldier Kothib, the comrade of Muhammad Kasim of Sindh.⁴ But according to Chinese records this reverse was wiped out in A.D. 713 by the defeat of the joint Arab and Tibet army.⁵ In the following year, aided by disorders in China, Tibet conquered east to Hsiao on the upper Hoangho and in A.D. 721 ceased to acknowledge the overlordship of China. Though about A.D. 750 he was for a time crippled by Chinese allies the Shale Turks, the chief of Tibet spread his power far down the Yangtze-Kiang valley that in A.D. 787 the emperor of China, the king of Yunnan to the east of Burma, certain Indian chiefs, and the Arabs joined in a treaty against Tibet. As under the great Thirong (A.D. 843-845) and his successor Thirong ti (A.D. 878-901) the power of Tibet increased it seems probable that during the ninth century they overran and settled in Yunnan.⁶ That among the Tibetans who passed south-east into Yunnan were Kedarites and White Huns is supported by the fact that about A.D. 1200, according both to Marco Polo and to Rashid-ud-din the common name of Yunnan was Karajang whose capital was Yachi and whose people spoke a special language.⁷ The name Karajang was Mongol meaning Black People and was used to distinguish the mass of the inhabitants from certain fair tribes who were known as Chingyang or Whites. That the ruler of Karajang was of Hindu origin is shown by his title Maharaja Mahayana. That the Hindu element came from the Kabul valley is shown by its Hindu name of Kandhar that is Gandhara or Peshawar, a name still in use as Gandahart (Gandhara-rashtra) the Burmese for Yunnan.⁸ The strange confusion which Rashid-ud-din makes between the surroundings of Yunnan and of Peshawar is perhaps due to the fact that in his time the connection between the two places was still known and admitted.⁹ A further trace

¹ About A.D. 700 Irumti, Kashgar, Khoten and Kueho in the Tarim valley became Tibetan for a few years. Parker's Thousand Years of the Tartars, 213. In A.D. 691 the western Turks who for some years had been declining and divided were broken by the great eastern Turk conqueror Merko. The following passage from Masudi (Præfatus D. Or. I. 250) supports the establishment of White Huns or Mihari power in Tibet. The sons of Amur (a general phrase for Turks) mixed with the people of India. They founded a kingdom in Tibet the capital of which they called Med.

² Encyclopedia Britannica Articles Tibet and Turkestan.

³ Both Ibn Haukal and Al Istakhrî (A.D. 960) call the Bay of Bengal the sea of Tibet. Compare Renaud's Abulfeda, cccviii., Encyclopedia Britannica Article Tibet page 345.

⁴ Yule's Cathay, I. lxxxi.

⁵ Encyc. Brit. China, 616.

⁶ Thirong besides spreading the power of Tibet (he was important enough to join with Manu the son of the great Harun ar Rashid (A.D. 788-809) in a league against the Hindus) brought many learned Hindus into Tibet, had Sanskrit books translated, settled Lamaism, and built many temples. It is remarkable that (so far as inscriptions are read) the series of Nakhonwat temples was begun during Thirong's reign (A.D. 803-845).

⁷ Yule's Marco Polo, II. 30-42, J. R. A. Soc. I. 355.

⁸ Yule Jour R. A. Soc. (N. S.) I. 350.

⁹ Compare Yule in Jour R. A. S. (N. S.) I. 355. Kandahar in south-west Afghanistan is another example of the Kedarite or Little Yucchi fondness for giving to their colonies the name of their parent country.

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of stranger whites like the Changanjang of Yunnan occurs south-east in the Ann or Honh whose name suggests the Húns and whose fondness for silver ornaments at once distinguishes them from their neighbours and connects them with India.¹ Even though these traces may be accepted as confirming a possible migration of Húns and Kodaras to Yunnan and Ann a considerable gap remains between Ann and Angkor. Three local Cambodian considerations go some way to fill this gap. The first is that unlike the Siamese and Cochín Chinese the Khmers are a strong well made race with very little trace of the Mongoloid, with a language devoid of the intonations of other Indo Chinese dialects, and with the hair worn cropped except the top-knot. The second point is that the Khmers claim a northern origin, and the third that important architectural remains similar to Nakhonwataro found within Siam limits about sixty miles north of Angkor.² One further point has to be considered. How far is an origin from White Húns and Kodaras in agreement with the Nága phase of Cambodian worship. Hsien Tsiang's details of the Tarim Oxus and Swát valleys contain nothing so remarkable as the apparent increase of Dragon worship. In those countries dragons are rarely mentioned by Fa Hian in A.D. 400 dragons seem to have had somewhat more importance in the eyes of Sung-Yun in A.D. 520, and to Hsien Tsiang, the champion of the Maháyána or Broadway, dragons are every one who explain all misfortunes earthquakes storms and diseases. Buddhism may be the state religion but the secret of luck lies in pleasing the Dragon.³

¹ Compare Yule's Marco Polo, II. 82-84

² Yule in *Encyc. Brit. Art. Cambodia*, 724, 725, 726

³ Fa Hian (A.D. 400) about fifty miles north west of Kanaug found a dragon chapel (Beal's Buddhist Records, I. 40) of which a white eared dragon was the patron. The dragon, he notes, gives seasonable showers and keeps off all plagues and calamities. At the end of the rains the dragon turns into a little white eared serpent and the priests feed him. At the deserted Kapilavastu in Turhut Fa Hian was shown a tank and in it a dragon who, he says, constantly guards and protects a tower to Buddha and worships there night and morning (Ditto, I. 50)

Sung Yun (A.D. 519) notices (Beal's Buddhist Records, I. 69) in Swát (Udyāna) a tank and a temple with fifty priests called the temple of the Nága Rāja because the Nága supplies it with funds. In another passage (Ditto, 92) he notices that in a narrow land on the border of Po-se (Pers) a dragon had taken his residence and was stopping the run and piling the snow. Hsien Tsiang (Ditto, I. 20) notes that in Kucha, north of the Tarim river east of the Bolor mountains, the Shen horses are half dragon horses and the Shen men half dragon men. In Aksu, 150 miles west of Kucha, fierce dragons molest travellers with storms of flying sand and gravel (Ditto, 25), the hot lake or Johai, 100 miles north-east of Aksu, is jointly inhabited by dragons and fish; seals, monsters rise to the surface and travellers pray to them (Ditto, 26). An Arhat (page 61) prays that he may become a Nágarija. He becomes a Nágarija, kills the real Nágarija, takes his pulice, attaches the Nagas to him, and raises winds and tempests, Kamshika comes against him and the Arhat takes the form of a Bráhmaṇ and knocks down Kamshika's towers. A great merit flame bursts from Kamshika's shoulders and the Bráhmaṇ Nágarija apologises. His evil and passionate spirit, the fruit of evil deeds in a former birth, had made the Arhat pray to be a Nágarija. If clouds gathered the monks knew that the Nágarija meant mischief. The convent gong was beaten and the Nágarija preached (or scared) (Ditto, 64-66). Nagas were powerful brutes, cloud riding, wind driving, water walking brutes, still only brutes. The account of the Nága or dragon of Iśākhād (in Kamboja) is excellent. In Buddha's time the dragon had been Buddha's milkman. He lost his temper, hid flowers at the Dragon's cave, prayed he might become a dragon, and leaped over the cliff. He had the country waste and did so much harm that Tathágará (or Buddha) converted him. The Nága asked Buddha to take his cave. Buddha said No. I will have my shadow. If you get angry look at my shadow and it will quiet you (Ditto,

This apparent increased importance of dragon or Nāga worship in north-west India during the fifth and sixth centuries may have been due partly to the decline of the earlier Buddhism partly to the genial wondering temper of Hsuen Tsang. Still so marked an increase makes it probable that with some of the great fifth and sixth century conquerors of Bactria Kābul and the Panjab, of whom a trace may remain in the snake-

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94) Another typical dragon is Apālā of the Swāt river (Ditto, 68) In the time of Kāśyapa Buddha Apālā was a weaver of spells named Gangī Gangī's spells kept the dragons quiet and saved the crops. But the people were thankless and paid no tithes. May I be born a dragon, cursed Gangī, poisonous and ruinous. He was born the dragon of the Swāt valley, Apālā, who belched forth a salt stream and burned the crops. The ruin of the fair and pious valley of Swāt reached Śākya's (Buddha's) ears. He passed to Mangala and beat the mountain side with Indra's mace. Apālā came forth was lectured and converted. He agreed to do no more mischief on condition that once in twelve years he might ruin the crops (Ditto, 122.) In a lake about seven miles west of Takhaśīlā, a spot dear to the exiled Kambojan, lived Elāpatra the Nāgarāja, a Bhikṣu or ascetic who in a former life had destroyed a tree. When the crops wanted rain or fair weather, the Shamans or medicine men led the people to pray at Elāpatra's tank (page 137) In Kashmir, perhaps the place of halt of the Kambojan in his conquests eastwards, in old times the country was a dragon lake.* Madhyantika drove out the waters but left one small part as a house for the Nāga king (I 150) What sense have these tales? In a hilly land where the people live in valleys the river is at once the most whimsical and the most dangerous force. Few seasons pass in which the river does not either damage with its floods or with its failure and at times glaciers and landslips stop the entire flow and the valley is ruined so great and so strange an evil as the complete drying of a river must be the result of some one's will, of some one's temper. The Dragon is angry he wants a sacrifice. Again the river ponds into a lake, the lake tops the earth bank and rushes in a flood wasting is only a dragon can waste. For generations after so awful a proof of power all doubts regarding dragons are dead. (Compare Drew's Cashmere and Jummoo, 414-421.) In India the Chinese dragon turns into a cobra. In China the cobra is unknown in India than the cobra no power is more dreaded. How can the mighty unwieldy dragon be the little silent cobra. How not? Can the dragon be worshipful if he is unable to change his shape. To the spirit not to the form is worship due. Again the worshipped dragon becomes the guardian. The great earth Bodhisattva transforms himself into a Nāgarāja and dwells in lake Anavatapta whose flow of cool water enriches the world (Buddhist Records, II 11) In a fane in Swāt Buddha takes the form of a dragon and the people live on him (125) A pestilence wasted Swāt, Buddha becomes the serpent Suma, all who taste his flesh are healed of the plague (126) A Nāga maiden, who for her sins has been born in serpent shape and lives in a pool, loves Buddha who was then a Śākya chief. Buddha's merit regains for the girl her lost human form. He goes into the pool slays the girl's snake kin and marries her. Not even by marriage with the Śākya's her serpent spirit driven out of the maiden. At night from her head issues a nine crested Nāga. Śākya strikes off the nine crests and ever since that blow the royal family has suffered from headaches (132) This last tale shows how Buddhism works on the coarser and fiercer tribes who accept its teaching. The converts rise to be men though a snake head may peep out to show that not all of the old leaven is dead. In other stories Buddha as the sacramental snake shows the moral advance in Buddhism from fiend to guardian worship. The rest of the tales illustrate the corresponding intellectual progress from force worship to man, that is mind, worship. The water force sometimes kindly and enriching sometimes fierce and wasting becomes a Bodhisattva always kindly though his goodwill may have to give way to the rage of evil powers. So Brāhmanism turns Nārāyaṇa the sea into Śiva or Somnāth the sea ruler. In this as in other phases religion passes from the worship of the forces of Nature to which in his beginnings man has to bow to the worship of Man or conscious Mind whose growth in skill and in knowledge has made him the Lord of the forces. These higher ideals are to a great extent a veneer. The Buddhist evangelist may dry the lake, he is careful to leave a pool for the Nāgarāja. In times of trouble among the fierce struggles of pioneers and settlers the spirit of Buddha withdraws and leaves the empty shrine to the earlier and the more immortal spirit of Force, the Nāgarāja who has lived on in the pool which for the sake of peace Buddha refrained from drying.

* Kashmir has still a trace of Gandhāra. Compare (Ency Brit. Art. Kashmir page 13) The races of Kashmir are Gandhāras, Khasās, and Daradās.

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worshipping Nāgas and Takkas of the Kamaon and Garhwal hills the Dragon was the chief object of worship. Temple remains show that the seventh and eighth century rulers of Kashmir, with a knowledge of classic architecture probably brought from beyond the Indus were Naga worshippers.¹ The fact that the ninth century revision of religion in Tibet came mainly from Kashmir and that among the eighteen chief gods of the reformed faith the great Serpent had a place favours the view that through Tibet passed the scheme and the classic details of the Kashmir Naga temples which in greater wealth and splendour are repeated in the Nakhonwat of Angkor in Cambodia.² It is true that the dedication of the great temple to Nāga worship before the Siamese priests filled it with statues of Buddha is questioned both by Lient Garnier and by Sir H. Yule.³ In spite of this objection and though some of the series have been Buddhist from the first, it is difficult to refuse acceptance to Mr Fergusson's conclusions that in the great Nakhon, all traces of Buddhism are additions. The local conditions and the worshipful Talo Sap lake favour this conclusion. What holier dragon site can be imagined than the great lake Tale Sap, 100 miles by 30, joined to the river Mekong by a huge natural channel which of itself empties the lake in the dry season and refills it during the rains giving a water harvest of fish as well as a land harvest of grain. What more typical work of the dragon as guardian water lord. Again not far off between Angkor and Yunnan was the head-quarters of the dragon as the unsquared fiend. In Carrajan ten days west of the city of Yachi Marco Polo (A.D. 1290) found a land of snakes and great serpents ten paces in length with very great heads, eyes bigger than a loaf of bread, mouths garnished with pointed teeth able to swallow a man whole, two fore-legs with claws for feet and bodies equal in bulk to a great cask. He adds 'These serpents devour the cubs of lions and bears without the fire and dam being able to prevent it. Indeed if they catch the big ones they devour them too no one can make any resistance. Every man and beast stands in fear and trembling of them.' Even in these fiend dragons was the sacramental guardian element. The gull from their inside healed the bite of a mad dog, delivered a woman in hard labour, and cured itch or it might be worse. Moreover, he concludes, the flesh of these serpents is excellent eating and toothsome.⁴

¹ Mr Fergusson (Architecture, 212) places the Kashmir temples between A.D. 600 and 1200 and allots Martand the greatest to about A.D. 750. The classical element, he says, cannot be mislaid. The shafts are fluted Grecian Doric probably taken from the Gandhāra monuments of the fourth and fifth centuries. Fergusson was satisfied (Ditto, 282) that the religion of the builders of the Kashmir temples was Nāga worship. In Cambodia the Brahman remains were like those of Java (Ditto, 667). But the connection between the Nakhonwat series and the Kashmir temples was unmistakable (Ditto, 227, 665). Nāga worship was the object of both (Ditto, 677-679). Imperfect information forced Fergusson to date the Nakhonwat not earlier than the thirteenth century (Ditto, 660, 679). The evidence of the inscriptions which (J. As. Ser. VI Tom. XIX, page 150) brings back the date of this the latest of a long series of temples to the ninth and tenth centuries adds greatly to the probability of some direct connection between the builders of the Martand shrine in Kashmir and of the great Nakhonwat temple at Angkor.

² Encyc. Brit. Art. Tibet, 344.

³ Encyc. Brit. Art. Cambodia.

⁴ Yule's Marco Polo, II. 45, 47.

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THE earliest Arab reference to Gujarát is by the merchant Sulaimán² A.D. 851 (A.D. 237). Other Arab accounts follow up to A.D. 1263, a period of over four centuries. Sulaiman describes Jurz or Gujarát as bordering on the kingdom of the Bahhara (A.D. 743-974) and as forming a tongue of land, rich in horses and camels and said to have "mines of gold and silver, exchanges being carried on by means of these metals in dust."

Al Biláduri³ (A.D. 892) states that the first Islámic expedition to India was the one despatched against Tánú⁴ (Thána) by Usmán, son of Al-Ási the Thakafi, who in the fifteenth year of the Híjrah (A.D. 636) was appointed governor of Bahrein and Umán (the Persian Gulf) by the second Khalifah Umar, the son of Khattáb. On the return of the expedition, in reply to his governor's despatch, the Khalifah Umar is said to have written⁵ "Oh brother of Thakif, thou hast placed the worm in the wood, but by Alláh, had any of my men been slain, I would have taken an equal number from thy tribe." In spite of this threat Usmán's brother Hakam, who was deputed by the governor to the charge of Bahrein, despatched a force to Barúz⁶ (Broach). Al Biláduri does not record the result of this expedition, but

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¹ Contributed by Khán Sáheb Fazlulláh Lutfulláh Farídi of Surat.

² This account which is in two parts is named Silsilát-ut Tawárikh, that is the Chain of History. The first part was written in A.D. 851-52 by Sulaimán and has the advantage of being the work of a traveller who himself knew the countries he describes. The second part was written by Abu-Zeid al Hasan of Siráf on the Persian Gulf about sixty years after Sulaimán's account. Though Abu Zeid never visited India, he made it his business to read and question travellers who had been in India. Abul Hasan-el Masúdi (A.D. 915-943) who met him at Basrah is said to have imparted to and derived much information from Abu Zeid. Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I, 2.

³ Ahmed bin Yahyá, surnamed Abu Jaáfar and called Biláduri or Bilázuri from his addiction to the electuary of the Malacca bean (*bilázur* بلادر) or anacardium, lived about the middle of the ninth century of the Christian era at the court of Al Mutawakkil the Abbási, as an instructor to one of the royal princes. He died A.H. 279 (A.D. 892-93). His work is styled the Futuh ul Buldán The Conquest of Countries. He did not visit India, but was in personal communication with men who had travelled far and wide.

⁴ Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I, 115-116.

⁵ The reason of Umar's dislike for India is described by Al Masúdi (Murúj Arabic Text, Cairo Edition, III, 166-171), to have originated from the description of the country by a philosopher to whom Umar had referred on the first spread of Islám in his reign. The philosopher said India is a distant and remote land peopled by rebellious infidels. Immediately after the battle of Kadesiah (A.D. 636) when sending out Utbah, his first governor to the newly founded camp town of Basrah Umar is reported to have said "I am sending thee to the land of Al-Hind (India) as governor. Remember it is a field of the fields of the enemy. The third Khalifah Usmán (A.D. 643-655) ordered his governor of Irák to depute a special officer to visit India and wait upon the Khalifah to report his opinion of that country. His report of India was not encouraging. He said Its water is scarce, its fruits are poor, and its robbers bold. If the troops sent there are few they will be slain, if many they will starve. (Al-Biláduri in Elliot, I, 116).

⁶ Sir H. Elliot's History of India, I, 116.

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mentions a more successful one to Debal at the mouth of the Indus sent by Hisham under the command of his brother Mughaira. On the death of his uncle Al-Hajjāj (A.D. 714; H. 95) Muhammad the son of Kāsim the Arab conqueror of Sindh is said to have made peace with the inhabitants of Sindh or Kāthiāwād with whom he states the people of Bāris¹ that is Bet to the north of Dwārka were then at war. Al-Bīlāduri describes the Bāris men as Meis seafarers and pirates. In the reign of Hishām (A.D. 714) Junaid, son of Abdur Rahmān Al Muniri, who was appointed to the frontier of Sindh is stated to have conquered Junz (Gujarat) and Bāris (Broach).² A more permanent result followed a great expedition from Mansūrah in Sindh. This result was the overthrow from which it never recovered, of the great seaport and capital of Vala or Valabhi.³ Al-Bīlāduri's next mention⁴ of Gujarat is in connection with the conquest of Sindhan in Kathb and the founding there of a Jāmi' mosque by Fazl, son of Mahān in the reign of the Abbāsi Khalīfah Al Mamūn (A.D. 813-833) the son of the famous Hārūn-ur-Rashīd. After Fazl's death his son Muhammad sailed with sixty vessels against the Meis of Hind, captured Mal⁵ apparently Malā in north Kāthiāwād after a great slaughter of the Meis and returned to Sindhan.

The dissension between Muhammad and his brother Mahān, who in Muhammad's absence had usurped his authority at Sindhan, re-established the power of the Hindus. The Hindus however, adds Al-Bīlāduri, spared the assembly mosque in which for long the Muslims used to offer their Friday prayers.⁶ Ibn Khuradādhbih (A.D. 912; H. 300) erroneously enumerates Bāris and Sindhan (Broach and Sindhan) as cities of Sindh.⁷ The king of Junz he describes as the fourth Indian sovereign. According to Al-Masūdī⁸ (A.D. 915) the country of the Balhans or Rashukūras (A.D. 743-974), which is also called the country of Kumbhar (Konkan) is open on one side to the attacks of the king of Junz (Gujarat) a prince owning many horses and camels and troops who does not think any king on earth equal to him except the king of Bābal (Babylon). He prides himself and holds himself high above all other kings and owns many elephants, but has Muslims. His country is on a tongue of land and there are gold and silver mines in it in which trade is carried on. Al-Ishtakī⁹ (H. 340; A.D. 951) gives an itinerary in which he shows the distance between

¹ Sir H. Elliot's *Hist. of India* transcribes this as *Bāris*. But neither *Bāris* nor its other supposition *Bāris* (Note 4 Dingo, *Bāris* seem to have any sense. The original is probably *Bāris*, a form in which other Arab historians and geographers also write to denote the residence of the natives *Bāris* who are referred to a little farther on as seafarers and pirates. Dingo I. 123.

² The important expedition extended to Uch. Details above page 100 and also under Bahman. Eds by us from Sindh were repeated in A.D. 703, 704, 705 and perhaps A.D. 830. *Revue de l'Inde*, 212. See above *Supplement's Early History* page 100 & C. Details above page 54-55.

³ Sir H. Elliot's *History of India* I. 123.

⁴ Sir H. Elliot's *History of India* I. 123 calls it *Al-Bīlāduri* (Dingo note C) by mistake: see his M.C. ⁵ Sir H. Elliot's *History of India* I. 123.

⁶ The Khalīfah's *Masālik* of Marwan I. is his name *Amīn*, Dingo I. 70 (A.D. 703). He held high office under the Abbāsi Khalīfah of Baghdad (Dingo's *History of India* I. 10).

⁷ Abu Bāsur Al-Muniri a native of Baghdad who visited India about A.D. 815 and wrote the *Maḥallat* of G. H. *Chang* (Dingo), about A.D. 830-831 and died A.D. 835 in Egypt. (See Sir H. Elliot's *History of India* I. 23-25.)

⁸ Abu Isḥāq Al-Ishtakī, a native of the western frontier of Persia who lived about the middle of the ninth century and wrote the *Book of China* (Dingo) about A.D. 840 and 851. *Elliot's History of India* I. 55.

Mansurah and Kámhal¹ (Anlulwára) to be eight days' journey, from Kámhal to Kambáya (Cambay) four days, from Kambáya to the sea about two *farsangs* that is between seven and eight miles²; from Kambáya to Surabáya³ perhaps Surabára the Surat river mouth which is half a *farsang* (between $1\frac{1}{2}$ and two miles) from the sea, about four days. He places five days between Surabáya (Surat) and Sindán (St John near Daman) and a like distance between Sindán and Saimur (Chewal or Cheul) thirty miles south of Bombay. Ibn Haukal⁴ (H 366, A D 976) enumerates⁵ (Fámhal)⁶ (Anhlwára), Kambáya (Cambay), Surbáráh (Surat), Sindán (Daman), and Saimur (Cheul) as cities of Al Hind (India), as opposed to As Sindh or the Indus valley. From Kambáya to Saimur, he writes, is the land of the Balhára, which is in the possession of several kings.⁷ Ibn Haukal describes the land between Kámhal (Anlulwára) and Kambáya (Cambay), and Bana three days' journey from Mansúrah as desert,⁸ and between Kambáya and Saimur as thickly covered with villages. Al Bírúni,⁹ in his famous *Indica* about A D 1030-31 writes. From Kanauj, travelling south-west you come to Ási, a distance of eighteen *farsakhs*¹⁰ that is of seventy two miles, to *Sakiva* 17 *farsakhs* or sixty-eight miles, to Chandra 18 *farsakhs* or seventy-two miles, to Rajauri fifteen *farsakhs* or sixty miles, and to Nárána (near Jaipur) the former capital of Gujarat, 18 *farsakhs* or seventy-two miles. Nárána he adds was destroyed and the capital transferred to another town on the frontier. From Nárána at a distance of 60 *farsakhs* or 240 miles south-west lies Anhlwára, and thence to Somnáth on the sea is fifty *farsakhs* or 200 miles. From Anhlwára, passing south is Lárdea with its capitals Bhruch (Branch) and Rahánjur¹¹ (Rándir) forty-two *farsakhs* (168

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¹ See Appendix A. Volume I Sir Henry Elliot's *History of India*.

² Elliot's *History of India*, 394, where Sir Henry Elliot calculates a *parasang* or *farsang* (Arabic *farsakh*) to be $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Al Bírúni, however, counts four *kroh* or miles to a *farsakh*. Sachau's *Al Bírúni Arabic Text*, chapter 18 page 97.

³ Sir Henry Elliot (*History of India*, I 403) locates Surabáya somewhere near Surat. The mouth of the Tápti is still known in Surat as the Bára.

⁴ Ibn Haukal (Muhammad Abul Kásim) a native of Baghdád, left that city in H 331 (A.D 943), returned to it H 358 (A.D. 968), and finished his work about H 366 (A.D. 976). Sir Henry Elliot's *History of India*, I, 81.

⁵ Elliot, I 34.

⁶ Sir Henry Elliot (*History of India*, I 363) correctly takes Fámhal to be a misreading for Anhal that is Anhlwára. Al Bírúni (A D 970-1039) uses the name Anhlwára without any Arab peculiarity of transliteration or pronunciation. Sachau's *Arabic Text*, 100. Al Idrisi (end of the eleventh century) styles Anhlwára "Nahrwára" (Elliot, I, 84) an equally well known name.

⁷ Sir Henry Elliot's *History of India*, I, 34.

⁸ M. Gildemeister's Latin translation of Ibn Haukal's *Ashkál ul-Bilád* (Sir Henry Elliot's *History of India*, I 39).

⁹ Abu Rihán Al Bírúni was a native of Balkh in Central Asia. He accompanied Mahmúd of Ghazni to India in his expeditions and acquired an accurate knowledge of Sanskrit. His acquaintance with this language and Greek and his love of enquiry and research together with his fairness and impartiality, make his *Indica* a most valuable contribution to our information on India in the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh centuries. He finished his work after the death of his patron in A.D 1030-31. See Sachau's *Preface to the Arabic Text of the Indica*, ix.

¹⁰ Al Bírúni makes his *farsakh* of four miles. Sachau's *Arabic Text*, 97.

¹¹ Sir Henry Elliot's translation and transliteration of Rahánjur (*History of India*, I 61) are, be it said with all respect to the memory of that great scholar, inaccurate. He cannot make anything of the word (note 3) while in the Arabic Text of Sachau (page 100) the first letter is a plain ر = r and not د = d. From the context also the ancient town of Rándir seems to be meant. It is plainly written (رمحور) Rahánjur and is very likely the copyist's mistake for the very similar form رمنهور or Ráhandúr.

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miles). These he states are on the shore of the sea to the east of Tāna (the modern Thāna) ¹ After describing the coast of Makrān till it reaches Debal ² (Karāchi or Thatta) Abu Rihān comes to the coast of Kachh ³ and Somnāth, the population of which he calls the Bawārij because, he says, they commit their piratical depredations in boats called Baira ⁴ He gives the distance ⁵ between Debal (Karāchi or Thatta) and Kachh the country that yields *muhl* (gum or myrrh) ⁶ and *bādīūd* (balm) as six *farsakhs* (24 miles), to Somnāth (from Debal) fourteen (56 miles), to Kambāya thirty (120 miles), to Asāwal the site of Ahmadābād (from Cambay) two days' journey, to Bahrūj (Broach) (from Debal) ⁷ thirty, to Sindān or St John (from Debal) fifty, to Subāra (Sopāra) from Sindān six ⁸, to Tana (from Sopāra) five Rashīd-ud-dīn in his translation (A.D. 1310) of Al Bīrūnī (A.D. 970-1031) states ⁹ that beyond Gujārat are Konkan and Tāna. He calls Tānah the chief town of the Konkans and mentions the forest of the Dāngs as the habitat of the *sharva* an animal resembling the buffalo, but larger than a rhinoceros, with a small trunk and two big horns with which it attacks and destroys the elephant Al Idrīsī, ¹⁰ writing about the end of the eleventh century but with tenth century materials, places ¹¹ in the seventh section of the second climate, the Gujarāt towns of Mambhal (Anhilwāra), Kambāya (Cambay), Subāra (apparently Surabāra or Surat), Sindān ¹² (Sanjān in Thāna), and Samūr (Chewal or Chenl). He adds, probably quoting from Al Janharī (A.D. 950), that Nahrwāra is governed by a great prince who bears the title of Balhāra who owns the whole country from Nahrwāra to Samūr. He ranks the king of Juzi fourth among Indian potentates The country from Debal to Kambāya (Karāchi to Cambay) he describes ¹³ as "nothing but a marine strand without habitations and almost without water, and impassable for travellers" ¹⁴ The situation of Mambhal (Anhilwāra) he gives as between Sindh and Hind He notices the Meds as Mānds ¹⁵ grazing their flocks to within a short distance of

¹ Sachau's Arabic Text of Al Bīrūnī, 93 and Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I. 61

² Elphinstone's History of India, Book V, Chapter I. 263 Note 25 (John Murray's 1810 Edition) on the authority of Captain MacMurdo and Captain Alexander Burnes inclines to the opinion that Debal was somewhere near the site of the modern Karāchi

³ Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I. 65 Sachau's Text of Al Bīrūnī, chapter 18 page 102.

⁴ Al Bilāduri uses the word Barija for a strong built war vessel. Sir Henry Elliot derives the word from the Arabic and gives an interesting note on the subject in his Appendix I 539 The word is still used in Hindustani as *bada* (بداء) to signify a boat or bark

⁵ Sachau's Arabic Text, 102.

⁶ According to Richardson (Arabic Dictionary voce قمل myrrh) though rendered gum by all translators. According to the *Makhsan* the word *muhl* (Urdu *gughal*) is Balsamodendron and Bādrūd the corruption of *Badrūz* (Urdu *buzza*) is balsam or bazar

⁷ Sachau's Arabic Text page 99 chapter 18.
⁸ After giving the distances in days or journeys the Text (page 102 Sachau's Text of Al Bīrūnī) does not particularise the distances of the places that follow in journeys or *farsakhs*

⁹ Elliot's History of India, I. 67

¹⁰ Abu Abdallah Muhammad Al Idrīsī, a native of Ceuta in Morocco and descended from the royal family of the Idrīsīs of that country, settled at the court of Roger II of Sicily, where and at whose desire he wrote his book The Nuzhat ul Mushitak or The Seeker's Delight. Elliot's History of India, I. 74 Almost all Al Idrīsī's special information regarding Sindh and Western India is from Al Janharī governor of Khurāsān (A.D. 892-999), whose knowledge of Sindh and the Indus valley is unusually complete and accurate. Compare Remond's Abulfeda, lxiii

¹¹ Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I. 77

¹² Bombay Gazetteer, II. 69.

¹³ Elliot's History of India, I. 79.

¹⁴ Elliot's History of India, I. 76.

¹⁵ Elliot's History of India, I. 79.

Mámhal (Anhilwára). He speaks of Mámhal, Kambaya, Subára (probably Surabára or Surat), Sindan, and Saimúr as countries of Hind (India) touching upon Sindh.¹ He describes Mámhal as a frontier town, numbered by some among the cities of Sindh, and he classifies Aukbin, Máud, Kulammali (Quilon),² and Sindan (Sandhánin Kachh) as maritime islands. Among the numerous towns of India are Mámhal (Anhilwára),³ Kambáya (Cambay), Subára, Asáwal (Ahmedábád), Janáwal (Chunvái), Sindan, Saimur, Janður⁴ (Rándir), Sandur (apparently a repetition of Rándir), and Rúmala (perhaps the south Panjáb).⁵ He speaks of Kalbata, Angasht, Nahrwára (Anhilwára), and Lahawar (Lahori Bandar) as in the desert⁶ of Kambáya. Of the three Subára (Surabara or Surat), Sindán (the Thána Sanján), and Saimúr (Cheul), he says Saimúr alone belongs to the Bálhára, whose kingdom, he adds, is large, well-peopled, commercial, and fertile. Near Subára (apparently Surabára) he locates small islands which he styles Bara where, he adds, coconuts and the castor grow.⁷ East of Sindán, due to a confusion between Sandhan in Kachh and Sanján in Thána, he places another island bearing the same name as the port and under the same government as the mainland, highly cultivated and producing the cocoa palm the bamboo and the cane. Five miles by sea from Kulammali lies another island called Máli, an elevated plateau, but not hilly, and covered with vegetation. The mention of the pepper vine suggests that Al Idrísí has wandered to the Malabár Coast. In the eighth section of the second clime Al Idrísí places Bárúh (Broach), Sandápúr (apparently Goa), Tana (Thána), Kandárma (Gandhár, north of Broach), Jirbátan a town mentioned by Al Idrísí as the nearest in a voyage from Ceylon to the continent of India on that continent. It is described as a populous town on a river supplying rice and grain to Ceylon,⁸ Kalkáyan, Luluwa, Kanya, and Samandirán, and in the interior Dulaka (Dholka), Janwal (Chunval or Viramgám), and Nahrwár (Anhilwára).⁹ Opposite the sea-port of Bárúh (Broach), Al Idrísí places an island called Mullán, producing large quantities of pepper. Al Idrísí describes the port of Bárúh (Broach) as accessible to ships from China and Sindh. The distance from Bárúh to Saimúr he puts at two days journey, and that between Barúh and Nahrwára (Anhilwára) at eight days through a flat country travelled over in wheeled carriages drawn by oxen, which he adds furnished the only mode for the conveyance also of merchandise. He locates the towns of Dulaka and Hanawál

¹ Elliot's History of India, I. 84

² The details of Kulammali given by Al Kazwíní (A.D. 1263 - 1275) seem to show it is Quilon on the Malabár Coast. When a ruler died his successor was always chosen from China.

³ Elliot (I. 363-364) on the authority of Al Istakhri thinks that all the names Ámbal, Fámhal, Kámhal, and Mámhal are faulty readings of Anhal (Anhil)wára owing to irregularity in the position or absence of diacritical points.

⁴ This is probably Rándir, a very natural Arab corruption. Instance Al Bírúní's Ranjhur. See page 507 note 11 and page 520.

⁵ Rúmala is mentioned at pages 14, 87, 92 and 93 volume I of Elliot. It is first mentioned (page 14) by Ibní Khurdádbah (A.D. 912) as one of the countries of Sindh. It is next mentioned by Al Idrísí (end of the eleventh century according to Elliot, I. 74) as one of the places of the eighth section describing the coast of India, but is mentioned along with Nahrwára, Kandhár, and Kalbata (?). At page 92 (Ditto) the same writer (Idrísí) says that Kalbata and Rúmala are on the borders of the desert which separates Múltán from Bujistán. Again at page 93 (Ditto) Idrísí gives the distance between Kalbata and Rúmala as a distance of three days.

⁶ Elliot's History of India, I. 84

⁸ Elliot, I. 90-93

⁷ Sir H. Elliot's History of India, I. 85.

⁹ Elliot's History of India, I. 89.

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or Janāwal (Chunwāl or Jhālāwar) with Asāwal (Ahmedābād) between Bārūh and Nahuwāra. He represents all three of these towns to be centres of a considerable trade, and among their products mentions the bamboo and the coconut. From Bārūh to Sandābūr (that is Gon), a commercial town with fine houses and rich bazārs situated on a great gulf where ships cast anchor, the distance along the coast given by Al Idīsī is four days. Al Kazwīn¹ writing about the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. 1263-1275, but mainly from information of the tenth century notes Samūr (Choul) "a city of Hind near the confines of Sindh" with its handsome people of Turkish extraction worshippers of fire having their own fire-temples. Al Kazwīn (A.D. 1230) dwells at length on the wonders of Somnāth and its temple. He calls it a celebrated city of India situated on the shore of the sea and washed by its waves. Among its wonders is Somnāth, an idol hung in space resting on nothing. In Somnāth he says Hindus assemble by the ten thousand at lunar eclipses, believing that the souls of men meet there after separation from the body and that at the will of the idol they are re-born into other animals. The two centuries since its destruction by the idol-breaker of Ghaznah had restored Somnāth to its ancient prosperity. He concludes his account of Somnāth by telling how Mahmūd ascertained that the chief idol was of iron and its canopy a loadstone and how by removing one of the walls the idol fell to the ground.

Rivers.

Regarding the rivers and streams of Gujarāt the Arab writers are almost completely silent. The first reference to rivers is in Al Masūdī (A.D. 944) who in an oddly puzzled passage says:² "On the Tārwī Sea (Cambay and Choul) great rivers run from the south whilst all the rivers of the world except the Nile of the Egypt, the Mohrān (Indus) of Sindh, and a few others flow from the north." Al Bīrūnī (A.D. 970-1030) states that between the drainage areas of the Saravati and the Ganges is the valley of the river Narmada³ which comes from the eastern mountains and flows south-west till it falls into the sea near Bahuch about 180 miles (60 *yojanas*) east of Somnāth. Another river the Saravati (Sarasvati) he rightly describes as falling into the sea an arrowshot to the east of Somnāth⁴. He further mentions the Tābi (Tapti) from the Vinda or Vindhya hills and the Tāmra Banu or copper-colored, apparently also the Tāpti, as coming from Mālwa. In addition he refers to the Māhundi or Mahi and the Sarava apparently

¹ Zakariyah Ibnī Muhammad Al Kazwīnī, a native of Kazwīn (Kashin) in Persia, wrote his *Aḥd al Bilād* or "Signs or Monuments of Countries" about A.H. 601 (A.D. 1263) compiling it chiefly from the writings of Al Istakhrī (A.D. 961) and Ibnī Haukal (A.D. 976). He also frequently quotes Muḥarr bin Muḥallil, a traveller who (A.D. 912) visited India and China. Sir Henry Elliot's *History of India*, I. 91.

² Barbier De Meynard's *Text of Al Masūdī's Les Prairies D'Or*, I. 382.

³ Sir Henry Elliot misreads *Tamraz* for Al Bīrūnī's Arabic form of *Narmada*. He says it comes from the city of Tamraz and the eastern hills; it has a south easterly course till it falls into the sea near Bīhruch about 60 *yojanas* to the east of Somnāth. The literal translation of the text of Al Bīrūnī (see Sachau's *Al Bīrūnī's India*, 130) is that given above. It is hard to believe that the accurate Al Bīrūnī while in one place (see Sachau's *Text*, 99) giving the name of the Narmada faultlessly, should in another place fall into the error of tracing it from *Tirmiz* a city of Central Asia. A comparison of Elliot's version with the text sets the difficulty at rest. Compare Sir Henry Elliot's *History of India*, I. 49 and note 3 ditto and Sachau's *Arabic Text of Al Bīrūnī*, 130 chapter 25.

⁴ Compare Sachau's *Al Bīrūnī* with Sir Henry Elliot, I. 49, who is silent as to the distance.

Sarasvatī perhaps meant for the Sábarmatī. Al Idrīsī (A.D. 1100) is the only other Arab writer who names any of the Gujarāt rivers. As usual he is confused, describing Dulkā (Dholkā) as standing on the bank of a river flowing into the sea which forms an estuary or gulf on the east of which stands the town of Bārūh (Broach).¹

The Arab writers record the following details of twenty-two leading towns

Anahālva'da (ʾANHAL, FĀMHAL, KĀMHAL, KĀMUHUL, MĀMHUL, NAHL-
w (RA, NAHRW (LA). Al Istakhri (H. 340, A.D. 951) mentions Āmhal Fāmhāl and Kāmhāl, Ibnī Haukal (A.D. 976) Famhal Kāmhāl and Kāmuhāl, and Al Idrīsī (end of the eleventh century) Māmhul. That these are perversions of one name and that this town stood on the border of 'Hind' or Gujarāt (in contradistinction to Sindh) the position given to each by the Arab geographers² places beyond question. Al Istakhri (A.D. 951) alone calls the place by the name of Āmhal which he mentions³ as one of the chief cities of 'Hind.' Later he gives the name of Fāmhāl to a place forming the northern border of "Hind", as all beyond it as far as Makrān belongs to Sindh. Again a little later⁴ he describes Kāmhāl as a town eight days from Mansūrah and four days from Kambāya, thus making Kāmhāl the first Gujarāt town on the road from Mansūrah about seventy miles north of Haidarābād in Sindh to Gujarāt. Ibnī Haukal (A.D. 968-976) in his Ashkāṭ-ul-Bilād gives Fāmhāl in his text and Kāmhāl in his map⁵ and again while referring⁶ to the desert between Makrān and Famhal as the home of the Meds, he styles it Kāmhāl. Once more he refers to Famhal as a strong and great city, containing a Jāma' or Assembly Mosque, a little later⁷ he calls it Kāmuhul and places it eight days from Mansūrah and four from Kambāya. He afterwards contradicts himself by making Mansūrah two days' journey from 'Kāmhul', but this is an obvious error.⁸ Al Bīrūnī (A.D. 970-1039) notices Anahālwa'ra and does not recognize any other form.⁹ Al Idrīsī (end of the eleventh century) adopts no form but Māmhāl referring to it as one of the towns of the second climate¹⁰ on the confines of a desert between Sindh and "Hind" (India or Gujarāt) the home of the sheep-grazing and horse and camel-breeding Meds,¹¹ as a place numbered by some among the cities of Hind (Gujarāt) by others as one of the cities of Sindh situated at the extremity of the desert which stretches between Kambāya, Debal, and Bānia.¹² Again he describes Māmhāl as a town of moderate importance on the route "from Sindh to India," a place of little trade, producing small quantities of fruit but numerous flocks, nine days from Mansūrah through Bānia and five from Kambāya.¹³ Al Idrīsī (quoting from tenth century

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Towns.

Anahālva'da.

¹ See Ahmedābād Gazetteer, IV 338, also Elliot's History of India, I. 356-357

² See Appendix Elliot's History of India, I. 363

³ Al Istakhri in Elliot (History of India), I. 27.

⁴ Al Istakhri in Elliot (History of India), I. 30

⁵ Ibnī Haukal in Elliot (History of India), I. 32-34.

⁶ Ibnī Haukal in Elliot (History of India), I. 34-38.

⁷ Ibnī Haukal in Elliot (History of India), I. 39

⁸ Ibnī Haukal in Elliot (History of India), I. 40.

⁹ Al Bīrūnī in Elliot (History of India), I. 61

¹⁰ Al Idrīsī in Elliot (History of India), I. 77.

¹¹ Al Idrīsī in Elliot (History of India), I. 79.

¹² Bānia seems to be a copyist's error for Bazāna or Nārāyana. The distances agree and the fact that to this day the neighbourhood of Jaipur is noted for its flocks of sheep bears additional testimony to the correctness of the supposition.

¹³ Al Idrīsī in Elliot's History of India, I. 84.

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Amalwara

materials) also notices Nahrwára as eight days' journey from Barúh (Broach) across a flat country a place governed by a prince having the title of the Balhara a prince with numerous troops and elephants a place frequented by large numbers of Musalmans who go there on business.¹ It is remarkable that though Vanaraja (A.D. 720-780?) founded Anhilwara as early as about A.D. 750 no Arab geographer refers to the capital under any of the many forms into which its name was twisted before Al Istakhrî in A.D. 951. At first Anhilwára may have been a small place but before the tenth century it ought to have been large enough to attract the notice of Ibnî Khurdádbah (A.D. 912) and Al Masûdî (A.D. 915). In the eleventh century the Musalmán historians of Mahmúd's reign are profuse in their references to Anhilwára. According to Farahîah² after the capture of Anhilwara and the destruction of Somnâth (A.D. 114; A.D. 1025) Mahmúd was anxious to make Anhilwára his capital especially as it had mines of gold and as Singaldîp (Ceylon) rich in rubies was one of its dependencies. Mahmúd was dissuaded from the project by his ministers.³ But two mosques in the town of Pattan remain to show Mahmúd's fondness for the city. The next Muhammadan reference to Anhilwara is by Nûr-ud-dîn Muḥammad U'fî who lived in the reign of Shams-ud-dîn Altamsh (A.D. 1211).⁴ In his Romance of History U'fî refers to Anhilwára as the capital of that Jai Ráj, who on receiving the complaint of a poor Musalmán preacher of Cambay, whose mosque the Hindus instigated the fire-worshippers of the place to destroy, left the capital alone on a fleet dromedary and returning after personal enquiry at Cambay summoned the complainant and ordered the chief men of the infidels to be punished and the Musalmán mosque to be rebuilt at their expense.⁵

The Jâmi-ül-Hikâyat of Muhammad U'fî alludes⁶ to the defeat of Sultán Shâhab-ud-dîn of Muhammad bin Sam, usually styled Muhammad Ghori, at the hands of Mûlaraja II. of Anahilaváda in A.D. 1178. And the Táj-ul-Masarrî describes how in A.D. 1297 the Musalmáns under Kutb-ud-dîn Aibak retrieved the honour of their arms by the defeat of Katan and his flight from Anhilwára. This account refers to Gujarát as 'a country full of rivers and a separate region of the world'. It also notices that Sultan Nasir-ud-dîn Kabáchah (A.D. 1246-1266) deputed his general Khaskhán from Debal to attack Nahrwala and that Khaskhán brought back many captives and much spoil. After the conquest of Gujarát, in A.D. 1300 Sultán Ala-ud-dîn Khiljî despatched Ulughkhán (that is the Great Khán commonly styled Alákhán) to destroy the idol-temple of Somnâth. This was done and the largest idol was sent to Ala-ud-dîn.⁷

Ch. Tower,
Amalwara

Asa'wal Abí Rihan Al Birûnî is the first (A.D. 970-1033) of Arab geographers to mention Asa'wal the site of Ahmedabad which he correctly

¹ Al Istakhrî's History of India, I. 9. The Bakhshar Rashtanîs have the passage A.D. 574. The only expansion of Istakhrî's (A.D. 1109) Bakhshar at Anhilwára is the Ibn Khurdádbah's from A.D. 912, A.D. 150.

² Farahîah Persian Text L. corrected Bombay Edition, I. 57.

³ Farahîah Persian Text L. corrected Bombay Edition, IV. 48. The Razzat-ut-taifa is a short history of Somnâth in Gujarát written to fix its capital (IV. 42 Persian Text L. corrected Bombay Edition). Anahilwára seems more likely.

⁴ Nûr-ud-dîn's History of India, II. 135.

⁵ The Jâmi-ül-Hikâyat of Muhammad U'fî (History of India), II. 162.

⁶ Farahîah's History of India, II. 220.

⁷ Farahîah's History of India, II. 222-23.

⁸ Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, III. 74.

place two days' journey from Cambay¹. The next notice is along with Khilān (especially Kaxir on the left mouth of the Māhu) and near Hanawal or Janawal, apparently Chuvāḡ or Varamgam, by Al Idrīsī (end of the eleventh century) as a town populous, commercial, rich, industrious, and productive of useful articles². He blends Asawal "both in size and condition" to Dhulān both being places of good trade³. In the early part of the century (A.D. 1325) Zaiud-dīn Birmī refers to Asawal as the place where Sultan Muhammad Tughlāk (A.D. 1325-1351) had to pass a month in the heat of the rains owing to the evil condition to which his horses were reduced in marching and countermarching in pursuit of the rebel Fāḡir. In the beginning of the fifteenth century (A.D. 1403-4) the Tāḡhi-Mahmūd Shāh notices Asawal as the place where Tāḡrkh in the case of Zaiud-dīn had been seized and confined his own father⁴. The Murād-Sikandari speaks of Asawal (A.D. 1403) but with the more certainty, saying that it was the place where Zaiud-dīn the grandfather of Sultan Ahmad the founder of Ahmedabad, retired into private life after placing his son Tāḡrkh on the throne⁵. The Murād-Sikandari states that the site of Ahmedabad was built⁶ in the immediate vicinity of Asawal. The present village of Awarwar, under a slightly changed name, probably was a suburb of the old town.

Barda. See **ASAWAL**.

Broach (Bāruḡ, Bārūḡ, Bārūs) is one of the places first attacked by the Muslim Arab. In the fifteenth year of the Hijrah (A.D. 636) the Khalifah Umar appointed Usman son of Abdul Asī to Bahrein. Usman sent Hakim to Bahrein and Hakim despatched a fleet to Bāruḡ (or Broach)⁷. Al Bilāduri (A.D. 892-3) speaks of Junaid the son of Abdur Rahman Al Murri on his appointment to the frontier of Sindh in the Khalifat of Husam bin Abdul Malik (A.D. 721-743) sending an expedition by land against Barus (Broach) and overrunning Jurz⁸ (Turkist). Ibn Khurdādhbih (A.D. 912) enumerates Bārūḡ among the countries of Sindh⁹. Broach is next noticed¹⁰ by Al Bīrūnī (A.D. 970-1049) as standing near the estuary of the river Narbada, as 120 miles (30 parasangs) from Dabul and as being with Rahayjur (Rander) the capital of Lārdes. In describing the coasts of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean Al Masūdī (A.C. 915-941) speaks of Broach as بَارُوس *Barūs* adding from which come the famous lance shafts called *Barus*¹¹. Al Idrīsī (A.D. 1100) mentions¹² Baruh as a large town well-built of brick and plaster, the inhabitants rich, engaged in trade and ready to enter upon speculations and distant expeditions, a port for vessels coming from China and Sindh, being two days' journey from Samūr (Chenl) and eight days from Nahuwara Anhilwara Pattan. In the fourteenth century (A.D. 1325) Broach is described as in the flames of the insurrection

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ARAB
REFERENCES,
A.D. 851-1350
Chief Towns.
Asiatic.

Ahmedabad.

Barda.

Capital and
Port Towns
Broach

¹ Sachau's Text, 102.

² Al Idrīsī in Elliot (History of India), I, 87.

³ Al Idrīsī in Elliot (History of India), I, 88. ⁴ Elliot's History of India, III, 260.

⁵ Bayley's Gujarat, 81. ⁶ Elliot's History of India, IV, 39, History of Gujarat, 81.

⁷ Bayley's Gujarat, 90. ⁸ Al Bilāduri (A.D. 892) in Elliot's History of India, I, 116.

⁹ Al Bilāduri (A.D. 892) in Elliot's History of India, I, 126. Details of this far-reaching affliction of Sindh, Kachh, the Chāvādās, Chitor, Bhīnmāl, and Ujjain are given above, History 109.

¹⁰ Ibn Khurdādhbih in Elliot (History of India), I, 11.

¹¹ Al Bīrūnī in Elliot (History of India I, 49-66), and Sachau's Arabic Text, 100.

¹² Barlier DeMeunard's Arabic Text of Les Prairies D'Or, I, 239.

¹³ Al Idrīsī in Elliot (History of India), I, 87.

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A ARAB
REFERENCES,
A.D. 851-1350

Port or Coast
Towns
Cambay

caused by the foreign *amirs* or nobles of the hot-tempered and impolitic Muhammad bin Tughlak (A.D. 1325-1351) who visited it in person to quell their revolt. Zuhdiddin Barani the famous annalist of his reign and the author of the *Taukh-i-Firuz* Shāhi speaks of his deputation to Brouch by Malik Kabli the future Sultan Firuz Shah with a letter to the Sultan.¹

Cambay (KAMBĀYA, KAMBĀYAT, KAMBĀYAH, KHAMBĀIT) According to Al Istakhrī (A.D. 951) Kambāya formed the north boundary of the land of the Balhāras.² Al Istakhrī describes it as four days from Kāmhāl (Anhilwār) sixteen miles (4 *farsangs*) from the sea and four days from Surabāya probably Surabāra or the mouth of the Tāptā a term which is still in use.³ Al Masūdi (A.D. 915) in speaking⁴ of the ebb and flow of the ocean mentions Kambāya. He notices that Kambāya was famous in Baghdād, as it still is famous in Gujurāt, for its shoes. These shoes, he says, were made in Kambāya and the towns about it like Sindan (Sindan in Thana) and Safārāh (Supārā). He notices that when he visited Kambāya in H. 303 (A.D. 913-11) the city was ruled by a Brahman of the name of Bāma, on behalf of the Balhara, lord of Mānkir (Malkhet). He states that this Bāma was kind to and held friendly discussions with stranger Mussalmans and people of other faiths. He gives a pleasing picture of Cambay, on a gulf far broader than the estuaries of the Nile, the Euphrates, or the Tigris whose shores were covered with villages, estates, and gardens wooded and stocked with palm and date groves full of peacocks parrots and other Indian birds. Between Kambāya and the sea from which this gulf branches was two days' journey. When, says Al Masūdi, the waters ebb from the gulf stretches of sands come to view. One day I saw a dog on one of these desert-like stretches of sand. The tide began to pour up the gulf and the dog hearing it ran for his life to the shore but the rush was too rapid. The waters overtook and drowned him. Al Masūdi speaks of an emerald known as the Makkah emerald being carried from Kambāya by Aden to Makkah where it found a market.⁵ Ibn Hānkāl (A.D. 968-996) names Kambāya among the cities of Hind.⁶ In his time there were Jāma or assembly mosques in Kambāya, where the precepts of Islām were openly taught. Among the productions of Kambāya he gives mangoes coconuts lemons and rice in great plenty and some honey but no date trees.⁷ He makes Kambāya four miles (one *farsang*) from the sea and four (that is four days' journey) from Subara apparently Surabāra that is Surat. The distance to Kāmhāl or Anhilwār by some mistake is shown as four *farsangs* instead of four days' journey.⁸ Al Bīrūnī (A.D. 970-1031) places Kambāya within the large country of Gujurāt (120 miles)⁹ (30 *farsakhs*) from Debal (Karachi). He says the men of Kambāya receive tribute from the chiefs of the island of Kis or Kish (probably Kuch-Makrān).¹⁰ Al Idrisi (A.D. 1100) places Kambāya with other Gujurāt cities in the second

¹ Elliot's History of India, III. 256-260.

² Al Istakhrī in Elliot (History of India), I. 27.

³ Al Istakhrī in Elliot (History of India), I. 30.

⁴ Ptolemy's D'Or (Barbari D. Maynard's Arabic Text), I. 253-54.

⁵ Ptolemy's D'Or (Arabic Text), III. 47.

⁶ Ibn Hānkāl in Elliot (History of India), I. 34.

⁷ Ibn Hānkāl in Elliot (History of India), I. 38.

⁸ Ibn Hānkāl in Elliot (History of India), I. 39.

⁹ Ptolemy's D'Or from Al Bīrūnī in Elliot's History of India, I. 66 and Sachau's Arabic Text, ch. 17 or 18, pp. 4-99-102.

¹⁰ See Herbelot's History of India, I. 67.

climate¹ He says it is a pretty and well known naval station, second among the towns of Gujarát² It stands at the end of a bay three miles from the sea where vessels can enter and cast anchor It is well supplied with water and has a fine fortress built by the Government to prevent the incursions of the pirates of Kish (Makran) From Kambáyá to the island of Aubkin (Píram) is two and a half days' sail and from Aubkin to Debal (or Karáchu) two days more The country is fertile in wheat and rice and its mountains yield the bamboo Its inhabitants are idolaters In his *Tazíyat-ul-Amsár*, Abdulláh Wassáf³ in A D 1300 (H 699) writes "Gujarát which is commonly called Kambáyat contains 70,000 villages and towns all populous and the people abounding in wealth and luxuries In the course of the four seasons seventy different species of beautiful flowers bloom. The purity of the air is so great that the picture of an animal drawn with the pen is lifelike Many plants and herbs grow wild Even in winter the ground is full of tulips (poppies) The air is healthy, the climate a perpetual spring The moisture of the dew of itself suffices for the cold season crops Then comes the summer harvest which is dependent on the rain The vineyards bring forth blue grapes twice a year"

The trade in horses from the Persian isles and coast and from Katif, Lahsa, Bahrain, and Hurmuz was so great that during the reign of Atúbak Abu Bakí⁴ (A D 1154-1189) 10,000 horses worth 2,20,000 *dirárs*⁵ (Rs 1,10 00,000) were imported into Cambay and the ports of Malabar These enormous sums were not paid out of the government treasuries but from the endowments of Hindu temples and from taxes on the courtizans attached to them. The same author mentions the conquest⁶ of Gujarát and the plunder of Kambayát by Malik Muíz-zud-dín (called by Faíshtah Alf and by Barní U'lugh meaning the great Khan) The *Tárikh-i-Firuz Sháhí* states that Nasrat Khan and not U'lugh Khán took and plundered Cambay and notices that in Cambay Nasrat Khan purchased Kafú Hazar Dínarí (the thousand Dínár Káfur), the future favourite minister and famous general of Alá-ud-dín About fifty years later the hot-headed Muhammad bin Tughlak (A D 1325-1351) was in Cambay quelling an insurrection and collecting the arrears of Cambay revenue⁷

Appendix V.

ARAB
REFERENCES,
A D 851-1350.

Port or Coast
Towns
Cambay

¹ Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I. 77

² Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I 84 ³ *Tazíyat ul Amsar* in Elliot, III 82

⁴ Saúdd's patron mentioned by him in his Garden of Roses.

⁵ The word *dínár* is from the Latin *denarius* (a silver coin worth 10 oz. of brass) through the Greek *δυναριον* It is a Kurdanic word, the ancient Arabic equivalent being *مِثْلَال* *mithlál* The *dínár* sequin or ducat varied in value in different times In Abu Hanífal's (the greatest of the four Sunni Jurisconsults) time (A D 749) its value ranged from 10 to 12 dirhams. Then from 20 to 25 dirhams or drachmas As a weight it represented a drachma and a half Though generally fluctuating, its value may be assessed at 9s or 10 francs to half a sovereign For an elaborate article on the *Dínár* see Yule's *Cathay*, II 439, Burton's *Alf Leilah*, I 32. The word *Dirham* is used in Arabic in the sense of "silver" (vulg *siller*) the Greek *δραχμη* and the drachma of Plantus This silver piece was 9½d. and as a weight 66½ grains Sir Henry Elliot does not speak more at length of the *dínár* and the *dirham* than to say (History of India, I 461) that they were introduced in Sindh in the reign of Abdul Malik (A D 685) and Elliot, VIII 31) that the *dínár* was a Róm and the *dirham* a Persian coin The value of the *dínár* in modern Indian currency may be said to be Rs 5 and that of the *dirham* nearly annas 4.

⁶ Wassáf gives the date of this event as A C 1298, but the *Tárikh-i-Aláí* of Amír Khusrao places it at A C 1300 See Elliot's History of India, III 43 and 74

⁷ Elliot's History of India, III. 256 57

Appendix V

ARAB
REFERENCES,
A.D. 551-1350
Port or Coast
Towns
Cheul.

Cheul (Saimūr'). Al Masūdī (A.D. 913) is the first Arab geographer to mention *Saimūr*.¹ He says On the coast as in Saimūr Subāra and Tāna the *Lāriyyah* language is spoken. In describing Saimūr Al Masūdī states² that at the time of his visit (H. 304, A.D. 914) the ruler on behalf of the Balhāra was Jhānḡha (this is the fifth Silahāra A.D. 916). Nearly ten thousand Musalmāns were settled in Saimūr including some (called Bayāsirah) born in the land of Arab parents and others from *Sīrāf* and Persian Gulf, Basrah, Baghdād, and other towns. A certain Mūsā bin Is-hak was appointed Rais or ruler³ by the Balhāra or Valabhi, that is the reigning Kāshtrakūta Indra Nityanivarsha to adjudicate Muhammadan disputes according to Musalmān law and customs. He describes⁴ at length the ceremony of self-destruction by a *besar*⁵ youth (a Hindu by religion) to gain a better state in his future life, his scalping himself and putting fire on his head, his cutting out a piece of his heart and sending it to a friend as a souvenir.

Al Istākhrī (A.D. 951) mentions Saimūr as one of the cities of Hind, makes it the southern end of the Balhāra kingdom with Kambāya as the northern,⁶ and places it at a distance of five days from Sindān (the Thana Sanjan) and fifteen days from *Sarandīb* or Ceylon.⁷ Ibn Hānkal (A.D. 968) notices Saimūr as one of the cities of Hind known to him and mentions the sea of Fars (or the Indian Ocean) as stretching from Saimūr on the east to Tīz or Makrān.⁸ He states⁹ that the country between Saimūr and Tāmhlī (Anulwāra) belongs to Hind. He makes¹⁰ the distance between Subāra (probably Surabāra or Swat), Sindān, and Saimūr five days each and between Saimūr and *Sarandīb* (Ceylon) fifteen days. Al Bīrūnī (A.D. 1020) says¹¹ "Then you enter the land of Lūrān in which is Saimūr also called *Jaimūr* or *Chaimūr*." Al Idrīsī (end of the eleventh century) mentions Saimūr as one of the towns of the second climate.¹² He describes it as large and well-built, five days from Sindān and among its products notes coconut trees in abundance, henna (*Lawsonia inermis*) and on its mountains many aromatic plants.¹³ His remark that Saimūr formed a part of the vast, fertile, well-peopled and commercial kingdom of the Balhāras must be taken from the work of Al-Jauharī (A.D. 950).

Al Kazwīnī (A.D. 1236) quoting Miskān bin Muḥallal (A.D. 942) describes Saimūr as one of the cities of Hind near the confines of Sind,¹⁴ whose people born of Turkish and Indian parents are very beautiful. It was a flourishing trade centre with a mixed population of Jews, Friswori-

¹ Al Masūdī in Elliot (History of India), I, 24.

² Paines D'Or, II, 85.

³ He was called a Hauran or Hauranah in the language of the country. Al Masūdī's Muruj Arabic Text Cairo Edition, II, 56.

⁴ Al Masūdī's Muruj Arabic Text Cairo Edition, II, 56, 57.

⁵ One born in India of an Arab father and an Indian mother probably from the Gujarati word *Adh lera* meaning mixed blood. This seems the origin of the Bar Rajput. The performer in the case in the text was a Hindu. Al Masūdī (Muruj Arabic Text II, 57, Cairo Edition) says that the singular of Bayāsirah is Besar.

⁶ Al Istākhrī in Elliot (History of India), I, 27.

⁷ Al Istākhrī in Elliot (History of India), I, 30.

⁸ Ibn Hānkal in Elliot (History of India), I, 33, 34.

⁹ Ibn Hānkal in Elliot (History of India), I, 33.

¹⁰ Ibn Hānkal in Elliot (History of India), I, 33.

¹¹ Al Bīrūnī Sachau's Arabic Text, 102, Elliot's History of India, I, 39, 66.

¹² Al Idrīsī in Elliot (History of India), I, 77.

¹³ Al Idrīsī in Elliot (History of India), I, 77, 78.

¹⁴ Al Kazwīnī in Elliot (History of India), I, 97.

slaves, Christians and Musulmans.¹ The merchandise of the Turks (probably of the Indo-Afghan frontier) was conveyed thither and the products were exported and called *Somnath* after its name. The temple of Somnath was ornamented with idols of turquoise and *barha kul* or rubi. In the city were many mosques, churches, synagogues and fire-temples.

Dholka (Dholak). Al Idrisi (end of the eleventh century) places Dholka and another town he calls Hanawal that is Ghunwal or Junawal between Basith (Basch) and Nahrwira. He describes Dholka as on the banks of a river (the Sāhramati) which flows into the sea. It is a bay or gulf on the west (east) of which stands the town of Basith. Both these towns he adds stand at the foot of a chain of mountains which lie to the north and which are called *Talaran* apparently Andhra. The *lām* (bamboo) grows here as well as a few cereals.²

Goa See S. 404.

Gondal (Kondal). Zia-ud-din Barani in his *Tārīkh-i-Firuz Shāhi* states that Sultan Muhammad Tughlak spent (c. 1349) his third rainy season in Gondal (Gondal). Here the Sultan assembled his forces before starting on his fatal march to Sindh.

Kachh. Al Biruni (c. 970-1031) is the only Arab writer who refers to Kachh. He calls Kachh³ with Somnath the head-quarters of the country of the Bawari or Medhi pirates. Speaking of the Indus he notices that one of its branches which reaches the borders of Kachh is known as Sind Sarai. In a third passage he refers to Kachh as the land of the *andl* or bulamodeidra and of *lādrud* or bezoar. It was twenty-four miles (6 *parasangs*) from Debal (Kacchi). According to the *Tārīkh-i-Maʿsumi*⁴ when (A.D. 1069) the sovereignty of Sindh passed from the descendants of Mahend of Ghazni to the Sumras, Singhar, the grandson of Sumra (A.D. 1069)⁵ extended his sway from Kachh to Nasarpur⁶ near Sindh. Hardarab and Khafif the son of Singhar consolidated his power and made Kachh a Sumra dependency.⁷ Duda the grandson of Khafif quelled a threatened Sumra rising by proceeding to Kachh and chastising the Sammas.⁸ On the fall of the Sumras the Chāuras became masters of Kachh from whose hands the country passed to those of the Sammas. Ground down under the iron sway of the Sumras a number of Sammas fled from Sindh and entered Kachh where they were kindly received by the Chāuras who gave them land to cultivate. After acquainting themselves with the country and the resources of its rulers the Summa immigrants who seem to have increased in numbers and strengthened themselves by union, obtained possession by stratagem but not without heroism of the chief fortress of Kachh.⁹ This fort now in ruins

Appendix V.

ARAB
REFERENCES,
A.D. 851-1350.

Chief Towns.
Dholka.

Goa
Gondal

Capitals.
Kachh.

¹ Though Al Kazwini wrote in the thirteenth century, he derives his information of India from Miswar bin Muhallab, who visited India about A.D. 912. Elliot (History of India), I, 91.

² Al Idrisi in Elliot (History of India), I, 87.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Firuz Shāhi* by Zia Barani (Elliot's History of India), III, 264-65.

⁴ Rashid ud-din (A.D. 1310) from Al Biruni in Elliot's History of India, I, 65.

⁵ Rashid ud-din (A.D. 1310) from Al Biruni in Elliot's History of India, I, 49.

⁶ Rashid ud-din (A.D. 1310) from Al Biruni in Elliot's History of India, I, 68.

⁷ Written A.D. 1000 (Elliot, I, 213).

⁸ *Tārīkh-i-Maʿsumi* in Elliot, I, 16.

⁹ Juhfātul Kurām in Elliot, I, 344.

¹⁰ *Tārīkh-i-Maʿsumi* in Elliot, I, 217.

¹¹ *Tārīkh-i-Maʿsumi* in Elliot, I, 218.

¹² *Tārīkh-i-Tāhiri* (Elliot's History of India), I, 267-68.

part of the Ganges, being now the capital. Kannauj was celebrated for its excellence of the Pandya or Mahura (Mahura) is on account of Bas Day (Chaitra). Al Idrisi at the end of the eleventh century, speaks of Kannauj as one of the seven important towns of the name of Samandir "a large town, commercial and rich, where there are large profits to be made and which is dependent on the rule of the Kannauj king. Samandir, however, is situated on a river coming from Kashmir. To the north of Samandir is a great city, to save the city of Inner Kashmir under the rule of Kanauj. The Chach Namah (an Arabic history of great antiquity written before A.D. 753, translated into Persian in the time of Sultan Nasiruddin Khusrau) (c. 1216) says that when Chach (A.D. 631-670) advanced towards Al-Hind, the king of Brahmanabad that the Brahmins wrote to ask the help of "the king of Hindustan," that is Kannauj, at that time Satban son of Raud but that Al-Hind died before his answer came.

Kol. Ibn Khurdadbeh (A.D. 912) has Kol seventy-two miles (18 farsangs) from Sujan in Kachh.² And the Tugul Masur³ relates how in A.D. 1164 Kuth ul-din advanced to Kol and took the fort.

Malkhet. Masudi. Al Masudi (A.D. 913) is the first Arab writer to mention Malkhet. Malkhet is now Malkhet about sixty miles south-east of Sialpur. In relating the extinction of the great Brahma-born dynasty of India Al Masudi states that at the time the city of Mankir, the great city of India, submitted to the kings called the *Balharas* who at that time were all ruling at Malkhet.⁴

Al Masudi correctly describes the position of Malkhet as eighty Sindh or eight-mile *farsangs* that is six hundred and forty miles from the sea in a mountainous country. Again he notices that the language spoken in Malkhet was known, called from Karih or Kanna the district where it was spoken. The current coin was the *Tartariyah dirham* (each weighing a dirham and a half) on which was impressed the date of the ruler's reign. He describes the country of the Balharas as stretching from the Kamkar (or Konkan) in the south or south-west north to the frontiers of the king of Jaur (Gujarat), "a monarch rich in men horses and camels." Al Istakhrī (A.D. 914) describes Mankir as the dwelling of the wide-ruling Balhara. Ibn Haukal (A.D. 965-976) repeats almost to the letter the information given by Al Istakhrī. The destruction of Malkhet (Munya Kheta) by the western Chalukya king Tailappa in A.D. 972 explains why none of the writers after Ibn Haukal mentions Mankir.

Appendix V.

ARAB
REFERENCES,
A.D. 861-1370
Chief Towns,
Kannauj.

Kol.

Malkhet.

¹ Elliot, I. 90² Elliot's History of India, I. 147³ Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I. 15⁴ Tugul Masur in Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, II. 222 "After staying some time at Delhi he (Kuth ul-din) marched in A.D. 1194 (H. 590) towards Kol and Banaris passing the Jumna which from its exceeding purity resembled a mirror. It would seem to place Kol near Banaris."⁵ Al Masudi's Prairies D'Or (Arabic Text), I. 169⁶ Al Masudi in Elliot (History of India), I. 19, 20, 21 and Prairies D'Or, I. 178⁷ Al Masudi Arabic Text Prairies D'Or, (I. 381), Al Masudi in Elliot (History of India), I. 24⁸ That is an Arab dirhem and a half. Al Istakhrī in Elliot (History of India), I. 27. These *Tartariyah* dirhems are mentioned by almost all Arab writers. Al Idrisi says they were current in Mansurah in Sindh and in the Malay archipelago. See Elliot, I. 3 note 1. According to *Sulaiman* (A.D. 851) the *Tartariyah* dirham weighed "a dirhem and a half of the coinage of the king." Elliot, I. 3. Al Masudi (Prairies D'Or, I. 382) calls these "*Tartariyah*" dirhams, giving them the same weight as that given by *Sulaiman* to the *Tartariyah* dirhams. *Ibn Haukal* calls it the Tatar dirhem and makes its weight equal to "a dirham and a third" (Elliot, I. 85).

Appendix V.

At a
British era,
A.D. 861-1350.
Chief Towns

Ma'ndal Ibn Khundádáb (A.D. 912) enumerates **Mándal** (in Virangim) with Rámula,¹ Kuli, and Bārūh as countries of Sindh. During the Khilafat of Hisham the son of Abdul Malik (A.D. 721-743) Junaid son of Abdul Rahman-al-Murri was appointed to the frontier of Sindh. According to Al Biladuri (A.D. 892) Junaid sent his officers to Mandat,² Dahmaj perhaps Kamloj, and Balūis (Broach).

Nārāna.

Nārāna In his Indian Al Biruni (A.D. 970-1031) notices **Nārāna** near Jaipur as the ancient capital of Gujarat. He says that its correct name is Bazannah but that "it is known to our people (the Arabs) as Naram." He places it eighty miles (20 *farsakhs*) south-west of Kanauj, and adds that when it was destroyed the inhabitants removed to and founded another city.³ Abū Rihān makes Nārāna the starting point of three itineraries to the south the south-west and the west. Al Biruni's details suffice to place this centre in the neighbourhood of the modern Jaipur and to identify it with Nārāyan the capital of Barāt of Matsya which according to Faustak⁴ Mahmūd of Ghazni took in A.D. 1022 (H. 412).

Rānder.

Rānder (RĀHANJIR OR RAHANJUR). Al Biruni (A.D. 1031) gives⁵ Rahanjir and Bārūh (Broach) as the capitals of Lau Desh or south Gujarat. Elliot (Note 3, I. 61) writes the word Dumanhūr or Dabnahūr but the reading given by Sachau in his Arabic text of Al Biruni (page 100 chapter 18) is plainly Rahanjir (رحانجير) and the place intended is without doubt Rānder on the right bank of the Tapti opposite Surat. In his list of Indian towns Al Idrisi (end of the eleventh century) seems to refer to it under the forms Sundū and Sandūr.

Sanjān.

Sanjān (SINDHĀ) The two Sanjāns, one in Kachh the other in Thāna, complicate the references to Sindhān. Sindhān in Kachh was one of the earliest gains of Islam in India. Al Biladuri⁷ (A.D. 892) speaks of Fazl, the son of Mahan, in the reign of the greatest of the Abbāsi Khalfās Al Mamun (A.D. 813-833), taking Sindhān and sending Al Mamun the rare present of "an elephant and the longest and largest *adī* or turban or turk spar ever seen." Fazl built an assembly mosque that was opened by the Hindus on their occupation of the town. Ibn Khundádáb (A.D. 912) includes this Kachh Sindhān with Broach and other places in Gujarat among the cities of Sindh. In his itinerary starting from Ballar, he places Sindhān seventy-two miles⁸ (18 *farsakhs*) from Kol. Al Ma'mudi (A.D. 915-944) states that Indian emeralds from (the Kachh) Sindhan and the neighbourhood of Kambiyat (Cambay) approached those of the first water in the intensity of their green and in brilliancy. As they found a market in Malakh they were called Malakh emeralds.⁹ Al Istakhri (A.D. 951) under cities of Hind places the Konkan Sindhān five days from Surabāga (Surabān or Surat) and as many from Surmūr¹⁰

¹ I understand *rauma* rather. There is a Rūm near Karur about sixty miles south-east of Madras. Al Idrisi (A.D. 1135) has a Rūmālah three days from Kalbata the latter is I. 110, I. 92.

² Prof. Dr. Okhonsdahl. See Appendix vol. I page 390 Elliot's History of India.

³ See also Arabic Text of Al Biruni's India, 92.

⁴ For an Arabic Text of Al Biruni, 100.

⁵ See also Arabic Text of Al Biruni, 100.

⁶ Elliot's History of India, I. 81.

⁷ Al Biruni's India (History of India), I. 129. The word *adī* in the Arabic text is a word for a turban or turk spar which seems to be an improbable present to be sent to a foreigner.

⁸ Ibn Khundádáb in Elliot's History of India, I. 11 and 15.

⁹ See also Arabic Text of Al Ma'mudi's India, III. 17-18.

¹⁰ See also Arabic Text of Al Istakhri's India, I. 27 and 30.

(Cheval) Ibn Haukal (A.D. 908) mentions (the Kachh) Sind in among "cities of Hind which have a large Muslim population and a Jama Masjid" as an early mention. Al Biruni (A.D. 970-1031)² in his itinerary found Debal in Sindh place the Kolan 200 miles (50 *faras*) from that place and between Broach and Supra. At the end of the eleventh century probably the Kachh Sind was a large commercial town rich both in exports and imports with an intelligent and warlike, industrious, and ship-building population. Al Idrisi gives the situation of the Kolan Sind in a temple and a half from the sea and six days from Sammur (Cheval)³ Apparently Alid Idrisi (A.D. 1124) confused Sind in with Sindapur or Gox which Ibn Batuta (A.D. 1349) rightly describes as an island.⁴

Sindapur or Sindapur Al Masudi (A.D. 943) places *Sindapur* he wrote at Sindapur or Gox in the country of the Bughara (Balhara) in India. Al Biruni (A.D. 1021) places Sindapur or Sindapur that is Gox as the first of coast towns in Malabar the next being Faknur. Al Idrisi (end of the eleventh century) describes Sindapur as a commercial town with fine buildings and rich bays in a great gulf where ships cast anchor, four days along the coast from Thana.

Somnath Al Biruni (A.D. 970-1031) is the first of the Arab writers to refer to Somnath. He calls Somnath and Kachh the capital of the Bihariya people who commit their depredations in boats called *barra*.⁵ He places Somnath (11 *faras*) fifty six miles from Debal or Karich 200 miles (40 *faras*) from Anhilwara and 180 miles (60 *qaydhas*) from Broach. He notes that the river Sarasut falls into the sea an arrow-shot from the town. He speaks of Somnath as an important place of Hindu worship and as a centre of pilgrimage from all parts of India. He tells of votaries and pilgrims performing the last stage of their journey crawling on their sides or on their ankles, never touching the sacred ground with the soles of their feet even progressing on their heads.⁶ Al Biruni gives⁷ the legendary origin of the Somnath idol how the moon loved the daughters of Prayapati, how his cup was inglove for one of them the fair Rohini kindled the jealousy of her slighted sisters, how their angry sire punished the perversity of the moon by pronouncing a curse which caused the pallor of leprosy to overspread his face, how the penitent moon sued for forgiveness to the saint and how the saint unable to recall his curse showed him the way of salvation by the worship of the *Lingam*, how he set up and called the Moon Lord a stone which⁸ for ages had lain on the sea shore less than three miles to the west of the mouth of the Sarasvati, and to the east of the site of the golden castle of *Batruva* (Verival) the residence of Bisudeo and near the scene of his death and of the destruction of his people the Yadavas. The waxing and the waning of the moon caused the flood that hid the *Lingam* and the ebb that showed it and proved that the Moon was its servant who bathed it regularly. Al Biruni notices⁹ that in his time the castellated walls and other fortifications round the temple were not more than a hundred

Appendix V

ARAB
REFERENCES,
A.D. 851-1350

Port or
Coast Towns
Sindapur or
Sindapur

Somnath

¹ Ibn Haukal in Elliot (History of India), I, 34 and 38.

² Al Biruni in Elliot, I, 66.

³ Al Idrisi in Elliot, I, 77-85.

⁴ Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I, 103 Appendix.

⁵ Lee's Ibn Batuta, 166.

⁶ Al Masudi in Elliot (History of India), I, 21.

⁷ Rashid ud din from Al Biruni in Elliot, I, 68.

⁸ Al Idrisi in Elliot, I, 89.

⁹ Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I, 65, Sachau's Arabic Text of Al Biruni, 102.

¹⁰ Elliot's History of India, I, 67.

¹¹ Sachau's Text of Al Biruni, 252.

¹² Sachau's Arabic Text, 253.

¹³ Sachau's Arabic Text, 253 chapter 58.

Appendix V.

ARAB
REFERENCES,
A.D. 851-1350
Port or
Coast towns
Somnāth

years old. Al Birūnī represents the upper part of the *Lingam* as hung with massive and bejewelled gold chains. These chains together with the upper half of the idol were, he observes, carried away by the Emir¹ Mahmūd to Ghazna, where a part of the idol was used to form one of the steps of the Assembly Mosque and the other part was left to lie with *Chakra Swām*, the Thānesar idol, in the *maiden* or hippodrome of Mahmūd's capital Somnāth, says Al Birūnī,² was the greatest of the *Lingams* worshipped in India where in the countries to the south-west of Sindh the worship of these emblems abounds. A jar of Ganges water and a basket of Kashmir flowers were brought daily to Somnāth. Its worshippers believed the stone to possess the power of curing all diseases, and the mariners and the wanderers over the deep between Sofāla and China addressed their prayers to it as their pation deity³ Ibnī Asīr⁴ (A.D. 1121) gives a detailed account of the temple of Somnāth and its ancient grandeur. He says Somnāth was the greatest of all the idols of Hind. Pilgrims by the hundred thousand met at the temple especially at the times of eclipses and believed that the ebb and flow of the tide was the homage paid by the sea to the god. Everything of the most precious was brought to Somnāth and the temple was endowed with more than 10,000 villages. Jewels of incalculable value were stored in the temple and to wash the idol water from the sacred stream of the Ganga was brought every day over a distance of two hundred *jarsangs* (1200 miles). A thousand Brāhmins were on duty every day in the temple, three hundred and fifty singers and dancers performed before the image, and three hundred barbers shaved the pilgrims who intended to pay their devotions at the shrine. Every one of these servants had a settled allowance. The temple of Somnāth was built upon fifty pillars of teakwood covered with lead. The idol, which did not appear to be sculptured,⁵ stood three cubits out of the ground and had a girth of three cubits. The idol was by itself in a dark chamber lighted by most exquisitely jewelled chandeliers. Near the idol was a chain of gold to which bells were hung weighing 200 *mans*. The chain was shaken at certain intervals during the night that the bells might rouse fresh parties of worshipping Brāhmins. The treasury containing many gold and silver idols, with doors hung with curtains set with valuable jewels, was near the chamber of the idol. The worth of what was found in the temple exceeded two millions of *dinars* (Rs 1,00,00,000). According to Ibnī Asīr Mahmūd reached Somnāth on a Thursday in the middle of *Zilkāda* II 414 (A.D. December 1023). On the approach of Mahmūd Bhīm the ruler of Anhilvād fled abandoning his capital and took refuge in a fort to prepare for war. From Anhilvād Mahmūd started for Somnāth taking several forts with images which, Ibnī Asīr says, were the heralds

¹ It appears that at the time of his expedition to Somnāth Mahmūd had not adopted the title of Sultan.

² See also Arabic Text, 253 chapter 58.

³ See also Arabic Text, 253 chapter 58.

⁴ The *Tārkh al-Kamil* Ibnī Asīr (A.D. 1160-1232) is a voluminous and reliable history. Ibnī Balikūn, the author of the famous biographical dictionary, knew and respected him always alluding to him as "our Sheikh." See Elliot, II 215.

⁵ From the term "sculptured" it would seem the idol was of stone. It is curious however Ibnī Asīr goes a little further that a part of the idol was "burned by Mahmūd." See Elliot, II 471. The *Tārkh al-Kamil* says (Elliot, II 471) that the idol was cut of solid stone. Ibnī Asīr represents it as hollow and containing jewels, in repeating the story of the destruction of Mahmūd's idol breaking the idol regardless of the hindu custom of the Brāhmins, and casting it full of jewels.

or chamberlains of Somnāth Resuming his march he crossed a desert with little water Here he was encountered by an army of 20,000 fighting men under chiefs who had determined not to submit to the invader These forces were defeated and put to flight by a detachment sent against them by Mahmud. Mahmūd himself marched to Dabalwarah a place said by Ibn Asir to be two days journey from Somnāth. When he reached Somnāth Mahmud beheld a strong fortress whose base was washed by the waves of the sea The assault began on the next day Friday During nearly two days of hard fighting the invaders seemed doomed to defeat. On the third the Muslims drove the Hindus from the town to the temple A terrible carnage took place at the temple-gate. Those of the defenders that survived took themselves to the sea in boats but were overtaken and some slain and the rest drowned ¹

Supā'ra (SUBĀRĀ, SUFĀRA, OR SURBĀRĀH).—The references to Subārā are doubtful as some seem to belong to Surabāra the Tapti mouth and others to Sopāra six miles north of Bassein The first Arab reference to Subāra belongs to Sopāra Al Masūdī's (A.D. 915)² reference is that in *Saimūr* (Cheval), *Subāra* (Sopara), and *Tāna* (Thāna) the people speak the Lariyah language, so called from the sea which washes the coast On this coast Al Istakhri (A.D. 951)³ refers to *Subāra* that is apparently to Surabara or Surat a city of Hind, four days from Kambāyah (Cambay) ⁴

Ibn Haukal (A.D. 968-976) mentions⁵ *Surbārah* apparently the Tapti mouth or Surat as one of the cities of Hind four *farsakhs*, correctly days, from *Kambāyah* and two miles (half *farsakh*) from the sea From *Surbara* to *Sindān*, perhaps the Kachh Sanjan, he makes ten days Al Birūni (A.D. 970-1031) makes *Subāra* perhaps the Thāna Sopāra six days' journey from *Debal*⁶ (perhaps Diu) Al Idrisi (A.D. 1100) mentions *Subara* apparently Sopāra as a town in the second climate, a mile and a half from the sea and five days (an excessive allowance) from *Sindān* It was a populous busy town, one of the entrepôts of India and a pearl fishery Near *Subāra* he places *Bāra*, a small island with a growth of cactus and coconut trees ⁷

Sura'ba'ra See SUPĀRA

Thā'na (TĀNA).—That Thāna was known to the Arabs in pre-Islām times is shown by one of the first Musalmān expeditions to the coast of India being directed against it As early as the reign of the second Khalifah Umar Ibn al Khattāb (A.D. 634-643, H 13-23) mention is made⁸ of Usmān, Umar's governor of Umān (the Persian Gulf) and Bahrein,

Appendix V.

ARAB
REFERENCES,
A.D. 851-1350

Port or
Coast Towns
Somnāth

Supāra

Surbārah
Capitals,
Thāna

¹ The *Rauzat-us-Safa* (Lithed Edition, IV 48) speaks of Mahmūd's project of making Somnāth his capital and not Anhilwāra as stated by Farishtah (I 57, Original Persian Text). The *Rauzāt-us-Safa* says that when Mahmūd had conquered Somnāth he wished to fix his residence there for some years as the country was very large and had a great many advantages including mines of pure gold and rubies brought from Sarandīb or Ceylon which he represents as a dependency of Gujarāt. At last he yielded to his minister's advice and agreed to return to Khurāsān

² *Prairies D'Or* (DeMeynard's Arabic Text, I 381, also Al Masūdī in Elliot (History of India, I 24) ³ Al Istakhri in Elliot (History of India), I 27.

⁴ Al Istakhri in Elliot (History of India), I 30

⁵ Ibn Haukal in Elliot (History of India), I 34, 39

⁶ Thus in Sachau's Arabic Text page 102, but Elliot (I. 66) spells the word *Sufāra* in his translation It might have assumed that form in coming from the Arabic through Rashīd-ud-dīn's Persian version from which Sir Henry Elliot derives his account

⁷ Al Idrisi in Elliot (History of India), I 77 and 85

⁸ Al Bilāzuri in Elliot, I. 116.

Capitula
Thyridia

sending a successful expedition against Thána. Al Masúdí (A.D. 943) refers to Thana on the shore of the Lárwi sea or Indian Ocean, as one of the coast towns in which the Larwi language is spoken¹ Al Bírúni (A.D. 970-1031) gives² the distance from *Mahrát Desh* (the Marátha country) to the Konkan "with its capital Tana on the sea-shore" as 100 miles (25 *farsakhs*) and locates the *Lár Desh* (south Gujarat) capitals of *Bíhriy* and *Rahunjur* (Broach and Rander) to the east of Thána. He places Thana with Somnath Konkan and Kambaya in Gujarat and notices that from Thána the Lár country begins. Al Idrisi (end of the eleventh century) describes³ Thána as a pretty town upon a great gulf where vessels anchor and from where they set sail. He gives the distance from Sindábur (or Goa) to Thána as four days' sail. From the neighbourhood of Thána he says the *kana* or bamboo and the *tabushír* or bamboo pith are transported to the east and west⁴

1. la or
1. gl'hu.

Bara'da (PORBANDAR) —Of the Arab attacks on the great sea-port Vala or Valabhi twenty miles west of Bhavnagar, during the eighth and ninth centuries details are given Above pages 94-96. The manner of writing the name of the city attacked leaves it doubtful whether Balabhi that is Valabhi or Barada near Porbandar is meant. But the importance of the town destroyed and the agreement in dates with other accounts leaves little doubt that the reference is to Valabhi.⁵

In the fourth year of his reign about A.D. 758 the Khalifah Ja'far al-Mansûr' (A.D. 754-775) the second ruler of the house of Abbâs appointed Hisham governor of Sindh. Hisham despatched a fleet to the coast of Barûdah, which may generally be read Balabha, under the command of Amrû bin Jamal Taghlabi. Tabari (A.D. 838-932) and Ibn Asir (A.D. 1160-1232) state that another expedition was sent to this coast in A.H. 160 (A.D. 776) in which though the Arabs succeeded in taking the town, disease thinned the ranks of the party stationed to garrison the port, a thousand of them died, and the remaining troops while returning to their country were shipwrecked on the coast of Persia. Thus he adds deterred

¹Barl. or De Meynard's Text of Masudi's Prairies D'Or, I 320 and 351

² Sachar's Arabic Text of Al Biruni, chapters 18, 39, 102 and Elliot's History of India, I, 60-61, 66-67. ³ Al Idnā in Elliot, I, 69.

² Al Idmari in *Filist*, 1-69

* All India says the real *tabashir* is extracted from the root of the reed called *sharkh*. *Sarkh* is Gujarati for reed. It is generally applied to the reeds growing on river banks used by the poor for thatching their cottages. *Tabashir* is a drug obtained from the joint of the bamboo and prescribed by Indian physicians as a cooling drink good for fever.

[illegible]

6. Henry I. H. of H. II. 212 and H. II. 212, Vol. 1, H. II. 212

Al Mahdī¹ (A D 775-785) the succeeding Khalīfah from extending the eastern limits of his empire. Besides against Balaba the Sindhi Arabs sent a fleet against Kandhar apparently, though somewhat doubtfully,² the town of that name to the north of Branch where they destroyed a temple or *budd* and built a mosque. Al Bīrūnī³ (A D 1030) writing of the Valabhi era describes the city of Balabāh بلاب as nearly thirty *jauzhan* (*yoganas*) that is ninety miles to the south of Anhilvāra. In another passage⁴ he describes how the Bāma Rānka sued for and obtained the aid of an Arab fleet from the Arab lord of Mansūrah (built A D 750) for the destruction of Balaba. A land grant by a Valabhi chief remains as late as A D 766. For this reason and as the invaders of that expedition fled panic-struck by sickness Valabhi seems to have continued as a place of consequence if the expedition of A D 830 against Bala king of the east refers to the final attack on Valabhi an identification which is supported by a Jain authority which places the final overthrow of Valabhi at 888 Samvat that is A D 830.⁵

Of the rulers of Gujarat between A D 850 and A D 1250 the only dynasty which impressed the Arabs was the Balhāras of Malkhet or Mānyakheta (A D. 630-972) sixty miles south-east of Sholāpūr. From about A D 736 to about A D 978, at first through a more or less independent local branch and afterwards (A D. 914) direct the Rāshtrakūtas continued overlords of most of Gujarat. The Arabs knew the Rāshtrakūtas by their title *Vallabha* or Beloved in the case of Govind III (A D 803-814), Prithivīvallabha Beloved by the Earth, and of his successor the long beloved Amoghavarsha Vallabhaskanda, the Beloved of Śiva. Al Masūdī (A D 915-944) said Balarāi is a name which he who follows takes. So entirely did the Arabs believe in the overlordship of the Rāshtrakūtas in Gujarat that Al Idrīsī (A D 1100, but probably quoting Al Janharī A D 950) describes Nehrwalla as the capital of the Balaras. Until Dr Bhūdārkar discovered its origin in Vallabha, the ease with which meanings could be tortured out of the word and in Gujarat its apparent connection with the Valabhi kings (A D 509-770) made the word Balarāi a cause of matchless confusion.

The merchant Sulaimān (A D 851) ranks the Balhāra, the lord of Mānkīr, as the fourth of the great rulers of the world. Every prince in India even in his own land paid him homage. He was the owner of many elephants and of great wealth. He refrained from wine and paid his troops and servants regularly. Their favour to Arabs was famous. Abu Zaid⁶ (A D 913) says that though the Indian kings acknowledge the supremacy of no one, yet the Balhāras or Rāshtrakūtas by virtue of the title Balhāra are kings of kings. Ibn Khurdādbah (A D 912) describes the Balhāras as the greatest of Indian kings being as the name imports the king of kings. Al Masūdī (A D 915) described Balhāra as a dynastic name which he who followed took. Though he introduces two other potentates the king of Jurz and the Baūra or Parmār king of Kanauj fighting with each other and with the Balhāra he makes the Balhāra, the lord of the Mānkīr or the great centre, the greatest king

Appendix V.

ARAB
REFERENCES,
A.D. 851-1350.
Capitals
Vala or
Valabhi.

Kings.

¹ Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I 444

² Sir Henry Elliot (History of India, I 445) identifies Kandhar with Kandadār in north west Kāthiavād

³ Sachau's Original Text, 205

⁴ Sachau's Original Text, 17 - 94.

⁵ Details Above in Dr. Bhagvanlāl's History, 96 note 8

⁶ Elliot's History of India, I 7

Appendix V

Arab
References,
A.D. 851-1350.
Kings

of India¹ to whom the kings of India bow in their prayers and whose emissaries they honour. He notices that the Balhāra favours and honours Muslims and allows them to have mosques and assembly mosques. When Al Masūdi was in Cambay the town was ruled by Bāma, the deputy of the Balhāra. Al Istakhri (A.D. 951) describes the land from Kambāyah to Saimūr (Chenl) as the land of the Balhāra of Mankīr. In the Konkan were many Muslims over whom the Balhāra appointed no one but a Muslim to rule. Ibn Haukal (A.D. 970) describes the Balhāra as holding sway over a land in which are several Indian kings.² Al Idīsī (A.D. 1100 but quoting Al Jauharī A.D. 950) agrees with Ibn Khurdādhbih that Balhāra is a title meaning King of Kings. He says the title is hereditary in this country, where when a king ascends the throne he takes the name of his predecessor and transmits it to his heirs.³

Condition.

That the Arabs found the Rāshtrakūtas kind and liberal rulers there is ample evidence. In their territories property was secure,⁴ theft or robbery was unknown, commerce was encouraged, foreigners were treated with consideration and respect. The Arabs especially were honoured not only with a marked and delicate regard, but magistrates from among themselves were appointed to adjudicate their disputes according to the Muslim law.

The
Gurjaras.

The ruler next in importance to the Balhāra was the Jurz that is the Gurjara king. It is remarkable, though natural, that the Arabs should preserve the true name of the rulers of Aulikāra which the three tribes or dynastic names Chāpa or Chaura (A.D. 720-956), Solanki or Canlukya (A.D. 961-1212), and Vāghela (A.D. 1240-1290) should so long have concealed. Sulaimān (A.D. 851) notices that the Jurz king hated Muslims while the Balhāra king loved Muslims. He may not have known what excellent reasons the Gurjaras had for hating the Arab rulers from sea and from Sindh. Nor would it strike him that the main reason why the Balhāra fostered the Moslem was the hope of Arab help in his struggles with the Gurjaras.

Jurz.

According to the merchant Sulaimān⁵ (A.D. 851) the kingdom next after the Balhāra's was that of Jurz the Gurjara king whose territories "consisted of a tongue of land." The king of Jurz maintained a large force his cavalry was the best in India. He was unfriendly to the Arabs. His territories were very rich and abounded in horses and camels. In his realms exchanges were carried on in silver and gold dust of which metals mines were said to be worked.

The king of Jurz was at war with the Balhāras as well as with the neighbouring kingdom of Tāfak or the Panjab. The details given under Bhāmūl page 168 show that Sulaimān's tongue of land, by which he apparently meant either Kāchiāvad or Gujarat was an imperfect idea of the extent of Gurjara rule. At the beginning of the tenth century A.D. 916 Sulaimān's editor Abu Zaid describes Kanauj as a large country

¹ Elliot's History of India, I 22, 24, 25 ² Elliot's History of India, I 34.

³ Elliot's History of India, I 36.

⁴ Al Masūdi Les Princes D'Orient, II chapter 18 page 87.

⁵ On the account of the districts and jurisdiction of India Abu Zaid says: "The country of the Gurjara king is called Kanauj a large country forming the empire of Kanauj." This is applicable to Kanauj a large country forming the empire of Kanauj. Al Zaid in his History of India, I 10. Reference is given in the History of India, I 10, that the Gurjara power spread not only to Kanauj but to Bengal.

forming the empire of Juzr,¹ a description which the Gurjara Vatsarāja's success in Bengal about a century before shows not to be impossible. Ibn Khurdādbah (A.D. 912) ranks the king of Juzr as fourth in importance among Indian kings. According to him "the Tātariya dirhams were in use in the Juzr kingdom." Al Masūdī (A.D. 943) speaks of the Konkan country of the Balhāra as on one side exposed to the attacks of the king of Juzr a monarch rich in men horses and camels. He speaks of the Juzi kingdom bordering on Tāfan apparently the Panjab and Tāfan as bounded by Rahma² apparently Burma and Sumātra. Ibn Haukal (A.D. 968-976) notices that several kingdoms existed, including the domain of the Silāhanas of the north Konkan within the land of the Balhara between Kambāyah and Samūr.³ Al Bīrūnī (A.D. 970-1031) uses not Juzr, but Gujārat.⁴ Beyond that is to the south of Gujarat he places Konkan and Tana. In Al Bīrūnī's time Nārāyan near Jaipur, the former capital of Gujārat, had been taken and the inhabitants removed to a town on the frontier.⁵ Al Idrīsī (end of the eleventh century really from tenth century materials) ranks the king of Juzr as the fourth and the king of Safan or Tāfan as the second in greatness to the Balhāra.⁶ In another passage in a list of titular sovereigns Al Idrīsī enters the names of Sāfir (Tāfan) Hazr (Jazr-Juzr) and Dumī (Rahmī).⁷ By the side of Juzr was Tafak (doubtfully the Panjab) a small state producing the whitest and most beautiful women in India, the king having few soldiers, living at peace with his neighbours and like the Balhāras highly esteeming the Arabs.⁸ Ibn Khurdādbah (A.D. 912) calls Tāban the king next in eminence to the Balhara.⁹ Al Masūdī (A.D. 943) calls Tafak the ruler of a mountainous country like Kashmīr¹⁰ with small forces living on friendly terms with neighbouring sovereigns and well disposed to the Moslems.¹¹ Al Idrīsī (end of eleventh century but materials of the tenth century) notices Sāfān (Tafan) as the principality that ranks next to the Konkan that is to the Rāshtrakūtas.

Rahma or Ruhmī, according to the merchant Sulaimān (A.D. 851) borders the land of the Balhāras, the Juzr, and Tāfan. The king who was not much respected was at war with both the Juzr and the Balhara. He had the most numerous army in India and a following of 50,000 elephants when he took the field. Sulaimān notices a cotton fabric made in Rahma, so delicate that a dress of it could pass through a signet-ring. The medium of exchange was *cowries* Cypræa moneta shell money. The country produced gold silver and aloes and the whisk of the *sāmara* or *yak* Bos poëphagus the bushy-tailed ox. Ibn Khurdādbah¹² (A.D. 912) places Rahmī as the sixth kingdom. He apparently identified it with Al Rahmī or north Sumātra as he notes that between it and the other kingdoms communication is kept up by ships. He notices that the ruler had five thousand elephants and that cotton cloth and aloes probably the well-known Kumāri

Appendix V.

ARAB
REFERENCES,
A.D. 851-1350
Kings
Juzr

Rahma or
Ruhmī.

¹ Ibn Khurdādbah in Elliot's History of India, I. 13.

² Al Masūdī in Elliot (History of India), I. 25.

³ Ibn Haukal in Elliot (History of India), I. 34.

⁴ Al Bīrūnī in Elliot (History of India), I. 67.

⁵ Al Bīrūnī in Elliot (History of India), I. 59.

⁶ Al Idrīsī in Elliot (History of India), I. 76.

⁷ Al Idrīsī in Elliot (History of India), I. 86.

⁸ The merchant Sulaimān (851 A.D.) in Elliot's History of India, I. 5.

⁹ Ibn Khurdādbah in Elliot (History of India), I. 13.

¹⁰ Al Masūdī in Elliot (History of India), I. 23.

¹¹ Al Masūdī in Elliot (History of India), I. 25.

¹² Ibn Khurdādbah in Elliot's History of India, I. 14.

the Nahrwāla country was that all journeys were made and all merchandise was carried in bullock waggons. Kambāyah was rich in wheat and rice and its mountains yielded the Indian *kanā* or bamboo. At Subāra¹ (Sopara) they fished for pearls and Bara a small island close to Subāra produced the coconut and the costus. Sindān according to Al Idrīsī produced the cocoa palm, the ratan, and the bamboo. Saimūr had many cocoa palms, much henna (*Lawsonia inermis*), and a number of aromatic plants.² The hills of Thāna yielded the bamboo and *tabāshīr*³ or bamboo pith. From Saimūr according to Al Kazwīnī (A D 1236, but from tenth century materials) came aloes. Rashīd-ud-dīn (A D 1310) states that in Kambāyah, Somnāth, Kankan, and Tāna the vines yield twice a year and such is the strength of the soil that cotton-plants grow like willow or plane trees and yield produce for ten years. He refers to the betel leaf, to which he and other Arab writers and physicians ascribe strange virtues as the produce of the whole country of Malabār. The exports from the Gujarāt coasts are said to be sugar (the staple product of Mālwa), *bādrud* that is bezoar, and *halāl* that is turmeric.⁴

According to Ibnī Haukal (A D 170) from Kambāyah to Saimūr the villages lay close to one another and much land was under cultivation.⁵ At the end⁶ of the eleventh century trade was brisk merchandise from every country finding its way to the ports of Gujarāt whose local products were in turn exported all over the east.⁷ The Rāshtrakūta dominion was vast, well-peopled, commercial, and fertile.⁸ The people lived mostly on a vegetable diet, rice peas beans haricots and lentils being their daily food.⁹ Al Idrīsī speaks of certain Hindus eating animals whose deaths had been caused by falls or by being goaded,¹⁰ but Al Masūdī states that the higher classes who wore the "baldric like yellow thread" (the Janoi) abstained from flesh. According to Ibnī Haukal (A D 968-970) the ordinary dress of the kings of Hind was trousers and a tunic.¹¹ He also notices that between Kambāyah and Saimūr the Muslims and infidels wear the same cool fine muslin dress and let their beards grow in the same fashion.¹² During the tenth century on high days the Balhāra wore a crown of gold and a dress of rich stuff. The attendant women were richly clad, wearing rings of gold and silver upon their feet and hands and having their hair in curls.¹³ At the close of the Hindu period (A D 1300) Rashīd-ud-dīn describes Gujarāt as a flourishing country with no less than 80,000 villages and hamlets the people happy the soil rich growing in the four seasons seventy varieties of flowers. Two harvests repaid the husbandman, the earlier crop refreshed by the dew of the cold season the late crop enriched by a certain rainfall.¹⁴

In their intercourse with Western India nothing struck the Arabs more than the toleration shown to their religion both by chief and peoples

Appendix V

ARAB
REFERENCES,
A D 851-1350

Products:

Review.

¹ Al Idrīsī in Elliot, I 85 ² Al Idrīsī in Elliot's History of India, I, 85

³ Al Idrīsī in Elliot's History of India, I 85

⁴ Rashīd ud dīn in Elliot's History of India, I 67 68

⁵ Ibnī Haukal (A D 968) in Elliot, I 39.

⁶ Al Idrīsī (A D 968) in Elliot, I, 84 and 87

⁷ Al Idrīsī speaking of Cambay in Elliot's History of India, I, 84

⁸ Al Idrīsī in Elliot, I, 85

⁹ Al Idrīsī in Elliot, I 88.

¹⁰ Al Masūdī in Elliot's History of India, I 9

¹¹ Ibnī Haukal in Elliot, I 35

¹² Ibnī Haukal in Elliot, I 39

¹³ Al Idrīsī in Elliot's History of India, I 88

¹⁴ Rashīd ud-dīn (A D 1310) in Elliot's History of India, I 67. The passage seems to be a quotation from Al Bīrūnī (A D 1031).

was "unlawful and lawful" that is it was not used though no religious rule forbid its use. According to Al Masûdî (A.D. 943) a general opinion prevailed that India was the earliest home of order and wisdom. The Indians chose as their king the great Brahmā who ruled them for 366 years. His descendants retain the name of Brahman and are honoured as the most illustrious caste. They abstain from the flesh of animals.¹ Hindu kings cannot succeed before the age of forty nor do they appear in public except on certain occasions for the conduct of state affairs. Royalty and all the high offices of state² are limited to the descendants of one family. The Hindus strongly disapprove of the use of wine both in themselves and in others not from any religious objection but on account of its intoxicating and reason-clouding qualities.³ Al Birûnî (A.D. 970-1031) quoted by Rashîd-ud-dîn (A.D. 1310) states that the people of Gujarât are idolators and notices the great penance-pilgrimages to Somnâth details of which have already been given.⁴ Al Idrîsî (end of the eleventh century) closely follows Ibn Khurdâdhbah's (A.D. 912) division of the people of India. The chief exception is that he represents⁵ the second class, the Bâhmans, as wearing the skins of tigers and going about staff in hand collecting crowds and from morn till eve proclaiming to their hearers the glory and power of God. He makes out that the Kastûriyas or Kshatriyas are able to drink three *ratl* (a *ratl* being one pound Troy) of wine and are allowed to marry Brâhman women. The Sabdahya or Chandal women, he says, are noted for beauty. Of the forty-two sects he enumerates worshippers of tices and adorers of serpents, which they keep in stables and feed as well as they can, deeming it to be a meritorious work. He says that the inhabitants of Kambâya are Buddhists (idolators)⁶ and that the Balhâra also worships the idol Buddha.⁷ The Indians, says Al Idrîsî⁸ (end of the eleventh century) are naturally inclined to justice and in their actions never depart from it. Their reputation for good faith, honesty, and fidelity to their engagements brings strangers flocking to their country and aids its prosperity. In illustration of the peaceable disposition of the Hindus, he quotes the ancient practice of *dulâra* or conjuring in the name of the king, a rite which is still in vogue in some native states. When a man has a rightful claim he draws a circle on the ground and asks his debtor to step into the circle in the name of the king. The debtor never fails to step in nor does he ever leave the circle without paying his debts. Al Idrîsî describes the people of Nahrwâia as having so high a respect for oxen that when an ox dies they bury it. "When enfeebled by age or if unable to work they provide their oxen with food without exacting any return."⁹

Appendix V

ARAB
REFERENCES,
A.D. 851-1350
Review

¹ Text Les Prairies D'Or, I, 149-151 and Elliot's History of India, I, 19.

² Arabic Text Les Prairies D'Or, I, 149-151, and Elliot's History of India, I, 20.

³ Al Masûdî's Prairies D'Or, I, 169, and Elliot's History of India, I, 20.

⁴ Rashîd ud dîn from Al Birûnî in Elliot's History of India, I, 67-68.

⁵ Al Idrîsî in Elliot (History of India), I, 76.

⁶ Al Idrîsî in Elliot (History of India), I, 85.

⁷ Al Idrîsî in Elliot (History of India), I, 87.

⁸ Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I, 88.

⁹ Al Idrîsî in Elliot (History of India), I, 88.

APPENDIX VI.

WESTERN INDIA AS KNOWN TO THE GREEKS
AND ROMANS.¹Appendix VI
EARLY GREEKS
AND ROMANS*Ktésias.*

Herodotos and Hekataios, the earliest Greek writers who make mention of India, give no information in regard to Western India in particular.

Ktésias (c. 400 B.C.) learnt in Persia that a race of Pygmies lived in India in the neighbourhood of the silver mines, which Lassen places near Udaipur (Mewar). From the description of these Pygmies (Photios, Bibl. LXXII 11-12) it is evident that they represent the Bhils. Ktésias also mentions (Photios Bibl. LXXII 8) that there is a place in an uninhabited region fifteen days from Mount Sardous, where they venerate the sun and moon and where for thirty-five days in each year the sun remits his heat for the comfort of his worshippers. This place must apparently have been somewhere in Malwa, and perhaps Mount Abu is the place referred to.

Alexander.

Alexander (B.C. 326-25) did not reach Gujurāt, and his companions have nothing to tell of this part of the country. It is otherwise with

Megasthenes.

Megasthenes (c. 300 B.C.) who resided with Candragupta as the ambassador of Seleukos Nikator and wrote an account of India in four books, of which considerable fragments are preserved, chiefly by Strabo, Pliny, and Arrian. His general account of the manners of the Indians relates chiefly to those of northern India, of whom he had personal knowledge. But he also gave a geographical description of India, for Arrian informs us (Ind. VII) that he gave the total number of Indian tribes as 118, and Pliny (VI 17ff) does in fact enumerate about 90, to whom may be added some seven or eight more mentioned by Arrian. It is true that Pliny does not distinctly state that he takes his geographical details from Megasthenes, and that he quotes Seneca as having written a book on India. But Seneca also (Pliny, VI 17) gave the number of the tribes as 118 in which he must have followed Megasthenes. Further, Pliny says (*ibid.*) that accounts of the military forces of each nation were given by writers such as Megasthenes and Dionysius who stayed with Indian kings and as he does not mention Dionysius in his list of authorities for his Book VI, it follows that it was from Megasthenes that he drew his accounts of the forces of the Gangaridai, Modogalingi, Andaroi, Prasii, Megallai, Asmagi, Ortoi, Suaitaratai, Automoli, Chauri, and Pandar (VI 19), names which, as will be shown below, betray a knowledge of all parts of India. It is a fair inference that the remaining names mentioned by Pliny were taken by him from Megasthenes, perhaps through the medium of Seneca's work. The corruption of Pliny's text

¹ Contributed by Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, M.A., I.C.S.

and the fact that Megasthenes does not the tribal names in their Prakrit forms, make it extremely difficult to identify many of the races referred to.

The part of Pliny's account of India which may, with some certainty be traced back to Megasthenes begins with a statement of the stages of the royal road from the Hyphasis (Bias) to Palibothra (Patna) (Nat. Hist. VI 17). The next chapter gives an account of the Ganges and its tributaries and mentions the Gangaridæ of Kalunga with their capital Patalis as the most distant nation on its banks. In the 19th chapter, after an account of the forces of the Gangaridæ, Pliny gives a list of the tribes of which the only ones that can be said to be satisfactorily identified are Medogalunga (the three Calingæ, Caldwell Dray G.), Melodæ (compare Mount Mandua of Varaha Mihira Br. S. XIV), and Thilæ (McCandlen's Thaluctæ and identifies with the Tamraliptakæ of Ptolemy on the lower Ganges). He next mentions the Andaræ (Andhræ of Ptolemy) with thirty cities 100,000 foot 2000 horse and 1000 elephants. He then digresses to speak of the Dardæ (Dards of the Upper Indus) next in bold and the Sæte (of Mewar, Lassen) in silver, and next introduce the Præi (Præyas) of Palibothra (Pataliputra) as the most famous and powerful of all the tribes having 600,000 foot 30,000 horse and 8000 elephants. Inland from these he names the Monædes (Munda of Snellman) and Sauræ (Sauras of Central India) among whom is Mount Makra (Mahendra Males). Then after some account of the Iomanes (Yamunæ) running between Methora (Mithoræ) and Chrysobora (McCandlen's Chakobora Arrian Ind. III. Klesobora = Krishnapura?) he turns to the Indus, of some of whose nineteen tributaries he gives some account in chapter 20. He then digresses to give an account of the coast of India, starting from the mouth of the Ganges, whence to Point Calington (Point Godavari) and the city of Dandaguda (Cunningham's Rija Mahendri, but more probably the Dhanukataka or Dhenukākata of the Western cave inscriptions) he reckons 625 miles. The distance thence to Tropura (Tropatara near Kochin according to Burgess) is 1225 miles. Next at a distance of 750 miles is the cape of Perimula where is the most famous mart of India. Further on in the same chapter is mentioned a city named Automula on the sea shore among the Arabastæ (or Silabastæ and Oratæ, McCandlen) a noble mart where five rivers together flow into the sea. There can hardly be a doubt that the two places are the same, the two names being taken from different authorities, and that the place meant is Chentula or Chenl (Ptolemy's Simulla) the five rivers being those that flow into Bombay Harbour northward of Chenl. The distance from Perimula to the Island of Patala in the Indus is 620 miles. Pliny next enumerates as hill tribes between the Indus and Jammu, shut in a ring of mountains and deserts for a space of 625 miles, the Cæsi (the Kekæi of Arrian Ind. IV and Kékayæ of the Puranas, about the head waters of the Sutlej), the Cetriboni of the woods (. . . Vana?), the Megallæ (Mékala) with 500 elephants and unknown numbers of horse and foot, the Chryser (Kariśha) Parasangæ (Parasava, corrupted by the likeness of its first three syllables to the word *παρσαγγα*), the Asmagi (Āsmaka of Varaha Mihira) with 30,000 foot 300 elephants and 800 horse. These are shut in by the Indus and surrounded by a circle of mountains and deserts for 625 miles. Next come the Dauri and Sauræ and then deserts again for 187 miles. Whether these are or are not correctly identified with the Dhauris and Sauras of Sindh, they must be placed somewhere to the north of the Ran. Below them come five kingless tribes living in the hills along the sea-

Appendix VI.

EARLY GREEKS
AND ROMANS.*Megasthenes*

Appendix VI
EARLY GREEKS
AND ROMANS.
Megasthenes.

coast—the Maltecoræ, Singhæ, Marohæ, Rarungæ, and Morum—none of whom are satisfactorily identified, but who may be placed in Kachh. Next follow the Nareæ, enclosed by Mount Capitalia (Âbu) the highest mountain in India, on the other side of which are mines of gold and silver. The identification of Capitalia with Âbu is probable enough, but the name given to the mountain must be connected with the Kapishtala of the *Purânas*, who have given their name to one of the recensions of the *Īajar Veda*, though Kaithal their modern representative, lies far away from Âbu in the Karnâl district of the Panjâb, and Arrian places his καὶ 3 σθόλοι (Ind IV) about the head waters of the Hydraôtês (Râvi). After Capitalia and the Nareæ come the Oratæ with but ten elephants but numerous infantry. These must be the Aparântakas of the inscriptions and *purânas*, Megasthenês having learnt the name in a Prakrit form (Avarâta, Orâta). The name of the next tribe, who have no elephants but horse and foot only is commonly read Suarataratæ (Nobbe) but the preferable reading is Varetatæ (McCrindle) which when corrected to Varelatæ represents Varalatta, the sixth of the seven Konkans in the purânic lists (Wilson *As Res* XV 47), which occupied the centre of the Thana district and the country of the wild tribe of the Vêlis. Next are the Odoabæores whose name is connected with the *udumbara* ficus glomerata tree, and who are not the Audumbari Sâhvas of Pânini (IV i 173) but must be placed in Southern Thâna. Next come the Arabastæ Oratæ (so read for Arabastæ Thoracæ of Nobbe, and Salabastæ Horatæ of McCrindle) or Arabastra division of the Oratæ or Koukanis. Arabastra may be connected with the Ârava of Varâha-Mihira's South-Western Division (Br S XIV 17) where they are mentioned along with Barbara (the seventh or northernmost Konkân). This tribe had a fine city in a marsh infested by crocodiles and also the great mart of Automula (Cheul) at the confluence of five rivers, and the king had 1600 elephants 150,000 foot and 5000 horse, and must therefore have held a large part of the Dakhan as well as of the sea coast. Next to this kingdom is that of the Charmæ, whose forces are small, and next to them the Pandæ (Pândya of Travancor) with 30 cities 150,000 foot and 500 elephants. Next follows a list of thirteen tribes some of which St Martin has identified with modern Rajput tribes about the Indus, because the last name of the thirteen is Orostræ 'who reach to the island of Patala' and may be confidently identified with the Sâurashtâ of Kâthâvâda. We must however assume that Megasthenes after naming the tribes of the west coast enumerates the inland tribes of the Dakhan until he arrives at the point from which he started. But the only identification that seems plausible is that of the Derangæ with the Telingas or Telugas. Next to the Orostræ follows a list of tribes on the east of the Indus from south to north—the Mathoræ (compare Mânthara, a Bâhika town Pan IV ii 117) Bolingæ (Bhauṅgi, a Salva tribe Pan IV i 173), Gallitalatæ (perhaps a corruption of Tailakhali, another Salva tribe, ib.), Dimuri Megari Ardabæ Mesæ (Matsya of Jaipur?), Abi, Sura, (v l Abhis Uri), Siæ, and then deserts for 250 miles. Next come three more tribes and then again deserts, then four or five (according to the reading) more tribes and the Asini whose capital is Buccphala (Jâldpur) (Cunningham *Anc Geog* 177). Megasthenes then gives two mountain tribes and ten beyond the Indus including the Oræi (Urasa) Taxilæ (Takshashila) and Pincoluræ (people of Pashkâlavati). Of the work of Dēmochos, who went on an embassy to Allitrochadês (Bindusara) son of Candragupta, nothing is known except that it was in two books and was reckoned the most trustworthy of all accounts of India (Strabo II i 9).

Ptolemy II Philadelphos (died 247 B.C.) interested himself in the trade with India and opened a caravan road from Koptos on the Nile to Berenike on the Red Sea (Strabo XVII. 1. 15) and for centuries the Indian trade passed either to this port or to the neighbouring Myos Hormos. He also sent to India (apparently to Asoka) an envoy named Dionysius, who is said by Pliny (VI. 17) to have written an account of things Indian of which no certain fragments appear to remain. But we know from the fragments of

Agatharkhides (born c. 250 B.C.) who wrote in old age an account of the Red Sea of which we have considerable extracts in Diodoros (III. 12. 48) and Photios (Müller's Geogr. Gr. Min. I. 111ff), states that in his time the Indian trade with Potamia (Patala) was in the hands of the Sailans of Yemen (Müller I. 191). In fact it was not until the voyage of Eudoxos (see below) that any direct trade sprang up between India and Egypt. The mention of Patala as the mart resorted to by the Arabians shows that we are still in Pliny's first period (see below).

The Baktrian Greeks extended their power into India after the fall of the Maurya empire (c. 180 B.C.) their leader being Dímétrios son of Pithydemos whose conquests are referred to by Justin (XII. 6) and Strabo (XI. ii. 1). But the most extensive conquests to the east and south were made by Menandros (c. 110 B.C.) who advanced to the Jumna and conquered the whole coast from Pattalene (lower Sindh) to the Kingdoms of Suristos (Surashtra) and Sigoris (Pliny's Sigeris?) (Strabo, XI. ii. 1). These statements of Strabo are confirmed by the author of the Periplus (c. 250 A.D.) who says that in his time *dyakhsai* with Greek inscriptions of Menandros and Apollodotos were still current at Barigaza (Per. 47). Apollodotos is now generally thought to have been the successor of Menandros (c. 100 B.C.) (Brit. Museum Cat. of Bactrian Coins page xxxiii). Plutarch (Resp. Gr. Trine) tells us that Menandros' rule was so mild, that on his death his towns disputed the possession of his ashes and finally divided them.

Eudoxos of Cyzicus (c. 117 B.C.) made in company with others two very successful voyages to India, in the first of which the company were guided by an Indian who had been shipwrecked on the Egyptian coast. Strabo (II. iii. 1), in quoting the story of his doings from Poseidónios, lays more stress upon his attempt to circumnavigate Africa than upon these two Indian voyages, but they are of very great importance as the beginnings of the direct trade with India.

The Geographers down to Ptolemy drew their knowledge of India almost entirely from the works of Megasthenes and of the companions of Alexander. Among them Eratosthenes (c. 275-194 B.C.), the founder of scientific geography, deserves mention as having first given wide currency to the notion that the width of India from west to east was greater than its length from north to south, an error which lies at the root of Ptolemy's distortion of the map. Eratosthenes' critic Hipparkhos (c. 130 B.C.) on this point followed the more correct account of Megasthenes, and is otherwise notable as the first to make use of astronomy for the determination of the geographical position of places.

Strabo (c. 63 B.C.-23 A.D.) drew his knowledge of India, like his predecessors, chiefly from Megasthenes and from Alexander's followers, but adds (XV. 1. 72) on the authority of Nikolaos of Damascus (tutor to the children of Antony and Cleopatra, and envoy of Herod) an account of three Indian envoys from a certain king Póros to Augustus (ob. A.D. 14),

Appendix VI.

EARLY GREEKS
AND ROMANS.

Ptolemy II.

Agatharkhides

*The Baktrian
Greeks*

*Eudoxos of
Cyzicus*

Eratosthenes

Strabo.

runner before the ramp of the dogstar and in thirty days reach Okols (Ochla) or Olo (Hala-chah), the former port being most frequented by the Indian side. From Okols it is a forty days' voyage to Muziris (Muziris Karyakum) which is dangerous on account of the neighbouring port of Nitia (Mangalore) and inconvenient by reason of the character of the sea from the shore. Another better port is Becare (Kallia Yula) belonging to the tribe Neorndon (*Ptol* Melkynda, *Ptol* Nelynda) of the kingdom of Pandion (Pándya) whose capital is Madura (Madura). Here pepper is brought in canoes from Coltona (Kallia Yula). The ships return to the Red Sea in December or January.

It is clear that the modern improvement in navigation on which Pliny has so much to commend, consisted not in making use of the monsoon wind, but in sailing against it across the Indian ocean to the Malabar coast. The fact that the ships which took this course carried a guard of archers in the 1st century, but not in that of the *Periplus*, is another indication that the direct route to Malabar was new and unfamiliar in the first century A.D. The name Hippalus given to the monsoon wind will be discussed below in dealing with the *Periplus*.

Dionysios Periegetes who has lately been proved to have written under Hadrian (A.D. 117-138) (*Christ's Greek Literature* page 507), gives a very superficial description of India but has a valuable notice of the Southern Skythians who live along the river Indus to the east of the Ganges (l. 1087-88).

Appendix VI.

EARLY GREEKS
AND ROMANS.*Pliny.**Dionysios
Periegetes**Klaudios
Ptolemaios*

Klaudios Ptolemaios of Alexandria lived according to Suidas under Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (A.D. 161-180). He compiled his account of India as part of a geographical description of the then known world and drew much of his materials from Marinus of Tyre, whose work is lost, but who must have written about A.D. 130. Ptolemy (or Marinus before him) had a very wide knowledge of India, drawn partly from the relations of shipmasters and traders and partly from Indian poets similar to those of the *Purāṇas* but drawn up in Prākṛit. He seems to have made little if any use of Megasthenes and the companions of Alexander. But his map of India is distorted by the erroneous idea, which he took from Eudoxos that the width of India from west to east greatly exceeded its length from north to south. Ptolemy begins his description of India with the first chapter of his seventh book, which deals with India within the Ganges. He gives first the names of rivers, countries, towns and capes along the whole coast of India from the westernmost mouth of the Indus to the easternmost mouth of the Ganges. He next mentions in detail the mountains and the rivers with their tributaries, and then proceeds to enumerate the various nations of India and the cities belonging to each, beginning with the north-west and working southwards and he finally gives a list of the islands lying off the coast. In dealing with his account of western India it will be convenient to notice together the cities of each nation which he mentions separately under the heads of coast and inland towns.

He gives the name of Indo-Skythia to the whole country on both sides of the lower course of the Indus from its junction with the Koa (Kābul river), and gives its three divisions as Patalēnē (lower Sindh) Abria (read Sabiria, that is Sauvira or upper Sindh and Multan) and Surastānē (Surāshtra or Kāthiāwāda). We have seen that Dionysios knew the southern Skythians of the Indus, and we shall meet with them again in the *Periplus* (chapter 38ff).

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He enumerates seven mouths of the Indus, but the river is so constantly changing its course that it is hopeless to expect to identify all the names given by him (Sagupa, Sinthôn, Khariphron, Sapara, Sabalacsa and Lônibare) with the existing channels. Only it may be noted that Sinthôn preserves the Indian name of the river (Sindhu) and that the easternmost mouth (Lônibare) probably represents both the present Korî or Launî and the Lûnî river of Mârwar, a fact which goes some way to explain why Ptolemy had no idea of the existence of Kachh, though he knows the Ran as the gulf of Kanthi. Hence he misplaces Surastrênê (Surâshtra or Kâthiâvâda) in the Indus delta instead of south of the Ran. Ptolemy enumerates a group of five towns in the north-western part of Indo-Skythia (Kohat, Bannu, and Deira Ismail Khân) of which Cunningham (Anc. Geog. pages 84ff) has identified Banagara with Bannu, and Andrapana with Darahan, while the sites of Artoarta, Sabana, and Kodrana are unknown. Ptolemy next gives a list of twelve towns along the western bank of the Indus to the sea. Of these Embolima has been identified by Cunningham (Anc. Geog. page 52) with Amb sixty miles above Attok, and Pasipêda is identified by St. Martin with the Besmaid of the Arab geographers and placed near Mithankot at the junction of the Chenab with the Indus. Sousikana, which comes next in the list to Pasipêda, is generally thought to be a corruption of Mousikanos, and is placed by the latest authority (General Haig, *The Indus Delta Country*, page 130) in Bahawalpur, though Cunningham (Anc. Geog. page 257) puts it at Alor, which is somewhat more in accordance with Ptolemy's distances. Kôlaka the most southerly town of the list, cannot well be the Krôkala of Arrian (Kurâchi) as McCrindle supposes, for Ptolemy puts it nearly a degree north of the western mouth of the Indus.

- The two great towns of the delta which Ptolemy next mentions, are placed by General Haig, Patala at a point thirty-five miles south-east of Haidarâbâd (*op cit* page 19) and Barbarei near Shâh Bandar (*op cit* page 31). Barbarei is mentioned again in the *Periplus* (chapter 38) under the name of Barbarikon. Ptolemy gives the names of nine towns on the left bank of the Indus from the confluence to the sea, but very few of them can be satisfactorily identified. Panasa can only be Osanpur (St. Martin) on Flnellen's principles. Boudaia must represent the Budhiya of the Arabs, though it is on the wrong side of the river (see Haig, *op cit* page 57ff). Naagramma may with Yule be placed at Naushabro. Kamigara cannot be Aroi (McCrindle), if that place represents Sousikana. Binagara is commonly thought to be a corrupt reading of Minnagara (compare *Periplus* chapter 38). Haig (*op cit* page 32 note 47) refers to the Tuhfatul Kirâm as mentioning a Minnagar in pargana Shâhdâdpur (north-east of Haidarâbâd). Parabali, Sydros, and Epitansa have not been identified, but must be looked for either in Haidarâbâd or in Thar and Pârkar. Xoana may with Yule be identified with Siwana in the bend of the Lûnî and gives another indication that Ptolemy confounded the Lûnî with the eastern mouth of the Indus.

On the coast of Surastrênê (Kâthiâvâda) Ptolemy mentions, first, the island of Barakê (Dvârakâ Bêt) then the city Bardaxêma which must be Porbandar (Yule), in front of the Barada hills then the village of Surastra, which perhaps represents Verâval, though it is placed too far north. Surastra cannot well be Junâgad (Lassen) which is not on the coast and in Ptolemy's time was not a village, but a city, though it is certainly strange that Ptolemy does not anywhere mention it. Further south Ptolemy places the mart of Monoglôsson (Mangrol). The eastern

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Âgar, thirty-five miles north-east of Ujjain, and the Âkara of inscriptions. The next town is Siripalla, which has not been identified, but should be looked for about thirty miles to the south-east of Âgar, not far from Shâhjahânpur. The modern name would probably be Shiroli. Bammogoura must be identified, not with Pawangad (Yule), but with Hsuen Tsiang's "city of the Brâhmans" (Beal, Si-yu-ki, II 262), 200 li (about 33 miles) to the north-west of the capital of Mâlava in his time. The distance and direction bring us nearly to Jaora. Sazantion and Zerogerei have not been satisfactorily identified but may provisionally be placed at Ratlâm and Badnawar respectively, or Zêrogerei may be Dhâr as Yule suggested. Ozêné the capital of Tiastanês is Ujjain the capital of the Kshatrapa Cashtana who reigned c. 130 A.D. His kingdom included Western Mâlwa, West Khândesh, and the whole of Gujârat south of the Mahi. His grandson Rudradâman (A.D. 150) tells us in his Gîrnâr inscription (I A VII 259) that his own kingdom included also Mârwar Sindh and the lower Panjâb. Next to Ujjain Ptolemy mentions Minnagara, which must have been somewhere near Mânpur. Then we come to Tiatoura or Chândor (Yule) on the ridge which separates Khândesh from the valley of the Godâvari, and finally on that river itself Nâsika the modern Nâsik. It is very doubtful whether Nâsik at any time formed part of the dominions of Cashtana, since we know from the inscriptions in the Nâsik caves that the Kshatrapas were driven out of that part of the country by Gautamîputra Śatakarni, the father of Ptolemy's contemporary Pulumâyî. Ptolemy probably found Nâsik mentioned in one of his lists as on a road leading from Ujjain southwards and he concluded that they belonged to the same kingdom.

Arakê of the Sadinoi included the coast of the Konkan as far south as Baltipatna (near Mahād) and the Deccan between the Godâvari and the Krishna. The name occurs in Varâha Mihira's Brîhat Samhitâ XIV in the form Âryaka. The tribal name Sadinoi is less easy to explain. The suggested connection with the word *Sâdhana* as meaning an agent (Lassen) and its application to the Kshatrapas of Gujarat, are not tenable. The only authority for this meaning of *Sâdhana* is Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary, and at this time it is certain that Arakê belonged, not to the Kshatrapas of Gujarat, but to the Śatakarnis of Paithan on the Godâvari. Bhândârkar's identification of the Sadinoi with Varâha Mihira's Śântikas seems also somewhat unsatisfactory. Ptolemy's name may possibly be a corruption of Śatakarni or Śatakhana. The coast towns of this region were Soupara (Supârâ near Bassein), south of which Ptolemy places the river Goaris (Vaitarani), Donga (perhaps Dugâd ten miles north of Bhiwndi) south of which is the Bênda river (Bhiwndi Creek), Simylla, a mart and a cape, the Automula and Perimula of Pliny and the modern Cheul (Chemula), Mîhzéguris an island, the same as the Melizégara of the Periplus and (probably) as the Sigerus of Pliny and the modern Janjira, Hippokoura, either Ghodegâon or Kudâ (Yule) in Kolâbâ district, Baltipatna, probably the Palaipatmai of the Periplus and the same as Pâl near Mahād.

The inland dominions of the Sadinoi were much more extensive than their coast line. Ptolemy gives two lists of cities, one of those lying to the west (i. e. north) of the Bênda, whose course in the Deccan represents the Bhîmâ river, and the other of those between the Bênda and the Pseudostomos (here the Mâlprabhâ and Krishna or possibly the Tungabhadra with its tributaries). The most easterly towns in the first list, Malippala and Sarisabis, are not satisfactorily identified, but must be looked for in the Nizâm's country to the south-east of Haidârâbâd. Next comes Tagara mentioned in the Periplus (chapter 51) as ten days east from Paithan, and

therefore about the latitude of Kulbarga, with which it is identified by Yule. The distance and direction make its identification with Deogir (Wilford and others), Junnar (Bhagwanlal), or Kolhapur (Fleet) impossible. The best suggestion hitherto made is that it is Dârar or Dhârur (Bhândârkar), but Dârar in the Bhir district is too far north, so Dhârur fifty miles west of Haidarâbâd must be taken as the most likely site. Next to Tagara Ptolemy mentions Baithana, which is the Paithana of the Periplus and the modern Paithan on the Godâvari. It is called by our author the capital of Siroptolemaios, who is the Śiṣi-Pulumāyi of the Nāsik cave inscriptions. Next to Baithana comes Deopali, which may safely be identified with the modern Deoli in the suburbs of Ahmadnagar. Gamahiba, the next stage, must be placed somewhere on the line between Ahmadnagar and Junnar, which latter ancient town is to be identified with Ptolemy's Omênogara, although this name is not easy to explain.

The second list of towns in Ariakê begins with Nagaionis (Nagarpur) which probably represents Poona which even then must have been a place of importance, being at the head of the great road down the Bhorghat. Tabasô (compare Vaidya Mihira's *Tapasâśramâh* and Ptolemy's own *Tabison*) may be the holy city of Pandharpur. Indê has retained its ancient name (Indi in the north of the Bijapur district). Next follows Tirpungahida (Tikota in the Kurundwâd State?) and then Hippokoura, the capital of Balokuros. Dr Bhândârkar has identified this king with the Vihāyakhûra of coins found in the Kolhapur state. His capital may possibly be Hippargi in the Sindgi taluka of the Bijapur district. Sonbontton, the next town on Ptolemy's list, is not identifiable, but the name which follows, Sirmalaga, must be Sirmâl in the Bijapur taluka of the same district.

Kalligeris may be identified not with Kanbagiri (McCrindle) but with Galgali at the crossing of the Krishna, and Modogoulla is not Mûdgal (McCrindle) but Mudhol on the Ghâtprabhâ. Peturgala should probably read Penengala and would then represent the old town of Panangala or Hongal in the Dhârâvâd district. The last name on the list is Banaouasei, which is Vanañasi, about ten miles from Susi in Kanara, a very old town where a separate branch of the Śâtakarnis once ruled.

The Pirate Coast is the next division of Western India described by Ptolemy, who mentions five sea-ports but only two inland cities. It is clear that the pirates were hemmed in on the land side by the dominions of the Śâtakarnis, and that they held but little territory above the ghâts, though their capital Mousopallê was in that region. The places on the coast from north to south were Mandagara, the Mandagara of the Periplus (chapter 53) which has been satisfactorily identified with Mandangad to the south of the Bânkot creek.

Byzantion, which, as Dr Bhândârkar first pointed out, is the Vajayanti of inscriptions may be placed either at Chiplun or at Dabhol at the mouth of the Vâsishtî river. Chiplun is the only town of great antiquity in this part of the Konkan, and if it is not Vajayanti Ptolemy has passed over it altogether. The similarity of the names has suggested the identification of Byzantion with Jaygad (Bhândârkar) or Vijayadrug (Vincent), but both these places are comparatively modern. There are indeed no very ancient towns in the Konkan between Saṅgamêshvar and the Sâvantvâdî border.

Kheisonêsos is generally admitted to be the peninsula of Goa.

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Armagara is placed a little to the north of the river Nanagouna and may be represented by Cape Ramas in Portuguese territory

The river Nanagouna here is generally supposed to be the Kâlinadi, though in its upper course it seems to represent the Taptî, and a confusion with the Nânû pass led Ptolemy to bring it into connection with the rivers Goarns and Bênda (Campbell)

Nitra, the southernmost mart on the pirate coast, is the Nitrias of Pliny, and has been satisfactorily identified by Yule with Mangalor on the Nêtravati

The inland cities of the Pirates are Olokhoira and Mousopallê the capital, both of which must be sought for in the rugged country about the sources of the Krishna and may provisionally be identified with the ancient towns of Karâd and Karvir (Kolhâpur) respectively To complete Ptolemy's account of this coast it is only necessary to mention the islands of Heptanêsia (Burnt Islands ?) Trîkadîba and Peperinê. We are not here concerned with his account of the rest of India.

Bardesanês.

Bardesane's met at Babylon certain envoys sent from India to the emperor Antoninus Pius (A.D. 154-181) and received from Damadamis and Sandanês, who were of their number, accounts of the customs of the Brâhmanas and of a rock temple containing a statue of Sîva in the Ardhanârî form Lassen (III 62 and 348) connects Sandanês with the Sadinoi and places the temple in Western India, but neither of these conclusions is necessary The object of the embassy is unknown

Periplus.

The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, formerly though wrongly attributed to Arrian (150 A.D.), is an account of the Egyptian trade with East Africa and India, written by a merchant of Alexandria for the use of his fellows It is preserved in a single manuscript which in some places is very corrupt The age of this work has been much disputed the chief views as to this matter are,

(i) that the Periplus was written before Pliny and made use of by him (Vincent, Schwanbeck, and Glaser) The arguments of Vincent and Schwanbeck are refuted by Muller (Geogr Gr. Min I xcvi.) Glaser's case is (Ausland 1891, page 45) that the Malikkhas of the Periplus is Malchos III of Nabathæa (A.D. 49-71), that the Periplus knows Meroê as capital of Ethiopia, while at the time of Nero's expedition to East Africa (A.D. 68), it had almost vanished, and lastly that the author of the Periplus is Basilis or Basilês, whom Pliny names as an authority for his Book VI It may be replied that Malikkhas is the title Malik and may have been applied to any Arab Sheikh (Reinaud) that the Periplus does not with certainty mention Meroê at all and that Basilis whether or not a contemporary of Ptolemy Philadelphos was at any rate earlier than Agatharkhidês (c 200 B.C.), who quotes him (Geogr Gr. Min I. 156),

(ii) that the Periplus was written at the same time as Pliny's work, but neither used the other (Salmasius) This view is refuted by Müller (*op cit* page 155),

(iii) that the Periplus was written after 161 A.D. (Dodwell); Müller has shown (*ibid*) that Dodwell's arguments are inconclusive,

(iv) the received view that the Periplus was written between A.D. 80 and A.D. 89 (Müller),

(v) that the Periplus was written about the middle of the third century (Reinaud *Mém de l'Ac des Inscr. XXIV. Pt II* translated in I. A. VIII pages 330ff).

The only choice lies between the view of Müller and that of Reinaud. Müller argues for a date between A D 80 and A D 89, because the *Periplus* knows no more than Pliny of India beyond the Ganges, whereas Ptolemy's knowledge is much greater because the *Periplus* calls Ceylon Palaisimoundou, which is to Ptolemy (VII iv 1) an old name because the Nabathæan kingdom, which was destroyed A D 105, was still in existence at the time of the *Periplus* because the *Periplus* account of Hippalos shows it to be later than Pliny and because the *Periplus* mentions king Zoskales, who must be the Za Hakalê of the Abyssinian lists who reigned A D 77-89. It may be replied that the *Periplus* is not a geography of Eastern Asia, but a guide book for traders with certain ports only that Ptolemy must have found in his lists three names for Ceylon, Taprobânê, Palaisimoundou, and Salikê, and that he has wrongly separated Palai from Simoundou, taking it to mean "formerly" and therefore entered Simoundou as the old and Salikê as the modern name,* whereas all three names were in use together that the Nabathæan king Malikhas was simply the Sheikh of the tribe (Reinaud), and points to no definite date that the *Periplus*' account of Hippalos is certainly later than Pliny and that the Zoskalês of the *Periplus* is the Zr Sâgal or Za Asgal of the Abyssinian lists, who reigned A D 246-47 (Reinaud).

It follows that Reinaud's date for the *Periplus* (A D 250) is the only one consistent with the facts and especially with the Indian facts. As will appear below, the growth of the Hippalos legend since Pliny's time, the rival Parthians in Sindh, the mention of Mambaros and the supplanting of Ozânê by Minnagara as his capital since Ptolemy's time, the independence of Baktria, and the notices of Saraganês and Sandanês, are all points strongly in favour of Reinaud's date.

In the time of the *Periplus* the ships carrying on the Indian trade started from Myos Hormos (near Ras Abu Somer) or Berenikê (in Foul Bay) and sailed down the Red Sea to Mouza (Musa twenty-five miles north of Mokhâ), and thence to the watering place Okêhs (Ghalla) at the Straits. They then followed the Arabian coast as far as Kanê (Hiss Ghuriûb in Hadramaut) passing on the way Eudaimôn Arabia (Aden) once a great mart for Indian traders, but lately destroyed by king Elisar (Müller's conjecture for KALSAF of the MS). From Kanê the routes to India diverge, some ships sailing to the Indus and on to Barygaza, and others direct to the ports of Limyrikê (Malabâr Coast). There was also another route to Limyrikê, starting from Arômata (Cape Guardafui). In all three voyages the ships made use of the monsoon, starting from Egypt in July. The monsoon was called Hippalos, according to the *Periplus* (chapter 57), after the navigator who first discovered the direct course across the sea, and it has been inferred from Pliny's words (VI 23) that this pilot lived in the middle of the first century A D. But Pliny's own account shows that, as we should expect, the progress from a coasting to a direct voyage was a gradual one, with several intermediate stages, in all of which the monsoon was more or less made use of. There was therefore no reason for naming the wind from the pilot who merely made the last step. Further though Pliny knows Hippalus as the local name of the monsoon wind in the eastern seas, he says nothing of its having been the name of the inventor of the direct course. The inference seems to be that Hippalos the pilot is the child of a seaman's yarn arising out of the local name of

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* We learn from Pliny (VI 22) that Palaisimoundou was the name of a town and a river in Ceylon, whence the name was extended to the whole island.

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the monsoon wind, and that his presence in the Periplus and not in Pliny shows that the former writer is much later than the latter

The merchant bound for Skythia (Sindh) before he reaches land, which lies low to the northward, meets the white water from the river Sinthos (Indus) and water snakes (chapter 38) The river has seven mouths, small and marshy all but the middle one, on which is the port of Barbarikon (Shâhbandar, Haig, page 31) whence the merchants' wares are carried up by river to the capital Minnagar (near Shâhdâdpur, Haig, page 32), which is ruled by Parthians who constantly expel one another (chapter 39) These contending Parthians must have been the remnant of the Karên Pahlavs who joined with the Kushâns to attack Ardeshir Pâpakân (Journ. As [1866] VII 134). The imports are clothing, flowered cottons, topazes, coral, storax, frankincense, glass vessels, silver plate, specie, and wine and the exports costus (spice), bdellium (gum), yellow dye, spikenard, emeralds, sapphires, furs from Tibet, cottons, silk thread, and indigo The list of imports shows that the people of Skythia were a civilised race and by no means wild nomads.

The Periplus next (chapter 40) gives an accurate account of the Ran (Ermon) which in those days was probably below sea level (Haig, page 22, Burnes' Travels into Bokhara, III 309ff), and was already divided into the Great and the Little Both were marshy shallows even out of sight of land and therefore dangerous to navigators The Ran was then as now bounded to south and west by seven islands, and the headland Barakê (Dvârakâ) a place of special danger of whose neighbourhood ships were warned by meeting with great black water-snakes

The next chapter (41) describes the gulf of Barygaza (gulf of Cambay) and the adjoining land, but the passage has been much mangled by the copyist of our only MS and more still by the guesses of editors According to the simplest correction (*ἡπρωτῆς Ἀριακῆς ᾠκῆς*) our author says that next after Barakê (Dvârakâ) follows the gulf of Barygaza and the country towards Ariakê, being the beginning of the kingdom of Mambaros and of all India Mambaros may possibly be a corruption of Makhatrapos or some similar Greek form of Mahâkshatrâpa, the title of the so-called "Sâh Kings" who ruled here at this period (A D 250) According to the reading of the MS the author goes on to say that "the inland part of this country bordering on the Ibêria (read Sabiria = Sauvîra) district of Skythia is called . . . (the name, perhaps Maru, has dropped out of the text), and the sea-coast Syrastrênê (Surâshtra)" The country abounded then as now in cattle, corn, rice, cotton and coarse cotton cloth, and the people were tall and dark The capital of the country was Minnagara whence much cotton was brought down to Barygaza. This Minnagara is perhaps the city of that name placed by Ptolemy near Mânpur in the Vindhya, but it has with more probability been identified with Junâgad (Bhagvânâlâl) which was once called Manipura (Kath Gaz 487) Our author states that in this part of the country were to be found old temples, ruined camps and large wells, relics (he says) of Alexander's march, but more probably the work of Menandros and Apollodotos This statement certainly points to Kâthiâvâda rather than to Mânpur The voyage along this coast from Barbarikon to the headland of Pâpikê (Gopnâth) near Astakapra (Hâthab) and opposite to Barygaza (Broach) was one of 3000 stadia=300 miles, which is roughly correct The next chapter (42) describes the northern part of the gulf of Cambay as 300 stadia wide and running northward to the river Mais (Mahî) Ships bound for Barygaza steer first northward past the island

Baïônes (Peram) and then eastward towards the mouth of the Namnadios (Narmadâ) the river of Broach. The navigation (chapter 43) is difficult by reason of rocks and shoals such as Hêrônê (perhaps named from some wreck) opposite the village of Kammônî (Kim) on the eastern shore and by reason of the current on the western near Pâpiké (perhaps a sailor's name meaning Unlucky). Hence the government sends out fishermen in long boats called Trappaga or Kotumba (Kotia) to meet the ships (chapter 44) and pilot them into Barygaza, 300 stadia up the river, by towing and taking advantage of the tides. In this connection our author gives a graphic description of the Bore in the Narmadâ (chapter 45) and of the dangers to which strange ships are exposed thereby (chapter 46).

Inland from Barygaza (that is, from the whole kingdom, which, as we have seen, bordered on Sauvîra or Multân) lay (chapter 47) the Arattioi (Arattas of the Mahâbhârata and Purânas, who lived in the Panjâb), the Arakhôsioi (people of eastern Afghanistan), Gandaraoi (Gandhâra of N.-W. Panjâb), Proklais (near Peshâwar), and beyond them the Baktrianoï (of Balkh) a most warlike race, governed by their own independent sovereigns. These last are probably the Kushâns who, when the Parthian empire fell to pieces in the second quarter of the third century, joined the Karên Pahlavs in attacking Ardeshr. It was from these parts, says our author, that Alexander marched into India as far as the Ganges—an interesting glimpse of the growth of the Alexander legend since the days of Arrian (A.D. 150). Our author found old *drakhmai* of Menandros and Apollodotos still current in Barygaza.

Eastward in the same kingdom (chapter 48) is the city of Ozênê, which was formerly the capital, whence onyxes, porcelain, muslins, and cottons are brought to Barygaza. From the country beyond Proklais came costus, bdellium, and spikenard of three kinds, the Kattybourne, the Patropapigic, and the Kabalitic (this last from Kâbul).

We learn incidentally that besides the regular Egyptian trade Barygaza had commercial relations with Mouza in Arabia (chapter 21) with the East African coast (chapter 14) and with Apologos (Obollah) at the head of the Persian Gulf and with Omana on its eastern shore (chapter 36). The imports of Barygaza were wine, bronze, tin and lead, coral and gold stone (topaz?), cloth of all sorts, variegated sashes (like the horrible Berlin wool comforters of modern days), storax, sweet clover, white glass, gum sandarac, stibium for the eyes, and gold and silver coin, and unguents. Besides, there were imported for the king costly silver plate, musical instruments (musical boxes are still favoured by Indian royalty), handsome girls for the harem (these are the famous Yavanî handmaids of the Indian drama), high-class wine, apparel and choice unguents, a list which shows that these monarchs lived in considerable luxury. The exports of Barygaza were spikenard, costus, bdellium, ivory, onyxes, porcelain, box-thorn, cottons, silk, silk thread, long pepper (chilies), and other wares from the coast ports.

From Barygaza our author rightly says (chapter 50) that the coast trends southward and the country is called Dakshinabadês (Dakshinâpatha) much of the inland country is waste and infested by wild beasts, while populous tribes inhabit other regions as far as the Ganges. The chief towns in Dakshinabadês (chapter 51) are Parthana (Parthan) twenty days journey south of Barygaza and Tagara (Dhârur) a very large city ten days east of Parthana. From Parthana come onyxes, and from Tagara cottons muslins and other local wares from the (east) coast.

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The smaller ports south of Barygaza are Akabarou (perhaps the Khābirun of Mahomedan writers and the modern Kāvēri the river of Nāusāri) Souppara (Supārā near Bassem) and Kalliena, which was made a mart by the elder Saraganēs, but much injured when Sandanēs became its master for from his time Greek vessels visiting the port are sent under guard to Barygaza. This interesting statement is one of the clearest indications of the date of the *Periplus*. As Bhāndārkar has shown, the elder Saraganēs implies also a younger, who can be no other than Yajñaśrī Śātakarni (A.D. 140), and the *Periplus* must be later than his time. The Sandanēs of the text must have been a ruler of Gujārāt and may be identified with the Kshatrapa Sanghadāman (A.D. 224).

South of Kalliena (chapter 53) were Semylla (Chaul) Mandagora (Mandangad) Palaiapatmai (Pal near Mahād) Melizeigara (probably Janjira) and Byzantion (Chiplun). The words which follow probably give another name of Byzantion "which was formerly also called Turannosboas," the name Toparon being a misunderstanding (Muller, *Geogr. Gr. Min.* I. 296). South of this are the islands of Sēsekreienai (Burnt Islands), Agidion (Angediva), Kaineitai (Island of St. George) near the Khersonēsos (Goa), and Leukē (Laccadives?) all pirate haunts. Next comes Limyrikē (the Tamil country) the first marts of which are Naoura (Cannanor or Tellichery, rather than Honāvar, which is too far north) and Tyndis (Kadalundi near Bepur) and south of these Muziris (Kraanganur) and Nelkynda (Kallada). Tyndis and Muziris were subject to Kēprobotras (Keralaputra that is the Cera king) and Nelkynda to Pandion (the Pāndya king of Madura). Muziris was a very prosperous mart trading with Arakē (North Konkan) as well as Egypt. Nelkynda was up a river 120 stadia from the sea, ships taking in cargo at the village of Bekarē at the mouth of the river. Our author gives an interesting account of the trade at these ports and further south as well as on the east coast, but we are not concerned with this part of his work.

Markianos.

Markianos of Hirakleia about the year 400 A.D. is the leading geographer of the period following Ptolemy, but his work consisted chiefly in corrections of Ptolemy's distances taken from an obscure geographer named Prōtagoras. He adds no new facts to Ptolemy's account of western India.

Stephanos

Stephanos of Byzantium wrote about 450 A.D. (or at any rate later than Markianos, whom he quotes) a huge geographical dictionary of which we have an epitome by one Hermolaos. The Indian names he gives are chiefly taken from Hekataios, Arrianos, and especially from a poem called *Bassarika* on the exploits of Dionysos, by a certain Dionysos. But his geography is far from accurate: he calls Barakē (Dīarakā) an island, and Barygaza (Broach) a city, of Gedrosia. Among the cities he names are Argantē (quoted from Hekataios), Barygaza (Broach), Boukephala (Jalālpur), Byzantion (Chiplun), Gēreia, Gorgippia, Darsania famous for woven cloths, Dionysopolis (Nysa?), Kathia (Multan?), Kaspapyros and Kaspeiros (Kāsmir), Margana, Massaka (in Swāt), Nysa, Palimbothra (Pātaliputra), Panaioura near the Indus, Patala (thirty-five miles south-east of Haiderābād, Sindh), Rhodoē, Rhogapē, Rhōn in Gandarīkē, Saneia, Sesindion, Sindā on the great gulf (perhaps Ptolemy's Asinda, Vādnagar), Sōlimna, and Tazila. He also names a number of tribes, of whom none but the Orbitai (Mahrān) the Pandai (Pāndya) Bōlingae (Bhāulingi Sālvas) and possibly the Salangoi (Sālaukāyana) belong to the western coast.

Kosmas Indikopleustes, shipman and monk, who wrote his *Topographia Christiana* between A.D. 530 and 550, is the last of the ancient writers who shows independent knowledge of India. He says that Sindu (Sindh) is where India begins, the Indus being the boundary between it and Persia. The chief ports of India are Sindu (Debal), which exports musk and nard. Orthothra (Surat) which is Veraval which had a king of its own. Kalliana (Kalyan) a great port exporting brass, and sisam (blackwood) logs and cloth having a king of its own and a community of Christians under a Persian bishop. Sibor which also had a king of its own and therefore cannot be Supura which is too close to Kalliana, but must be Gort the Sindabur of the Arabs. Parti Mangaruth (Mangalore), Solorima Nalopitana and Pudopatana which are the five marts of Malé the pepper country (Malabar), where also there are many Christians. Five days sail south of Malé lay Siedidibi or Taprobane (Ceylon), divided into two kingdoms in one of which is found the hyacinth stone. The island has many temples, and a church of Persian Christians, and is much resorted to by ships from India Persia and Ethiopia dealing in all deerwood, cloves sandalwood, &c. On the east coast of India is Mandilo (Morisa opposite Ceylon) whence conch-shells are exported. Then Kader (Kaveripattam or Pegu Yule's Cathay Introd. page cxxxviii) which exports Alabandium, further on is the clove country and furthest of all Trimista (China) which produces the silk. In India further up the country that is further north, are the White Omer or Hunas who have a king named Gollas (Mihirakula of inscriptions) who goes forth to war with 1000 elephants and many horsemen and tyrannises over India, exacting tribute from the people. His army is said to be so vast as once to have drunk dry the ditch surrounding a besieged city and marched in dryshod.

In his book XI. Kosmas gives some account of the wild beasts of India but this part of his work does not require notice here.

This is the last glimpse we get of India before the Arabs cut off the old line of communication with the Empire by the conquest of Egypt A.D. 641 2)

Appendix VI

EARLY GREEKS
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was Hemachandria or Hemáchárya probably the most learned man of his time. Though Hemáchárya lived during the reigns both of Siddharāja and of Kumārāpāla, only under Kumārāpāla did he enjoy political power as the king's companion and religious adviser. What record remains of the early Solankis is chiefly due to Hemachandria.

The Jain life of Hemáchárya abounds in wonders. Apart from the magic and mystic elements the chief details are Cháchiga a Modh Vānia of Dhandhuka¹ in the district of Ardhāshtama had by his wife Pāhinī² of the Chāmunda *gōṭra*, a boy named Chángodeva who was born A D 1089 (Kartik fullmoon Samvat 1145). A Jain priest named Devachandria A'chārya (A D 1078-1170, S 1134-1226) came from Patan to Dhandhuka and when in Dhandhuka went to pay his obeisance at the Modh Vasahikā. While Devachandria was seated Chángodeva came playing with other boys and went and sat beside the *áchārya*. Struck with the boy's audacity and good looks the *áchārya* went with the council of the village to Cháchiga's house. Cháchiga was absent but his wife being a Jain received the *áchārya* with respect. When she heard that her son was wanted by the council, without waiting to consult her husband, she handed the boy to the *áchārya* who carried him off to Karnávati and kept him there with the sons of the minister Udayana. Cháchiga, disconsolate at the loss of his son, went in quest of him vowing to eat nothing till the boy was found. He came to Karnávati and in an angry mood called on the *áchārya* to restore him his son. Udayana was asked to interfere and at last persuaded Cháchiga to let the boy stay with Devachandra.

In A D 1097, when Chángodeva was eight years old Cháchiga celebrated his son's consecration or *dīkshā* and gave him the name of Somachandria. As the boy became extremely learned Devachandra changed his name to Hemachandra the Moon of gold. In A D 1110 (S 1166) at the age of 21, his mastery of all the S'āstras and Siddhāntas was rewarded by the dignity of Sūri or sage. Siddharāja was struck with his conversation and honoured him as a man of learning. Hemachandria's knowledge wisdom and tact enabled him to adhere openly to his Jain rules and beliefs though Siddharāja's dislike of Jain practices was so great as at times to amount to insult. After one of their quarrels Hemáchárya kept away from the king for two or three days. Then the king seeing his humility and his devotion to his faith repented and apologised. The two went together to Somanútha Patan and there Hemáchárya paid his obeisance to the *linga* in a way that did not offend his own faith. During Siddharāja's reign Hemáchárya wrote his well known grammar with aphorisms or *sūtras* and commentary or *vrutti* called Siddha-Hemachandra, a title compounded of the king's name and his own. As the Bráhmans found fault with the absence of any detailed references to the king in the work Hemachandra

Chapter II

THE
CHAULUKYAS,
A D 961-1242.
Kumārāpāla,
A D 1143-1174.

¹ The head-quarters of the Dhandhuka sub division sixty miles south west of Ahmadābād.

² Another reading is Lāhinī.